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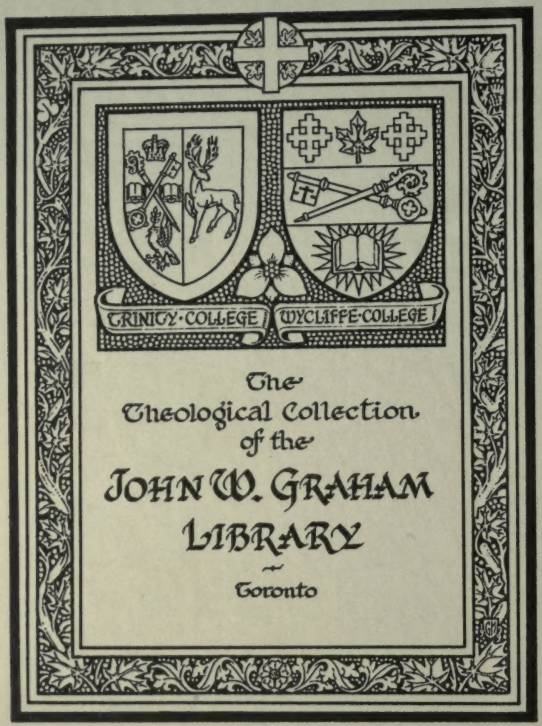
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CERTAIN SERMONS

Appointed by the Queen's Majesty

TO BE DECLARED AND READ BY ALL PARSONS, VICARS, AND CURATES, EVERY SUNDAY AND HOLIDAY IN THEIR CHURCHES; AND BY HER GRACE'S ADVICE PERUSED AND OVERSEEN FOR THE BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF THE SIMPLE PEOPLE.

NEWLY IMPRINTED IN PARTS

ACCORDING AS IS MENTIONED

IN THE BOOK OF

COMMON PRAYERS.

1574.

Cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis.

J. G. E. Corrie

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THE EDITOR'S PREFACE.

IT appears that so early as the year 1540, "Postilles or Homilies upon the Epistles and Gospels," with certain "Sermons drawen forth by dyverse lerned men for the instruction of all good Christian persons and in especiall of Prestes and Curates," were printed by royal allowance; and that in the year 1542 the Convocation had decided on putting forth a Book of Homilies to "stay such errors as were then by ignorant preachers sparkled among the people[1]." But it was not until the year 1547 that the object contemplated by Convocation was carried into effect. The chief mover in that business was Archbishop Cranmer, who, besides giving his own time and labour to the work, took great pains to secure the co-operation of his brother-prelates. By this means a series of Homilies was composed, which were "imprinted in parts," collected into a Volume, and placed in the hands of the parochial Clergy; "that all Curates of what learning so ever they might be, might have some godly and fruitful lessons in readiness to read and declare unto their parishioners, for their edifying, instruction and comfort."

As regards the choice of the subjects-matter, we learn from one well conversant with the intention of

[1] Strype's Cranmer, Ch. III.

those engaged in putting forth the Homilies of 1547, that it was designed that some should be "in commendation of the principal virtues which are commended in Scripture," and "other against the most pernicious and capital vices that useth (alas!) to reign in this realm of England[1]." It is manifest indeed that many portions of the Homilies had direct reference to the doctrinal errors and Antinomian practices of the various sects which then passed under the general name of Anabaptist, though in many cases they were concealed Papists. The first Homily, for example, which exhorts to the "Reading and Knowledge of Holy Scripture," is equally corrective of those who attributed all disorders in doctrine and practice to the unrestrained use of the Bible, and of those false teachers who maintained that Scripture was a dead letter except as made instinct with life by their spiritual interpretations. Whilst some denied the doctrine of Original Sin, others declared all Oaths exacted by the civil power to be unlawful; or else altogether condemned subjection to temporal rulers and magistrates[2]. Hence many of the expressions that occur in the Homily "Of the Misery of Man," in that "Against Swearing and Perjury," and in "An Exhortation concerning good Order and Obedience to Rulers and Magistrates." If, again, on referring to the history of those times we find Auricular Confession to have become such a burden to the conscience, that to "die without shrift" was taken "for a sign of damnation;" so that "many by reason of that false belief" died in

[1] Bp. Ridley's Works, p. 400, edit. Park. Soc.

[2] See 32 Hen. VIII. c. 49. Original Letters relative to the English Reformation, pp. 65, 66, edit. Park. Soc.

desperation[1];" we can account for "An Exhortation against the Fear of Death" as found among our Homilies, as well as for the many Treatises which appeared in print at that time, on the same important subject. So, also, the prevalence of the Antinomian doctrine, "That a man who has been reconciled to God is without sin, and cannot sin[2]," will account for many passages in the Homily "Of the declining from God;" whilst the disputes and brawls about religion, which oftentimes ended in open quarrelling and fighting, may be traced in the "Sermon against Contention and Brawling[3]." The subjects-matter of several of the Homilies in the second volume put forth in the early portion of Queen Elizabeth's reign, may, it is believed, be in like manner accounted for.

It would, however, be a mistake to conclude that the two Books of Homilies which we now possess contain all that were put forth by authority in those times. The Notice subjoined to the Homilies of 1547, besides reciting the Titles of the Sermons which are contained in the second Book, promises "many other matters, as well fruitful as necessary to the edifying of Christian people and the increase of godly living." And Bucer, also, (who translated the First Book of Homilies into Latin) was of opinion, that excellent as those Homilies were as to matter, they were too few in number. He accordingly suggested[4] many additional subjects on

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[1] See Tyndale's Doctrinal Treatises, pp. 245, 246, edit. Park. Soc. Cardwell, Documentary Annals, Vol. I. p. 14.

[2] See Original Letters, *ubi supr.*

[3] See Cardwell, Documentary Annals, *ubi supr.* Proclamation against irreverent talkers, &c.; Wilkins' Concilia, Vol. IV. p. 18; 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 4.

[4] Bucer, Scripta Anglican. p. 466.

which he considered Homilies might be profitably written. That Bucer's opinion was not altogether unheeded, may be concluded from the circumstance that the second Volume of the Homilies contains Sermons on some of those subjects which that eminent person had suggested: whilst from the book on "Ecclesiastical Discipline[1]," published in 1574, and usually attributed to Travers, we learn that there were then in authoritative use certain Homilies "Of the Creation," "Of Providence," "Of the Duty of the Magistrate;" but which do not appear in our present collection.

If a conjecture, therefore, might be hazarded, may it not be supposed that though many Homilies were formerly in use under the sanction of ecclesiastical authority, those only were collected by the Convocation, and put forth for permanent use, which were calculated for general instruction? At any rate, it may be affirmed that however temporary the occasion may seem to have been for which the Homilies we now possess were in the first instance composed[2], they are still well calculated for the "edifying, instruction and comfort" of all who regard sound principles as of more importance than novelty of expression.

It was remarked above that Archbishop Cranmer took great pains to secure the assistance of other prelates and divines, yet it is still a matter of uncertainty to whom the authorship of the greater part of the Homilies is to be assigned. As regards those contained

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[1] A full and plaine Declaration of Ecclesiasticall Discipline, &c., p. 102. See, also, Grindal, Remains, pp. 96 et seq. Park. Soc. Edit.

[2] "The Second Book of Homilies . . . doth contain a godly and wholesome doctrine necessary for these times; as doth the former Book of Homilies."—Art. XXXV.

in the First Book, it is now generally agreed that the Homilies "Of the Salvation of Mankind," "A short declaration of the true, lively, and Christian Faith," and "Of Good Works annexed unto Faith," were composed by Cranmer himself; and probably also the "Exhortation to the reading and knowledge of the Holy Scripture." The "Sermon of the Misery of all Mankind," is found almost verbally, with the same title, among the Homilies put forth by Bishop Bonner in Queen Mary's reign, and is subscribed with the well-known name of J. Harpsfield, archdeacon of London. The "Sermon of Christian Love and Charity" is, with the exception of a few prefatory lines and verbal variations, identical with Bonner's Homily, entitled "How dangerous a thing to break off charity is;" and which bears the initials of Bonner himself. The "Sermon against Whoredom and Uncleanness" is found, with few variations, in the works of Thomas Becon, and was written by him. The similarity of idea in many places, together with the almost verbal identity of expression and of patristic quotations that are found to subsist between the Homily "Against Swearing and Perjury," and the "Invective against Swearing," written and published by Becon in 1543, leave scarcely any reasonable doubt that the Homily in question was also written by him. Moreover, a comparison of certain portions of Bishop Pilkington's "Exposition upon the prophet Haggai[1]," with the Homilies "Against Gluttony and Drunkenness" and "Against Excess of Apparel," will scarcely fail to satisfy us that the authorship of those Homilies must be assigned to that prelate.

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[1] Comp. the Works of Bp. Pilkington, pp. 52, &c. Park. Soc. edit.

And although the materials for comparison in the work above mentioned may not be altogether sufficiently copious to satisfy us that the Homily "Of the right use of the Church[1]," and that "For repairing and keeping clean and comely adorning of Churches," were composed by Bishop Pilkington, yet it is conceived that there is enough on which to found a reasonable presumption that such was the fact. The Homilies for Good Friday and Easter-day are the same respectively with "The Exhortation upon the Passion of Christ," and "The Sermon of the Resurrection," contained in the Postils above mentioned, that were completed by Taverner, and printed in 1540[2].

But by whomsoever the Homilies were composed, there can be no doubt but that whilst the authors of them made great use of the writings of the early Fathers, they also availed themselves of the labours of the continental reformers. It can scarcely be doubted, for example, that the writer of the "Homily of Almsdeeds," had before him St Cyprian's Treatise *De Eleemosyna.* But whole sentences occur in different Homilies, so identical with sentences found in treatises on like subjects by Bucer, Peter Martyr, Musculus, Bullinger and others, that it is scarcely possible to regard that identity as accidental. This at least is certain, that although the outline of the Homily "Against Peril of Idolatry" is contained in Bishop Ridley's "Treatise on the Worship of Images," the filling up of that outline is little more than a literal translation of a great portion of Bullinger's treatise *De origine cultus Divorum et simu-*

[1] Pilkington's Works, pp. 62, &c.

[2] Postils, &c., edit. by Cardwell, pp. 173—181: 189—199.

lachrorum erronea. It is, in fact, matter of notoriety that very many of the doctrinal and practical treatises on theology that were printed and largely circulated in England during the earlier periods of the Reformation, were either translations from the writings of the Early Fathers, or of the continental divines.

But as the question regarding the authorship of the Homilies has already engaged the attention of some of our eminent divines, it does not seem necessary to dwell on that point further; and it is therefore now purposed to give an account of the present volume.

It first became of importance to fix on some edition of the Homilies that might best serve for a standard text. In determining that point, it seemed most obvious to prefer the edition which for the first time contained the Homilies collected in their present form: i. e. which, besides all the Homilies as put forth in 1563, contained also the "Homily against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion." Now this Homily was only made to form part of the Second Book by that Convocation which revised the Articles in the year 1572, and sat at intervals until 1575.

After making all practicable enquiries, it is believed that the edition of the Homilies which first contained the Sermon "Against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion," appeared in 1574, printed by Richard Jugge. The text of that Edition has accordingly been adopted, except when, on account of obvious errors, deviations from it became necessary: and in such cases the reading of the Edition of 1574 is given in the margin, the deviations in the text being enclosed between brackets [ ].

Collations have been made with the Editions—

(1) Of 1547, containing the First Book of Homilies, imprinted by Edwarde Whitchurche, the xx day of August in the yeare of oure Lorde 1547, "cum privilegio ad imprimendum solum[1]."

(2) Of 1563, containing the Preface and the two Books of Homilies, except the Homily "Against wilful Rebellion:" Imprinted by Richard Jugge and John Cawood, printers to the Quene's Maiestie, (supposed to be the first Edition of this date).

(3) Of 1582, imprinted by Christopher Barker, printer to the Queene's Maiestie.

(4) Of 1587, printed by R. Jugge, "cum privilegio Regiæ Majestatis." (The device is a Pelican feeding her young ones.)

(5) Of 1595, imprinted by Edward Allde.

(6) Of 1623, printed by John Bill, printer to the King's most excellent Majesty.

(7) Of the Homily against wilful Rebellion, separately printed by Jugge and Cawood, but without date. The various readings of this Homily are designated by the letter M.

Wherever the readings of some only of these editions are given, it is to be understood that the rest agree with the standard text. In case the very words of an ecclesiastical writer are quoted, the quotation is

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[1] It is necessary to observe that there are some important variations between this edition and earlier copies of 1547. One of the most remarkable instances is that given in p. 115, note 2; and which is taken from the edition of the Homilies printed at the Clarendon Press.

marked by double commas (" "): when the substance only of his words occur, the passage is denoted by single commas (' '). The spelling has been modernized throughout.

It may not be improper to observe, that in supplying the quotations from the early Fathers several difficulties had to be contended with. In most instances the quotations from the patristical writers are introduced merely by such indefinite observations as "St Chrysostom writeth," or " as Fulgentius," " St Augustine," &c., " saith." And when it happened that a marginal note referred to some particular treatise of one of the Fathers, the reference was seldom found to be free from inaccuracies of the press. The uncertain pointing, too, found in the old editions of the Homilies, leaves it doubtful in more than one instance with what precise words the patristic sentiment closes[1]. Moreover, the circumstance that the writers of the Homilies usually made their quotations from Latin translations of the Greek Fathers, occasions such quotations to appear in some instances a more or less inaccurate representation of the Greek original. It is believed, however, that with the exception of a passage from Bede, p. 463 (*Hom. 9 sup. Lucam.*), and another from St Augustine, p. 538 (*Epist. ad Julian. Comitem*) now known under the title of *De salutaribus Documentis*, all the quotations that occur in the Homilies from the ecclesiastical writers have been verified. Among those quotations are many from treatises now usually not regarded as the writings of the several Fathers to whom in times past they were on all hands attributed; but there is no lack of evidence

[1] An instance of this occurs, p. 8.

still remaining in these Homilies to satisfy every lover of truth, that the Church of England has nothing to fear from an appeal to primitive antiquity.

As regards the many quotations from Scripture which occur in the Homilies, the Editor can come to no other conclusion than that the writers did not systematically make use of any of the existing translations of the Bible, but translated for themselves from their Latin Versions of the Old and New Testament.

The Editor has, in conclusion, to acknowledge his obligations to several of his friends for much assistance afforded to him in the progress of this work. To his friend and former pupil, the Rev. C. Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St Catharine's Hall, the Editor is more especially indebted for verifying a large proportion of the quotations from scripture and ecclesiastical writers, and for his valuable aid in correcting the press and supplying an Index.

G. E. CORRIE.

CAMBRIDGE, *Oct.* 1850.

THE PREFACE.

(1574)

CONSIDERING how necessary it is, that the word of God, which is the only food of the soul, and that most excellent light that we must walk by, in this our most dangerous pilgrimage, should at all convenient times be preached unto the people, that thereby they may both learn their duty towards God, their Prince, and their neighbours, according to the mind of the Holy Ghost, expressed in the Scriptures; and also to avoid the manifold enormities, which heretofore by false doctrine have crept into the Church of God; and how that all they, which are appointed ministers, have not the gift of preaching sufficiently to instruct the people, which is committed unto them, whereof great inconveniences might rise, and ignorance still be maintained, if some honest remedy be not speedily found and provided: the Queen's most excellent Majesty, tendering the souls' health of her loving subjects, and the quieting of their consciences in the chief and principal points of Christian religion; and willing also, by the true setting forth and pure declaring of God's word---which is the principal guide and leader unto all godliness and virtue—to expel and drive away as well all corrupt, vicious, and ungodly living as also erroneous and poisoned doctrines, tending to superstition and idolatry; hath, by the advice of her most honourable Counsellors, for her discharge in this behalf, caused a Book of Homilies, which heretofore was set forth by her most loving brother, a Prince of most worthy memory, Edward the Sixth, to be printed anew; wherein are contained certain wholesome and godly exhortations, to move the people to honour and

worship Almighty God, and diligently to serve him, every one according to their degree, state, and vocation. All which Homilies her Majesty commandeth and straitly chargeth all Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and all others having spiritual cure, every Sunday and Holy-day in the year, at the ministering of the holy Communion, or, if there be no Communion ministered that day, yet after the Gospel and Creed, in such order and place as is appointed in the Book of Common Prayers, to read and declare to their parishioners, plainly and distinctly, one of the said Homilies, in such order as they stand in the book, except there be a Sermon, according as it is enjoined in the book of her Highness' Injunctions; and then for that cause only, and for none other, the reading of the said Homily to be deferred unto the next Sunday or Holiday following. And when the foresaid Book of Homilies is read over, her Majesty's pleasure is, that the same be repeated and read again, in such like sort as was before prescribed. Furthermore, her Highness commandeth, that, notwithstanding this order, the said ecclesiastical persons shall read her Majesty's Injunctions at such times, and in such order, as is in the book thereof appointed; and that the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments, be openly read unto the people as in the said Injunctions is specified; that all her people, of what degree or condition soever they be, may learn how to invocate, and call upon, the name of God, and know what duty they owe both to God and man: so that they may pray, believe, and work according to knowledge, while they shall live here; and after this life be with Him, that with his blood hath bought us all. To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for ever. *Amen.*

A

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CORRIGENDA.

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8	17 from bottom	τὸν	τὸ
58	4	psalms 1582 *add* 1623	
134	4	περιτείχισαν	περιετείχισαν
—	2	γείνεται	γίνεται
185	16	ἐγεγόνεν	ἐγεγόνει
255	3	δυσσεβείας	δυσσεβείαις
315	2	Stobæ	Stobæi
317	8	περτίθησι	περιτίθησι
362	16	εὐλογήσας	εὐλογήσῃς
372	last line	*dele* Opp. Tom. Col. *and for* Pars. *read* Paris.	
449	10	ὑφώσαντες	ὑψώσαντες

CERTAIN SERMONS

OR

HOMILIES,

APPOINTED TO BE READ IN CHURCHES.

Cranmer

A FRUITFUL EXHORTATION

TO

THE READING AND KNOWLEDGE OF HOLY SCRIPTURE.

UNTO a christian man, there can be nothing either more necessary or profitable than the knowledge of holy Scripture; forasmuch as in it is contained God's true word, setting forth his glory, and also man's duty. And there is no truth nor doctrine, necessary for our justification and everlasting salvation, but that is or may be drawn out of that fountain and well of truth. Therefore, as many as be desirous to enter into the right and perfect way unto God, must apply their minds to know holy Scripture; without the which they can neither sufficiently know God and his will, neither their office and duty. And as drink is pleasant to them that be[a] dry, and meat to them that be hungry; so is the reading, hearing, searching, and studying of holy Scripture to them that be desirous to know God or themselves, and to do his will. And their stomachs only do loathe and abhor the heavenly knowledge and food of God's word, that be so drowned in worldly vanities, that they neither favour[b] God, nor any godliness: for that is the cause why they desire such vanities, rather than the true knowledge of God. As they that are sick of an ague, whatsoever they eat and drink[c], though it be never so pleasant, yet it is as bitter to them as wormwood;—not for the bitterness of the meat, but for the corrupt and bitter humour that is in their own tongue and mouth;—even so is the sweetness of God's word bitter, not of itself, but only unto them that have their minds corrupted with long custom of sin and love of this world. Therefore, forsaking the corrupt judgment of fleshly[d] men, which care not but for their carcase, let us reverently hear and read holy Scriptures, which is the food of the soul. Let us diligently search for the well of life in the books of the New and Old Testament, and not run to the stinking

The praise of holy Scripture.
The perfection of holy Scripture.
The knowledge of holy Scripture is necessary.
To whom the knowledge of holy Scripture is sweet and pleasant.
Who be enemies to holy Scripture.
An apt similitude, declaring of whom the Scripture is abhorred.
An exhortation unto the diligent reading and searching of the holy Scripture. Matt. iv. [4].

[a] be] is 1595.
[b] favour] savour 1547.
[c] eat and drink] eat or drink 1547, 1587, 1595.
[d] fleshly] carnal 1547.

puddles of men's traditions, devised by man's[e] imaginations, for our justification and salvation. For in holy Scripture is fully contained what we ought to do, and what to eschew, what to believe, what to love, and what to look for at God's hands at length. In these[f] books we shall find the Father from whom, the Son by whom, and the Holy Ghost in whom, all things have their being and keeping up[g]; and these three Persons to be but one God[h], and one substance. In these books we may learn to know ourselves, how vile and miserable we be; and also to know God, how good he is of himself, and how he maketh us and all creatures partakers of his goodness[i]. We may learn also in these books to know God's will and pleasure, as much as for this present time is convenient for us to know. And, as the great clerk and godly preacher, St. Iohn Chrysostom[2] saith, "Whatsoever is required to salvation of man, is fully contained in the Scripture of God. He that is ignorant, may there learn and have knowledge. He that is hard-hearted, and an obstinate sinner, shall there find everlasting[k] torments prepared of God's justice, to make him afraid, and to mollify, or soften[l] him. He that is oppressed with misery in this world, shall there find relief in the promises of everlasting[m] life, to his great consolation and comfort. He that is wounded by the Devil unto death, shall find there medicine, whereby he may

The holy Scripture is a sufficient doctrine for our salvation.

What things we may learn in the holy Scripture.

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[e] man's] men's 1582, 1623.

[f] these] those 1547, 1563, 1587.

[g] keeping up] conservation 1547.

[h] but one God] one God 1547.

[i] how he maketh us and all creatures partakers of his goodness] how he communicateth his goodness unto us, and to all creatures 1547.

[k] everlasting] eternal 1547.

[l] or soften] *wanting* 1547.

[m] promises of everlasting] promise of eternal 1547.

[2] [Quidquid quæritur ad salutem, totum jam adimpletum est in Scripturis. Qui ignarus est inveniet ibi quod discat. Qui contumax est et peccator inveniet ibi futuri judicii flagella quæ timeat. Qui laborat inveniet ibi glorias et promissiones vitæ perpetuæ quas manducando amplius excitetur ad opus. Qui pusillanimis est et infirmus inveniet ibi mediocres justitiæ cibos, qui et si pinguem animam non faciunt, tamen mori non permittunt. Qui magnanimus est et fidelis inveniet ibi spirituales escas continentioris vitæ, quæ perducant eum prope ad angelorum naturam. Qui percussus est a diabolo et vulneratus est in peccatis inveniet ibi medicinales cibos, qui eum per pœnitentiam revocent ad salutem. S. Chrysost. Homil. XLI. in Matthæum, Opus Imperfectum; Tom. VI. p. CLXXIV. B, ed. Bened. Paris. 1724. Cf. also Homil. III. in 2 Thessal. Tom. XI. p. 528, B.]

be restored again unto health.—If it shall require to teach any truth, or reprove false doctrine, to rebuke any vice, to commend any virtue, to give good counsel, to comfort, or to exhort, or to do any other thing requisite for our salvation; all those things," saith St. Chrysostom[3], "we may learn plentifully of the Scripture." "There is," saith Fulgentius[4], "abundantly enough, both for men to eat, and children to suck. There is whatsoever is meet[n] for all ages, and for all degrees and sorts of men." These books, therefore, ought to be much in our hands, in our eyes, in our ears, in our mouths, but most of all in our hearts. For the Scripture of God is the heavenly meat of our souls: the hearing and keeping of it maketh us blessed, sanctifieth us, and maketh us holy; it turneth[o] our souls; it is a light lantern to our feet; it is a sure, stedfast, and everlasting[p] instrument of salvation; it giveth wisdom to the humble and lowly hearts[q]; it comforteth, maketh glad, cheereth, and cherisheth our conscience[r]; it is a more excellent jewel, or treasure, than any gold or precious stone; it is more sweet[s] than honey or honeycomb; it is called *the best part*, which Mary did choose, for it hath in it everlasting comfort. The words of holy Scripture be called words of *everlasting life;* for they be God's instrument, ordained for the same purpose. They have power to turn[t], through God's promise; and they be effectual through God's assistance; and being received in a faithful heart, they have ever an heavenly spiritual working in them.

Holy Scripture ministereth sufficient doctrine for all degrees and ages.

Matt. iv. [4]. Luke iv. [4]. John xvii. [17]. Ps. xix. [7, 10].

What commodities and profits the knowledge of holy Scripture bringeth.

Luke x. [42].

John vi. [68].

Colos. i. [6].

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n meet] convenient 1547.
o turneth] converteth 1547.
p stedfast, and everlasting] a constant, and a perpetual 1547.
q hearts] hearted 1547.
r conscience] consciences 1547.
s more sweet] more sweeter 1547.
t turn] convert 1547.

3 [Εἴ τι μαθεῖν, εἴ τι ἀγνοῆσαι χρὴ, ἐκεῖθεν εἰσόμεθα· εἰ ἐλέγξαι τὰ ψευδῆ, καὶ τοῦτο ἐκεῖθεν, εἰ ἐπανορθωθῆναι καὶ σωφρονισθῆναι· πρὸς παράκλησιν, πρὸς παραμυθίαν, φησὶ, πρὸς ἐπανόρθωσιν· τουτέστιν, εἴ τι λείπει, καὶ χρὴ προστεθῆναι. S. Chrysost. in II. epist. ad Timoth. c. v. Homil. IX.: Opp. Tom. XI. p. 714, E.]

4 [In quibus denuo mandatis, tanquam ditissimis ferculis, sic cœlestium deliciarum copia spiritalis exuberat, ut in verbo Dei abundet quod perfectus comedat, abundet etiam quod parvulus sugat. Ibi est enim simul et lacteus potus, quo tenera fidelium nutriatur infantia; et solidus cibus, quo robusta perfectorum juventus spiritalia sanctæ virtutis accipiat incrementa. Ibi prorsus ad salutem consuliter universis, quos Dominus salvare dignatur; ibi est quod omni ætati congruat; ibi, quod omni professioni conveniat. Fulgent. Sermo de Confessoribus. Opp. p. 120, col. II. D; ed. Paris. 1639.]

Heb. iv. [12]. They are lively, quick, and mighty in operation, and *sharper than any two-edged sword, and entereth through, even unto* Matt. vii. [24]. *the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit, of the joints and the marrow.* Christ calleth him a wise builder, that buildeth upon his word, upon his sure and substantial foundation. By this word of God we shall be judged: for John xii. [48]. *the word*[u] *that I speak*[x], saith Christ, *is it that shall judge in the last day.* He that keepeth the word of Christ, is promised the love and favour of God, and that he shall be John xiv. [23.] the dwelling-place[y] or temple of the blessed Trinity. This word whosoever is diligent to read, and in his heart to print that he readeth, the great affection to the transitory things of this world shall be minished in him, and the great desire of heavenly things, that be therein promised of God, shall increase in him. And there is nothing that so much strengtheneth[z] our faith and trust[a] in God, that so much keepeth up[b] innocency and pureness of the heart, and also of outward godly life and conversation, as continual reading and recording[c] of God's word. For that thing, which by continual[d] use of reading of holy Scripture, and diligent searching of the same, is deeply printed and graven in the heart, at length turneth almost into nature. And, moreover, the effect and virtue of God's word, is to illuminate the ignorant, and to give more light unto them that faithfully and diligently read it; to comfort their hearts, and to encourage them to perform 1 Sam. xiv. [5—16]. that which of God is commanded. It teacheth patience in all 2 Chron. xx. [9]. adversity, in prosperity humbleness; what honour is due 1 Cor. xv. [57]. unto God, what mercy and charity to our neighbour. It 1 John v. [4]. giveth good counsel in all doubtful things. It sheweth of whom we shall look for aid and help in all perils; and that God is the only giver of victory in all battles and temptations Who profit most in reading God's word. of our enemies, bodily and ghostly. And in reading of God's word, he most profiteth not always, that is most ready in turning[e] of the book, or in saying of it without the book; but he that is most turned into it, that is most inspired with the Holy Ghost; most in his heart and life altered and changed[f] into that thing which he readeth; he that is daily less and

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[u] word] words 1563.
[x] speak] spake 1547.
[y] dwelling-place] mansion-place, 1547.
[z] strengtheneth] establisheth 1547.
[a] trust] truth 1595.
[b] keepeth up] conserveth 1547.
[c] recording] meditation 1547.
[d] continual] perpetual 1547.
[e] turning] returning 1587, 1595.
[f] changed] transformed 1547.

less proud, less wrathful[g], less covetous, and less desirous of worldly and vain pleasures; he that daily, forsaking his old vicious life, increaseth in virtue more and more. And to be short: there is nothing that more maintaineth godliness of the mind, and driveth away[h] ungodliness, than doth the continual reading or hearing of God's word, if it be joined with a godly mind, and a good affection to know and follow God's will. For without a single eye, pure intent, and good mind, nothing is allowed for good before God. And on the other side, nothing more darkeneth[i] Christ and the glory of God, nor bringeth in[k] more blindness and all kinds of vices, than doth the ignorance of God's word.

Isai. v. [24]. Matt. xxii. [12]. 1 Cor. xiv. [37].

What incommodities the ignorance of God's word bringeth.

THE SECOND PART OF THE SERMON OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE[a].

IN[b] the first part of this Sermon, which exhorteth to the knowledge of holy Scripture, was declared wherefore the knowledge of the same is necessary and profitable to all men; and that by the true knowledge and understanding of Scripture, the most necessary points of our duty towards God and our neighbours are also known. Now as concerning the same matter you shall hear what followeth.

If we profess Christ, why be we not ashamed to be ignorant in his doctrine, seeing that every man is ashamed to be ignorant in that learning which he professeth? That man is ashamed to be called a philosopher which readeth not the books of philosophy; and to be called a lawyer, and astronomer, or a physician[c], that is ignorant in the books of law, astronomy, and physic. How can any man, then, say that he professeth Christ and his religion, if he will not apply himself, as far forth as he can or may conveniently, to read and hear, and so to know the books of Christ's gospel and doctrine? Although other sciences be good and to be learned, yet no man can deny but this is the chief, and passeth all other incomparably. What excuse shall we therefore make, at the last day before Christ, that delight to read or hear men's fanta-

God's word excelleth all sciences.

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g wrathful] ireful 1547.

h driveth away] expelleth 1547.

i darkeneth] obscureth 1547.

k bringeth in] induceth 1547.

a of the holy Scripture] of the knowledge of holy Scripture 1582, 1623. *In* 1547, *the Homily is not divided.*

b In the first ... you shall hear what followeth] *wanting* 1547.

c and astronomer or a physician] an astronomer, or a, 1547; and astronomer or physician 1582, 1623.

sies and inventions, more than his most holy gospel; and will find no time to do that which chiefly, above all things, we should do; and will rather read other things than that for the which we ought rather to leave reading of all other things? Let us therefore apply ourselves, as far forth as we can have time and leisure, to know God's word, by diligent hearing and reading thereof, as many as profess God, and have faith and trust in him.

Vain excuses dissuading from the knowledge of God's word. The first.

But they that have no good affection to God's word, to colour this their fault, allege commonly two vain and feigned excuses. Some go about to excuse them by their own frailness and fearfulness, saying, that they dare not read holy Scripture, lest through their ignorance they should fall into any error.

The second.

Other pretend that the difficulty to understand it, and the hardness thereof is so great, that it is meet to be read only of clerks and learned men. As touching the first: ignorance of God's word is the cause of all error, as Christ himself affirmed to the Sadducees, saying, that *they erred, because they knew not the Scripture.*

Matt. xxii. [29].

How should they then eschew error, that will be still ignorant? And how should they come out of ignorance, that will not read nor hear that thing which should give them knowledge? He that now hath most knowledge, was at the first ignorant: yet he forbare not to read, for fear he should fall into error; but he diligently read, lest he should remain in ignorance, and through ignorance in error. And if you will not know the truth of God—a thing most necessary for you—lest you fall into error, by the same reason you may then lie still, and never go, lest, if you go, you fall in the mire; nor eat any good meat, lest you[d] take a surfeit; nor sow your corn, nor labour in your occupation, nor use your merchandise, for fear you lose your seed, your labour, your stock: and so, by that reason, it should be best for you to live idly, and never to take in hand to do any manner of good thing, lest peradventure some evil thing may chance thereof.

How most commodiously, and without all peril, the holy Scripture is to be read.

And if you be afraid to fall into error by reading of holy Scripture, I shall shew you how you may read it without danger of error. Read it humbly with a meek and a lowly[e] heart, to the intent you[f] may glorify God, and not yourself, with the knowledge of it: and read it not without daily praying to God, that he would direct your reading

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[d] you] ye 154.

[e] and a lowly] and lowly 1582, 1623.

[f] you] ye 1547.

to good effect; and take upon you to expound it no further than you can plainly understand it. For, as St. Augustine[2] saith, 'the knowledge of holy Scripture is a great, large, and a high place[g]; but the door is very low, so that the high and arrogant man cannot run in; but he must stoop low, and humble himself, that shall enter into it.' Presumption and arrogancy is the mother of all error; and humility needeth[h] to fear no error. For humility will only search to know the truth: it will search, and will bring together[i] one place with another; and where it cannot find out the meaning[k], it will pray, it will ask of other that know, and will not presumptuously and rashly define any thing which it knoweth not. Therefore the humble man may search any truth boldly in the Scripture, without any danger of error. And if he be ignorant, he ought the more to read and search holy Scripture, to bring him out of ignorance. I say not nay, but a man may prosper with only hearing; but he may much more prosper with both hearing and reading. This have I said, as touching the fear to read, through ignorance of the person. And concerning the hardness[l] of Scripture; he that is so weak that he is not able to brook strong meat, yet he may suck the sweet and tender milk, and defer the rest until he wax stronger, and come to more knowledge. For God receiveth the learned and unlearned, and casteth away none, but is indifferent unto all. And the Scripture is full, as well of low valleys, plain ways, and easy for every man to use and to walk in; as also of high hills and mountains, which few men can climb[m] unto. 'And whosoever giveth his mind to holy Scriptures with diligent study and burning[n] desire, it cannot be,' saith[3] St. Iohn Chrysostom[o], 'that he should be

Scripture in some places is easy, and in some places hard to be understood.

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g place] palace 1547, 1587, 1595.
h needeth] endeth 1582, 1623.
i bring together] confer 1547.
k find out the meaning] find the sense 1547.
l hardness] difficulty 1547.
m climb] ascend 1547.
n burning] fervent 1547.
o Saint Iohn Chrysostom] Saint Chrysostom 1582, 1623.

[2] [Itaque institui animum intendere in scripturas sanctas, ut viderem quales essent. Et ecce video rem non compertam superbis, neque nudatam pueris; sed incessu humilem successu excelsam et velatam mysteriis; et non eram ego talis ut intrare in eam possem, aut inclinare cervicem ad ejus gressus. S. August. Confession. Lib. III. c. 5; Opp. Tom. I. col. 65, B; ed. Bened. Antwerp. 1701.]

[3] [Λάβε μετὰ χεῖρας τὸ βιβλίον· ἀνάγνωθι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἅπασαν· καὶ τὰ γνώριμα κατασχὼν, τὰ ἄδηλα καὶ τὰ ἀσαφῆ πολλάκις ἔπελθε. Κἂν

God leaveth no man untaught that hath a good will to know his word.

left without help[p]. For either God Almighty will send him some godly doctor to teach[q] him, as he did to instruct Eunuchus, a nobleman of Æthiopia, and treasurer unto queen Candace; who having a great[r] affection to read the Scripture, although he understood it not, yet, for the desire that he had unto God's word, God sent his apostle Philip to declare unto him the true sense of the Scripture that he read—or else, if we lack a learned man to instruct and teach us, yet God himself from above will give light unto our minds, and teach us those things which are necessary for us, and wherein we be ignorant.' And in another place Chrysostom[1] saith, that 'man's human and worldly wisdom or science, needeth not to the understanding of Scripture; but the revelation of the Holy Ghost, who inspireth the true meaning[s] unto them that with humility and diligence do search therefore.' *He that asketh shall have, and he that seeketh shall find, and he that knocketh shall have the door open.* 'If we read once, twice, or thrice, and understand not, let us not cease so; but still continue reading, praying, asking of other: and so, by still knocking, at the last the door shall be opened,' as St. Augustine[2] saith. Although many things in the Scrip-

How the knowledge of the Scripture may be attained unto.

Matt. vii. [7, 8].

A good rule for the understanding of Scripture.

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p left without help] destitute of help 1547.

q teach] instruct 1547.

r a great] *wanting* 1582, 1623.

s meaning] sense 1547.

μὴ δυνηθῇς τῇ συνεχείᾳ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως εὑρεῖν τὸ λεγόμενον, βάδισον πρὸς τὸν σοφώτερον, ἐλθὲ πρὸς τὸν διδάσκαλον, ἀνακοίνωσαι περὶ τῶν εἰρημένων, πολλὴν ἐπίδειξαι τὴν σπουδήν· κἂν ἴδῃ σε ὁ Θεὸς τοσαύτῃ κεχρημένον τῇ προθυμίᾳ, οὐ περιόψεταί σου τὴν ἀγρυπνίαν καὶ τὴν φροντίδα· ἀλλὰ κἂν ἄνθρωπος μὴ διδάξῃ τὸν ζητούμενον, αὐτὸς ἀποκαλύψει πάντως κ.τ.λ. S. Chrysost. de Lazaro Concio III.; Opp. Tom. I. p. 740, B, ed. Bened. Paris. 1724.]

[1] [*Ὁρᾷς ὡς πανταχόθεν ἐξωθεῖ τὴν σοφίαν τὴν ἔξωθεν, καὶ πλείονα εἰδότα καὶ μείζονα δείκνυσι τὸν πνευματικόν;...λοιπὸν τίθησι τὴν κυριωτάτην αἰτίαν, ὅτι τούτῳ μάλιστα τῷ τρόπῳ δυνάμεθα ἰδεῖν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὰ ὑψηλὰ καὶ τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα, καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς μαθεῖν ἔξυμεν· καὶ γὰρ ἐκενοῦτο ὁ λόγος τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς καταλαβεῖν διὰ τῆς ἔξωθεν σοφίας τὰ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς· ὁρᾷς ὅτι καὶ συνέφερεν οὕτω μᾶλλον μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Πνεύματος; καὶ γὰρ καὶ εὐκολωτάτη καὶ σαφεστάτη ἡ διδασκαλία.* S. Chrysost. in ep. ad Cor. Homil. vii.; Opp. Tom. X. p. 58, D.]

[2] [Magnam autem spem dedit et dat ille qui promittendo non decipit: ait enim, 'Omnis qui petit accipit, et qui quærit invenit et pulsanti aperietur.' Ergo perseverantia opus est, ut accipiamus quod petimus, et inveniamus quod quærimus, et quod pulsamus aperiatur. S. August. De Serm. Dom. Lib. II. c. 21; Opp. Tom. III. part. 2, col. 165, C. See also De Doctrin. Christian. Lib. II. c. 6. col. 17, B, ed. Bened. 1700.]

ture be spoken in obscure mysteries, yet there is nothing spoken under dark mysteries in one place, but the self-same thing in other places is spoken more[t] familiarly and plainly, to the capacity both of learned and unlearned. And those things in the Scripture that be plain to understand, and necessary for salvation, every man's duty is to learn them, to print them in memory, and effectually to exercise them; and, as for the dark[u] mysteries, to be contented to be ignorant in them, until such time as it shall please God to open those things unto him. In the mean season, if he lack either aptness or opportunity, God will not impute it unto[x] his folly: but yet it behoveth not that such as be apt should set aside reading, because some other be unapt to read: nevertheless, for the hardness[y] of such places, the reading of the whole ought not to be set apart. And briefly to conclude: as St. Augustine[3] saith, "By the Scripture all men be amended; weak men be strengthened, and strong men be comforted. So that surely none be enemies to the reading of God's word, but such as either be so ignorant, that they know not how wholesome a thing it is; or else be so sick, that they hate the most comfortable medicine, that should heal them;" or so ungodly, that they would wish the people still to continue in blindness and ignorance of God.

No man is excepted from the knowledge of God's will.

What persons would have ignorance to continue.

Thus we have briefly touched some part of the commodities of God's holy word, which is one of God's chief and principal benefits, given and declared to mankind here in earth. Let us thank God heartily for this his great and special gift, beneficial favour, and fatherly providence. Let us be glad to revive this precious gift of our heavenly father. Let us hear, read, and know these holy rules, injunctions, and statutes of our christian religion, and upon that we have made profession to God at our baptism. Let us with fear and reverence lay up, in the chest of our hearts, these necessary and fruitful lessons. Let us night and day

The holy Scripture is one of God's chiefbenefits.

The right reading, use, and fruitful studying in holy Scripture.

Ps. i. [2].

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[t] more] *wanting* 1547.
[u] dark] obscure 1547.
[x] unto] to *in the other editions.*
[y] hardness] difficulty 1547.

[3] [His salubriter et prava corriguntur, et parva nutriuntur, et magna oblectantur ingenia. Ille huic doctrinæ inimicus est animus, qui vel errando eam nescit esse saluberrimam, vel odit ægrotando medicinam. S. August. epist. CXXXVII. § 18; Opp. Tom. II. col. 311, A. See also a passage to the same effect in Serm. ad Fratres in Eremo, XXXVIII.; Opp. Tom. VI. col. 826, F.]

muse, and have meditation and contemplation in them. Let us ruminate, and, as it were, chew the cud, that we may have the sweet juice, spiritual effect, marrow, honey, kernel, taste, comfort, and consolation of them. Let us stay, quiet, and certify our consciences with the most infallible certainty, truth, and perpetual assurance of them. Let us pray to God, the only author of these heavenly studies[z], that we may speak, think, believe, live, and depart hence, according to the wholesome doctrine and verities of them. And, by that means, in this world we shall have God's defence[a], favour, and grace, with the unspeakable solace of peace, and quietness of conscience; and, after this miserable life, we shall enjoy the endless bliss and glory of heaven: which he grant us all, that died for us all, Jesus Christ: to whom, with the Father and the[b] Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, both now and everlastingly. *Amen*[c].

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[z] studies] meditations 1547.
[a] defence] protection 1547.
[b] the] *wanting* 1547.
[c] Amen] *wanting* 1623.

A SERMON[a]

OF

THE MISERY OF ALL MANKIND, AND OF HIS CONDEMNATION TO DEATH EVERLASTING, BY HIS OWN SIN.

THE Holy Ghost, in writing the holy Scripture, is in nothing more diligent than to pull down man's vainglory and pride; which, of all vices, is most universally grafted in all mankind, even from the first infection of our first father Adam. And therefore we read, in many places of Scripture, many notable lessons against this old rooted vice, to teach us the most commendable virtue of humility, how to know ourselves, and to remember what we be of ourselves. In the book of Genesis, Almighty God giveth us a title and name[b] in[c] our great grandfather Adam; which ought to warn[d] us all to consider what we be, whereof we be, from whence we came, and whither we shall; saying thus, *In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat thy*[e] *bread, till thou be turned again into the ground; for out of it wast thou taken; inasmuch as thou art dust, into dust*[f] *shalt thou be turned again.* Here, as it were in a glass, we may learn to know ourselves to be but ground, earth, and ashes, and that to earth and ashes we shall return. Gen. iii. [19].

Also, the holy patriarch Abraham did well remember this name and title, dust, earth, and ashes, appointed and assigned by God to all mankind: and therefore he calleth himself by that name, when he maketh his earnest prayer for Sodom and Gomorrah. And we read that Judith, Esther, Job, Jeremiah, with other holy men and women in the old Testament, did use sackcloth, and to cast dust and ashes upon their heads, when they bewailed their sinful living. They called and cried to God for help and mercy, with such a ceremony of sackcloth, dust, and ashes, that thereby they might declare to the whole world what an humble and lowly estimation they had of themselves, and how well they remembered their name and title aforesaid, their vile, corrupt, frail nature, dust, earth, and ashes. The book of Wisdom also, Jud. iv. [10]. & ix. [1]. Job xiii. [12]. Jer. vi. [26]. & xxv. [34]. Wisd. vii. [1].

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[a] A sermon] An homily 1547.

[b] name] named 1563.

[c] in] of 1595.

[d] warn] admonish 1547.

[e] thy] *wanting* 1547.

[f] into dust] and into dust 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.

willing to pull down our proud stomachs, moveth us diligently to remember our mortal and earthly generation, which we have all of him that was first made; and that all men, as well kings as subjects, come into this world, and go out of the same, in like sort: that is, as of ourselves, full miserable, as we may daily see. And Almighty God commanded his prophet Isaiah to make a proclamation, and cry to the whole world: and, Isaiah asking, *What shall I cry?* the Lord answered, Cry, that *all flesh is grass, and that all the glory thereof*[g] *is but as the flower of the field; when the grass is withered, the flower falleth away, when the wind of the Lord bloweth upon it. The people surely is grass, the which drieth*[h] *up, and the flower fadeth away.* And the holy prophet[i] Job, having in himself great experience of the miserable and sinful estate of man, doth open the same to the world in these words, *Man,* saith he, *that is born of a woman, living but a short time, is full of manifold miseries: he springeth up like a flower, and fadeth again, vanishing*[k] *away as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one state. And dost thou judge it meet, O Lord, to open thine eyes upon such a one, and to bring him to judgment with thee? Who can make him clean, that is conceived of an unclean seed?* And all men, of their evilness and natural proneness, be[l] so universally given to sin, that, as the scripture saith, *God repented that ever he made man.* And by sin his indignation was so much provoked against the world, that he drowned all the world with Noah's flood, except Noah himself and his little household. It is not without great cause that the scripture of God doth so many times call all men here in this world by this word, *earth. O thou earth, earth, earth,* saith Jeremiah, *hear the word of the Lord.* This our right name, calling[m], and title—*earth, earth, earth*—pronounced by the prophet, sheweth what we be indeed, by whatsoever other style, title, or dignity men do call us. Thus he plainly named[n] us, who knoweth best both what we be, and what we ought of right to be called. And thus he setteth us forth[o], speaking by his faithful

Isai. xl. [6, 7].

Job xiv. [1—4].

Gen. vi. [6], & viii. [17].

Jer. xxii. [29].

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[g] glory thereof] glory of man thereof 1547.

[h] drieth] driveth 1563.

[i] prophet] man 1623.

[k] vanishing] vanisheth 1582, 1623.

[l] be] were 1547.

[m] calling] vocation 1547.

[n] named] nameth 1547.

[o] setteth us forth] describeth us 1547.

apostle Saint Paul, *All men, Jews and Gentiles, are under sin: there is none righteous, no, not one. There is none that understandeth; there is none that seeketh after God: they are all gone out of the way; they are all unprofitable; there is none that doth good, no, not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre: with their tongues they have used craft and deceit; the poison of serpents is under their lips; their mouth is full of cursing and bitterness: their feet are swift to shed blood; destruction and wretchedness are in their ways; and the way of peace have they not known: there is no fear of God before their eyes.* And in another place Saint Paul writeth thus, *God hath wrapped all nations in unbelief, that he might have mercy on all. The scripture shutteth up*[p] *all under sin, that the promise by the faith of Jesu Christ*[q] *should be given unto them that believe.* Saint Paul in many places painteth us out in our colours, calling us *the children of the wrath of God* when we be born: saying also, that *we cannot think a good thought of ourselves*, much less can we[r] say well, or do well of ourselves. And the wise man saith in the book of Proverbs, *The just man falleth seven times a day.* The most tried and approved man Job feared all his works. Saint John Baptist[s], *being sanctified in his mother's womb*, and praised before he was born; being called[t] an angel, and great before the Lord; filled[u] even from his birth with the Holy Ghost; the preparer of the way of[x] our Saviour Christ; and commended of our Saviour Christ to be *more than a prophet*, and *the greatest that ever was born of a woman*; yet he plainly granteth that he had need to be washed of Christ: he worthily extolleth and glorifieth his Lord and master Christ; and humbleth himself as unworthy to unbuckle his shoes; and giveth all honour and glory to God. So doth Saint Paul both oft and evidently confess himself, what[y] he was of himself; ever giving, as a most faithful servant, all praise to his master and Saviour. So doth blessed Saint John the evangelist, in the name of himself, and of all other

Rom. iii. [9–18].
Rom. xi. [32].
Gal. iii. [22].
Ephes. ii. [3].
[2 Cor. iii. 5].
Prov. xxiv. [16].
Luke i. [15].
[Luke vii. 26, 28].
Matt. iii. [11].

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[p] shutteth up] concludeth 1547.

[q] of Jesu Christ] in Jesus Christ 1547, of Jesus Christ 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[r] can we] we can 1547.

[s] Baptist] the Baptist 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[t] being called] called 1547.

[u] filled] replenished 1547.

[x] of] for *all the other editions.*

[y] what] that 1623.

holy men, be they never so just, make this open confession,
1 John i. [8, 10]. *If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us: if we knowledge*[z] *our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us*[a] *our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness. If we say we have not sinned, we make him a liar, and his word is not in us.* Wherefore the wise man, in the book called Ecclesiastes, maketh this
Eccles. vii. [20]. true and general confession, *There is not one just man upon the earth, that doth good, and sinneth not.* And Saint[b]
Ps. li. [3]. David is ashamed of his sin, but not to confess his sin. How oft, how earnestly, and lamentably doth he desire God's great
Ps. cxliii. [2]. mercy for his great offences, and that God should not *enter into judgment with him!* And again, how well weigheth this holy man his sins, when he confesseth, that they be so
Ps. xix. [12]. *many in number, and so hid,* and hard to understand, that it is in manner[c] unpossible *to know, utter, or number them!* Wherefore, he having a true, earnest, and deep contemplation and consideration of his sins, and yet not coming to the bottom of them, he maketh supplication to God to *forgive him his privy, secret, hid sins;* to the knowledge of the which[d] he[e] cannot attain unto[f]. He weigheth rightly his sins from the original root and spring-head; perceiving inclinations, provocations, stirrings, stingings, buds, branches, dregs, infections, tastes, feelings, and scents of them to continue in
Ps. li. [5]. him still. Wherefore he saith, *Mark and behold, I was conceived in sins.* He saith not *sin,* but, in the plural number, *sins;* forasmuch as out of one, as fountain[g], springeth
Mark x. [18]. Luke xviii. [19]. all the rest. Our Saviour[h] Christ saith, *There is none good but God;* and that we can do nothing that is good without
John xiv. [6]. him; nor *no man can come to the Father but by him.* He
Luke xvii. [10]. commandeth us all[i] to say, that *we be unprofitable servants, when we have done all that we can do.* He preferreth the
Luke xviii. [14.] penitent publican before the proud, holy, and glorious Pharisee. He calleth himself a *Physician, but not to them that*
Matt. ix. [12]. *be whole, but to them that be sick,* and have need of his salve for their sore. He teacheth us in our prayers to re-

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[z] knowledge] acknowledge 1623.
[a] us] *wanting* 1623.
[b] Saint] *wanting* 1623.
[c] manner] a manner 1623.
[d] the which] which 1623.
[e] he] we 1623.
[f] unto] *wanting* 1547.
[g] fountain] a fountain 1623.
[h] Our Saviour] And our Saviour 1547.
[i] all] also 1623.

knowledge ourselves sinners, and to ask righteousness[k], and deliverance from all evils, at our heavenly Father's hand. He declareth that the sins of our own hearts do defile our own selves. He teacheth that an evil word or thought deserveth condemnation, affirming, that *we shall give an account*[l] *for every idle word.* Matt. xii. [36]. He saith, *He came not to save but the sheep that were utterly lost and cast away.* Matt. xv. [24]. Therefore few of the proud, just, learned, wise, perfect, and holy Pharisees were saved by him; because they justified themselves by their counterfeit holiness before men. Wherefore, good people, let us beware of such hypocrisy, vain-glory, and justifying of ourselves[m].

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[a]THE SECOND PART OF THE SERMON OF THE MISERY OF MAN.

[b]FORASMUCH as the true knowledge of ourselves is very necessary to come to the right knowledge of God, ye have heard in the last reading, how humbly all godly men always have thought of themselves; and so to think and judge of themselves, are taught of God their Creator, by his holy word. For[c] of ourselves we be crab-trees, that can bring forth no apples. We be of ourselves of such earth, as can bring forth but weeds, nettles, brambles, briars, cockle, and darnel. Our fruits be declared in the fifth chapter to the Galatians. Gal. v. [22]. We have neither faith, charity, hope, patience, chastity, nor any thing else that good is, but of God: and therefore these virtues be called there *the fruits of the Holy Ghost*, and not the fruits of man. Let us therefore acknowledge ourselves before God, as we be[d] indeed, miserable and wretched sinners. And let us earnestly repent, and humble ourselves heartily, and cry to God for mercy. Let us all confess with mouth and heart, that we be full of imperfections. Let us know our own works, of what imperfection they be: and then we shall not stand foolishly and arrogantly in our own conceits; nor challenge any part of justification by our merits or works. For truly there be[e] imperfections in our

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[k] righteousness] forgiveness 1547.

[l] an account] account 1623.

[m] *In* 1547 *follows this sentence:* Let us look upon our feet, and then, down peacock's feathers, down proud heart, down vain clay, frail and brittle vessels.

[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.

[b] Forasmuch ——— his holy word] *wanting in* 1547.

[c] For] *wanting* 1547.

[d] be] *wanting* 1563.

[e] be] is 1547.

best works: we do not love God so much as we are bound to do, with all our heart, mind, and power: we do not fear God so much as we ought to do: we do not pray to God, but with great and many imperfections: we give, forgive, believe, live, and hope unperfectly[f]: we speak, think, and do unperfectly[f]: we fight against the devil, the world, and the flesh unperfectly[f]. Let us therefore not be ashamed to confess plainly our state of imperfection: yea, let us not be ashamed to confess imperfection, even in all our own[g] best works. Let none
Luke v. [8]. of us be ashamed to say, with holy Saint Peter, *I am a sinful*
Ps. cvi. [6]. *man.* Let us all[h] say, with the holy Prophet David, *We have sinned with our fathers; we have done amiss, and dealt*
Lukexv.[18]. *wickedly.* Let us all make open confession, with the prodigal son, to our Father, and say with him, *We have sinned against heaven, and before thee,* O Father: *we are not worthy to be*
Baruch ii. [6, 12]. *called thy sons.* Let us all say, with holy Baruch, *O Lord our God, to us is worthily ascribed shame and confusion, and to thee righteousness:* we *have sinned, we have done wickedly,* we *have behaved ourselves ungodly in all thy righteousness.* Let us all[i] say, with the holy prophet Daniel,
Dan. ix.[7,5]. *O Lord, righteousness belongeth to thee; unto us belongeth confusion. We have sinned, we have been naughty, we have offended,* we *have fled from thee,* we *have gone back from all thy precepts and judgments.* So we learn of all good men in holy Scriptures[k], to humble ourselves, and to exalt, extol, praise, magnify, and glorify God.

Thus we have heard how evil we be of ourselves: how, of ourselves, and by ourselves, we have no goodness, help, nor salvation; but contrariwise, sin, damnation, and death everlasting: which if we deeply weigh and consider, we shall the better understand the great mercy of God, and how our
2 Cor. iii. [5]. salvation cometh only by Christ. For in ourselves, as of ourselves, we find nothing whereby we may be delivered from this miserable captivity, into the which we were cast, through the envy of the devil, by breaking[l] of God's com-
Ps. xlix. [7]. mandment in our first parent Adam. We are all *become unclean:* but we all are not able to cleanse ourselves, nor to
Ephes. ii. [3]. make one another of us clean. We are by nature *the children*

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[f] unperfectly] imperfectly 1623.
[g] own] *wanting* 1623.
[h] all] *wanting* 1623.
us all] all us 1587, 1595.
[k] Scriptures] Scripture 1547, 1587, 1595.
[l] breaking] transgressing 1547.

of God's wrath; but we are not able to make ourselves the children and inheritors of God's glory. We are *sheep that run astray;* but we cannot of our own power come again to the sheepfold; so great is our imperfection and weakness. In ourselves therefore may not we[m] glory, which, of ourselves, are nothing but sinful; neither may we[n] rejoice in any works that we do; which all be so unperfect and unpure, that they are not able to stand before the righteous judgment-seat[o] of God: as the holy prophet David saith, *Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord; for no man that liveth shall be found righteous in thy sight.* To God therefore must we flee[p]; or else shall we never find peace, rest, and quietness of conscience, in our hearts. For he is *the Father of mercies, and God of all consolation.* He is the Lord, with whom *is plenteous redemption:* he is the God, which *of his own mercy saveth us;* and setteth out his charity and exceeding love towards[q] us, in that of his own voluntary goodness, when we were perished, he saved us, and provided an everlasting kingdom for us. And all these heavenly treasures are given us, not for our own deserts, merits, or good deeds, which of ourselves we have none, but of his mere mercy, freely. And for whose sake? Truly for Jesus Christ's[r] sake, that pure and undefiled Lamb of God. He is that dearly-beloved Son, for whose sake God is fully pacified, satisfied, and set at one with man. He is *the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world;* of whom only it may be truly spoken, that he did *all things well,* and *in his mouth was found no craft nor subtilty.* None but he alone may say, *The prince of the world came, and in me he hath nothing.* And he alone may also say[s], *Which of you shall reprove me of any fault?* He is the[t] high and everlasting Priest, which hath offered himself once for all upon the altar of the cross, and *with that one oblation hath made perfect for evermore them that are sanctified.* He is the *alone Mediator between God and man,* which paid our ransom to God *with his own blood;* and with that hath he *cleansed us all from sin.* He is the Physician, which healeth all our diseases. He is that Saviour which saveth his people *from all their sins.* To be short, he is that flowing and most plenteous

Eph. ii. [3]. 1 Pet. ii. [25].

Psal. cxliii. [2.]

2 Cor. i. [3].

Psal. cxxx. [7.] Tit. iii. 5.]

John i. [29].

1 Pet. ii. [22].

John xiv. [30]. John viii. [46].

Heb. vii. [27].

1 Tim. ii. 5, 6.]

1 John ii. [1].

Matt. i. [21].

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[m] not we] we not 1582, 1623.
[n] may we] we may 1547, 1563.
[o] judgment-seat] throne 1547.
[p] flee] fly 1563.
[q] towards] toward 1547.
[r] Christ's] Christ 1547.
[s] also say] say also 1547, 1587, 1595.
[t] the] that 1547.

[John i. 16.] [Col. ii. 3.] fountain, *of whose fulness all we have received. For in him alone are all the treasures of the wisdom and knowledge of God hidden:* and in him, and by him, have we from God the Father all good things, pertaining either to the body or to the soul. O how much are we bound to this our heavenly Father for his great mercies, which he hath so plenteously declared unto us in Christ Jesu[u] our Lord and Saviour! What thanks worthy and sufficient can we give to him? Let us all with one accord burst out with joyful voices[x], ever praising and magnifying this Lord of mercy, for his tender kindness shewed unto[y] us in his dearly-beloved Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

Hitherto have we heard what we are of ourselves: very[z] sinful, wretched, and damnable. Again, we have heard how that, of ourselves and by ourselves, we are not able either to think a good thought, or work a good deed; so that we can find in ourselves no hope of salvation, but rather whatsoever maketh unto our destruction. Again, we have heard the tender kindness and great mercy of God the Father towards[a] us; and how beneficial he is to us for Christ's sake, without our merits or deserts, even of his own mere mercy and tender goodness. Now, how these exceeding great mercies of God, set abroad in Christ Jesu for us, be obtained; and how we be delivered from the captivity of sin, death, and hell; it shall more at large, with God's help, be declared[b] in the next sermon[c]. In the mean season, yea, and at all times, let us learn to know ourselves, our frailty and weakness, without any cracking[d] or boasting of our own good deeds and merits. Let us also knowledge the exceeding mercy of God towards[e] us; and confess, that as of ourselves cometh all evil and damnation, so likewise of him cometh all goodness and salvation;

Hos. xiii. [9]. as God himself saith by the prophet Hosea, *O Israel, thy destruction cometh of thyself, but in me only is thy help and comfort.* If we thus humbly submit ourselves in the sight of God, we may be sure that, in the time of his visitation, he will lift us up unto the kingdom of his dearly-beloved Son, Christ Jesu our Lord: to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory for ever. *Amen.*

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[u] Jesu] Jesus 1587, 1595.
[x] voices] voice 1582, 1623.
[y] unto] to 1547, 1563, 1587.
[z] very] verily 1547, 1563.
[a] towards] toward 1547.
[b] declared] declared to you 1547.
[c] Sermon] Homily 1547.
[d] cracking] ostentation 1547.
[e] towards] toward 1547.

Cranmer

A SERMON[a]

OF

THE SALVATION OF MANKIND, BY ONLY CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR, FROM SIN AND DEATH EVERLASTING.

BECAUSE all men be sinners and offenders against God, and breakers of his law and commandments, therefore can no man, by his own acts, works, and deeds[b], seem they never so good, be justified and made righteous before God: but every man, of necessity, is constrained to seek for another righteousness or justification, to be received at God's own hands; that is to say, the forgiveness[c] of his sins and trespasses, in such things as he hath[d] offended. And this justification or righteousness, which we so receive of[e] God's mercy and Christ's merits, embraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full justification. For the more full understanding hereof, it is our parts and duty[f] ever to remember the great mercy of God; how that, all the world being wrapped in sin by breaking of the law, God sent his only Son our Saviour Christ into this world, to fulfil the law for us; and, by shedding of his most precious blood, to make a sacrifice and satisfaction, or, as it may be called, amends to his Father for our sins[g]; to assuage his wrath and indignation conceived against us for the same. Insomuch that infants, being baptized and dying in their infancy, are by this[h] sacrifice washed from their sins, brought to God's favour, and made his children, and inheritors of his kingdom of heaven. And they, which in act or deed[i], do sin after their baptism, when they turn[k] again to God unfeignedly, they are likewise washed by this sacrifice from their sins, in such sort that there remaineth not any spot of sin, that shall be imputed to their damnation. This is that justification, or righteousness, which Saint Paul speaketh of, when he saith, *No man is justified by the works of the law, but freely by faith in Jesus Christ.* And again he saith, *We believe in Jesu Christ*[l], *that we be*

The efficacy of Christ's passion and oblation.

Gal. ii. [16].

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[a] A sermon] An homily 1547.
[b] deeds] deed 1563.
[c] forgiveness] remission, pardon, and forgiveness, 1547.
[d] hath] had 1547.
[e] of] by 1547.
[f] duty] duties 1582, 1595, 1623.
[g] sins] sin 1547.
[h] this] his 1547.
[i] in act or deed] actually 1547.
[k] turn] convert and turn 1547.
[l] Jesu Christ] Christ Jesu 1547.

justified freely by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law; because that no[l] *man shall be justified by the works of the law.* And although this justification be free unto us, yet it cometh not so freely unto[m] us, that there is no ransom paid therefor at all.

Objection. But here may man's reason be astonied, reasoning after this fashion: If a ransom be paid for our redemption, then is it[n] not given us freely. For a prisoner that payeth[o] his ransom is not let go freely; for if he go freely, then he goeth without ransom: for what is it else to go freely, than to be set at liberty without payment[p] of ransom?

An answer. This reason is satisfied by the great wisdom of God in this mystery of our redemption; who hath so tempered his justice and mercy together, that he would neither by his justice condemn us unto the everlasting[q] captivity of the devil, and his prison of hell, remediless for ever without mercy; nor by his mercy deliver us clearly, without justice, or payment of a just ransom; but with his endless mercy he joined his most upright and equal justice. His great mercy he shewed unto us in delivering us from our former captivity, without requiring of any ransom to be paid, or amends to be made upon our parts; which thing by us had been impossible[r] to be done. And, whereas it lay not in us that to do, he provided a ransom for us; that was, the most precious body and blood of his own most dear and best beloved Son Jesu Christ; who, besides this[s] ransom, fulfilled the law for us perfectly. And so the justice of God and his mercy did embrace together, and fulfilled the mystery of our redemption. And of this justice and mercy of God, knit together, speaketh Saint Paul

Rom. iii. [23—25]. in the third chapter to the Romans, *All have offended and have need of the glory of God;* but *are*[t] *justified freely by his grace, by redemption which is in Jesu Christ; whom God hath sent*[u] *forth to us for a reconciler and peace-maker, through faith in his blood, to shew his righteousness.*

Rom. x. [4]. And in the tenth chapter, *Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness, to every man that believeth.* And in the

Rom. viii. [3, 4]. eighth chapter, *That which was impossible by the law, in-*

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[l] nó] do 1563.
[m] unto] to 1547.
is it] it is 1547.
[o] payeth] paid 1623.
[p] payment] paying 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[q] everlasting] perpetual 1547.
[r] impossible] unpossible 1587, 1595.
[s] this] his 1547.
[t] but are] *wanting* 1547.
[u] sent] set 1547, 1563.

asmuch as it was weak by the flesh, God sending his own Son in the similitude of sinful flesh, by sin damned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, which walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. In these foresaid places, the apostle toucheth specially three things, which must go together[x] in our justification. Upon God's part, his great mercy and grace: upon Christ's part, justice; that is, the satisfaction of God's justice, or the price of our redemption, by the offering of his body, and shedding of his blood, with fulfilling of the law perfectly and throughly: and upon our part, true and lively faith in the merits of Jesu Christ[y]; which yet is not ours, but by God's working in us. So that in our justification, is not only God's mercy and grace, but also his justice; which the apostle calleth the justice of God; and it consisteth in paying our ransom and fulfilling of the law. And so the grace of God doth not shut out[z] the justice of God in our justification; but only shutteth out[a] the justice of man; that is to say, the justice of our works, as to be merits of deserving our justification. And therefore Saint Paul declareth here nothing upon the behalf of man, concerning his justification, but only a true and lively faith; which nevertheless is the gift of God, and not man's only work without God. And yet that faith doth not shut out[b] repentance, hope, love, dread, and the fear of God, to be joined with faith in every man that is justified; but it shutteth them out[c] from the office of[d] justifying. So that, although they be all present together in him that is justified, yet they justify not altogether. Nor the[e] faith also doth not shut out[f] the justice of our good works, necessarily to be done afterwards[g] of duty towards God—for we are most bounden to serve God, in doing good deeds commanded by him in his holy Scripture, all the days of our life—but it excludeth them so that we may not do them to this intent, to be made good by doing of them. For all the good works that we can do, be unperfect; and therefore not able to deserve our justifi-

Three things must go together in our justification.

How it is to understand, that faith justifieth without works.

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[x] go together] concur and go together 1547.

[y] Jesu Christ] Jesus Christ 1582, 1623.

[z] shut out] exclude 1547.

[a] shutteth out] excludeth 1547.

[b] shut out] exclude 1547.

[c] shutteth them out] excludeth them 1547.

[d] of] or 1582, 1623.

[e] Nor the] Nor that 1547, 1563.

[f] shut out] exclude 1547.

[g] afterwards] afterward 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.

cation: but our justification doth come freely, by the mere mercy of God; and of so great and free mercy, that, whereas all the world was not able of theirselves to pay any part towards their ransom, it pleased our heavenly Father, of his infinite mercy, without any our desert or deserving, to prepare for us the most precious jewels of Christ's body and blood; whereby our ransom might be fully paid, the law fulfilled, and his justice fully satisfied. So that Christ is now the righteousness of all them that truly do believe in him. He for them paid their ransom by his death. He for them fulfilled the law in his life. So that now in him, and by him, every true christian man may be called a fulfiller of the law: forasmuch as that which their infirmity lacked[h], Christ's justice hath supplied.

THE SECOND PART OF THE SERMON OF SALVATION[a].

YE[b] have heard, of whom all men ought to seek their justification and righteousness; and how also this righteousness cometh unto men by Christ's death and merits. Ye heard also, how that three things are required to the obtaining of our righteousness; that is, God's mercy, Christ's justice, and a true and a lively faith; out of the which faith springeth good works. Also before[c] was declared at large, that no man can be justified by his own good works, that[d] no man fulfilleth the law, according to the full request of the law. And Saint Paul, in his epistle to the Galatians, proveth
[Gal. iii. 21.] the same, saying thus, *If there had been any law given, which could have justified, verily righteousness should have*
Gal. ii. [21]. *been by the law.* And again he saith, *If righteousness be by the law, then Christ died in vain.* And again he saith,
[Gal. v. 4.] *You that are justified by*[e] *the law are fallen away from grace.* And, furthermore, he writeth to the Ephesians on
Eph. ii. [8, 9]. this wise, *By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God; and not of works, lest any man should glory.* And, to be short, the

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[h] lacked] lacketh 1547, 1563.

[a] *The homily is not divided in* 1547.

[b] Ye . . . . springeth good works, *wanting in* 1547.

[c] Also before] Before 1547.

[d] that] because that 1547.

[e] by] in 1547.

sum of all Paul's disputation is this: that if justice come of works, then it cometh not of grace; and if it come of grace, then it cometh not of works. And to this end tendeth all the prophets, as Saint Peter saith in the tenth of the Acts, *Of Christ all the prophets* (saith Saint Peter) *do witness, that through his name all they that believe in him shall receive the remission of sins.* [Rom. xi. 6.] Acts x. [43].

And after this wise, to be justified only by this[f] true and lively faith in Christ, speaketh all the old and ancient authors both Greeks and Latins. Of whom I will specially rehearse three—Hilary, Basil, and Ambrose. St. Hilary saith these words plainly in the ninth Canon upon Matthew, "Faith only justifieth[2]." And St. Basil, a Greek author, writeth thus[g]; "This is a perfect and a whole[h] rejoicing in God, when a man advanceth[i] not himself for his own righteousness, but knowledge[k] himself to lack true justice and righteousness, and to be justified by the only faith in Christ. And Paul, saith he[l], doth glory in the contempt of his own righteousness, and that he looketh for the righteousness of God, by faith[3]." These be the very words of St. Basil. And St. Ambrose, a Latin author, saith these words, "This is the ordinance of God, that they which believe[m] in Christ should

Faith only justifieth, is the doctrine of old doctors.

Phil. iii. [9].

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[f] this] his 1587, 1595.

[g] In the edition of 1547 by Grafton dated the last day of July, the following is the extract from St Basil: *This is a perfect and an whole glorying in God, when a man doth not boast himself for his own justice, but knoweth himself certainly to be unworthy of true justice, but to be justified by only faith in Christ.* In the edition by Whitchurche, dated August 20, in the same year, (with one or two slight exceptions, which are noted below) the passage stands as in the present text.

[h] and a whole] and whole 1623.

[i] advanceth] avaunteth 1547; avaunceth 1563, 1587.

[k] knowledge] knowlegeth 1547; knowledgeth 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[l] Paul (saith he)] Paule sayeth, he 1547.

[m] that they which believe] that he which believeth 1547; that which believe 1563; that we which believe 1587, 1595.

[2] [Movet Scribas remissum ab homine peccatum; hominem enim tantum in Jesu Christo contuebantur. Et remissum est ab eo, quod lex laxare non poterat: fides enim sola justificat. S. Hilar. Pictav. Commentar. in Matth. c. VIII; col. 646, D, ed. Paris. 1693.]

[3] [Αὕτη γὰρ δὴ ἡ τέλεια καὶ ὁλόκληρος καύχησις ἐν Θεῷ, ὅτε μήτε ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνῃ τὶς ἐπαίρεται τῇ ἑαυτοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔγνω μὲν ἐνδεῆ ὄντα ἑαυτὸν δικαιοσύνης ἀληθοῦς, πίστει δὲ μόνῃ τῇ εἰς Χριστὸν δεδικαιωμένον. Καὶ καυχᾶται Παῦλος ἐπὶ τῷ καταφρονῆσαι τῆς ἑαυτοῦ δικαιοσύνης, ζητεῖν δὲ τὴν διὰ Χριστοῦ, τὴν ἐκ Θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει. S. Basil. Homil. XXII. Tom. i. p. 473, B, C; ed. Paris. 1638.]

be saved without works, by faith only, freely receiving remission of their[n] sins[1]." Consider diligently these words: without works,—by faith only,—freely we receive remission of our sins. What can be spoken more plainly than to say, that freely without works, by faith only, we obtain remission of our sins? These and other like sentences, that we be justified by faith only, freely and without works, we do read ofttimes in the most best and ancient writers. As beside Hilary, Basil, and St. Ambrose before rehearsed, we read the same in Origen[2], St. Chrysostom[3], St. Cyprian[4], St. Augustine[5], Prosper[6], Œcumenius[7], [o]Photius[8], Bernardus[9], Anselm[10], and many other authors, Greek and Latin[11].

Faith alone, how it is to be understand.

Nevertheless, this sentence,—that we be justified by faith only,—is not so meant of them, that the said justifying faith is alone in man, without true repentance, hope, charity, dread, and the fear[p] of God, at any time and[q] season. Nor when they say that "we be justified freely," they mean not that we should or might afterward be idle, and that nothing should be

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[n] their] his 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.
[o] Photius] Procius 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.]
[p] the fear] fear 1547.
[q] and] or 1547.

[1] [Quia hoc constitutum est a Deo, ut qui credit in Christum salvus sit sine opere, sola fide, gratis accipiens remissionem peccatorum. S. Ambros. in Epist. I. ad Corinth. I. 4. Cf. in Roman. c. iv.; ad calc. Opp. Tom. II. col. 112, D. ed. Paris. 1690.]

[2] [Origen. in Roman. Lib. III. Opp. Tom. IV. p. 516, D, E; Ed. Paris. 1759.]

[3] [S. Chrysostom. in Galat. c. iii. Tom. X. p. 698, A. Ed. Benedict. 1732.]

[4] [S. Cyprian. Testimon. adv. Judæos, Lib. III. c. xlii. p. 77, Oxf. 1682.]

[5] [S. Augustin. Liber de divers. Quæstion. § LXXVI. inter opp. Tom. VI. col. 48, E; Ed. Benedict. Antwerp. 1701.]

[6] [Prosper. de Vita Contemplativa, Lib. III. c. xxi; pp. 73, 74, Ed. Lugdun. 1539.]

[7] [Œcumen. in Roman. c. v. Tom. I. p. 242. C; Ed. Paris. 1631.]

[8] [Phot. Epist. pp. 1, 2; Ed. Montacut. Lond. 1651.]

[9] [Bernard. super Cantica, Serm. XXII. col. 624, G. Ed. Colon. 1620.]

[10] [Anselm. in Roman. c. iv. p. 25, D; c. v. p. 29, D; Opp. Tom. II. Ed. Colon. 1612.]

[11] [A numerous collection of similar passages, including several of the above, may be seen in Abp. Cranmer's "Notes and Authorities on Justification:" Miscellaneous Writings, pp. 203, et seqq. Parker Society ed.]

required on our parts afterward: neither they mean not so to be justified without our good works[r], that we should do no good works at all; like as shall be more expressed at large hereafter. But this saying[s] that "we be justified by faith only, freely, and without works," is spoken for to take away clearly all merit of our works, as being unable[t] to deserve our justification at God's hands: and thereby most plainly to express the weakness of man, and the goodness of God; the great infirmity of ourselves, and the might and power of God; the imperfectness of our own works, and the most abundant grace of our Saviour Christ; and therefore wholly to[u] ascribe the merit and deserving of our justification unto Christ only, and his most precious blood-shedding. This faith the holy Scripture teacheth[x]: this is the strong rock and foundation of christian religion: this doctrine all old and ancient authors of Christ's church do approve: this doctrine advanceth and setteth forth the true glory of Christ, and beateth down[y] the vain glory of man: this whosoever denieth is not to be counted[z] for a christian man, nor[a] for a setter-forth of Christ's glory; but for an adversary to[b] Christ and his gospel, and for a setter-forth of men's vain-glory. And although this doctrine be never so true—as it is most true indeed—that we be justified freely, without all merit of our own good works, as Saint Paul doth express it; and freely, by this lively and perfect faith in Christ only, as the ancient authors use to speak it; yet this true doctrine must be also truly understand[c], and most plainly declared; lest carnal men should take unjustly occasion thereby to live carnally, after the appetite and will of the world, the flesh, and the devil. And, because no man should err by mistaking of this doctrine[d], I shall plainly and shortly so declare the right understanding of the same, that no man shall justly think that he may thereby take any occasion of carnal liberty, to follow the desires of the flesh; or that thereby any kind of sin shall be committed, or any ungodly living the more used.

The profit of the doctrine of Faith only] justifieth.

What they be that impugn the doctrine of Faith only justifieth.

A declaration of this doctrine, Faith without works justifieth.

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r our good works] good works 1623.
s saying] proposition 1547.
t unable] insufficient 1547.
u therefore wholly to] thereby wholly for to 1547.
x teacheth] teacheth us 1623.
y beateth down] suppresseth 1547.
z counted] reputed 1547; accounted 1623.
a nor] not 1563, 1587.
b to] of 1547.
c understand] understood 1587, 1595, 1623.
d this doctrine] this true doctrine 1547.

First, you shall understand that in our justification by Christ, it is not all one thing, the office of God unto man, and the office of man unto God. Justification is not the office of man, but of God; for[e] man cannot make himself righteous[f] by his own works, neither in part, nor in the whole: for that were the greatest arrogancy and presumption of man that antichrist could set up[g] against God, to affirm that a man might by his own works take away and purge his own sins, and so justify[h] himself. But in[i] justification is the office of God only; and is not a thing which we render unto him, but which we receive of him; not which we give to him, but which we take of him, by his free mercy, and by the only merits of his most dearly-beloved Son, our only Redeemer, Saviour, and Justifier, Jesus Christ. So that the true understanding of this doctrine 'We be justified freely by faith without works, or that we be justified by faith in Christ only,' is not, that this our own act, to believe in Christ, or this our faith in Christ, which is within us, doth justify us, and deserve[k] our justification unto us—for that were to count ourselves to be justified by some act or virtue that is within ourselves—but the true understanding and meaning thereof is, that although we hear God's word and believe it; although we have faith, hope, charity, repentance, dread, and fear of God within us, and do never so many good works[l] thereunto; yet we must renounce the merit of all our said virtues, of faith, hope, charity, and all our[m] other virtues and good deeds, which we either have done, shall do, or can do, as things that be far too weak and insufficient, and unperfect, to deserve remission of our sins, and our justification. And therefore we must trust only in God's mercy, and that sacrifice[n] which our High Priest and Saviour Christ Jesus, the Son of God, once offered for us upon the cross, to obtain thereby God's grace, and remission, as well of our original sin in baptism, as of all actual sin committed by us after our baptism, if we truly repent and turn[o] unfeignedly to him again. So that, as St. John Baptist, although he

Justification is the office of God only.

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[e] for] or 1582, 1623.

[f] make himself righteous] justify himself 1547; making himself righteous 1563, 1587.

[g] set up] erect 1547.

[h] so justify] so to justify 1547.

[i] in] *wanting* 1547, 1582, 1623.

[k] deserve] merit 1547.

[l] good works] works 1623.

[m] our] *wanting* 1582, 1623.

[n] that sacrifice] in that sacrifice 1547.

[o] turn] convert 1547.

were never so virtuous and godly a man, yet in this matter of forgiving of sin, he did put the people from him, and appointed them unto Christ, saying thus unto them, *Behold, yonder is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world:* even so, as great and as godly a virtue as the lively faith is, yet it putteth us from itself, and remitteth, or appointeth, us unto Christ, for to have only by him remission of our sins, or justification. So that our faith in Christ, as it were, saith unto us thus: It is not I that take away your sins, but it is Christ only; and to him only I send you for that purpose, forsaking[p] therein all your good virtues, words, thoughts, and works, and only putting your trust in Christ. John i. [29].

THE[a] THIRD PART OF THE SERMON OF SALVATION.

IT[b] hath been manifestly declared unto you, that no man can fulfil the law of God; and therefore by the law all men are condemned: whereupon it followeth[c] necessarily, that some other thing should be required for our salvation than the law; and that is, a true and lively faith in Christ, bringing forth good works, and a life according to God's commandments. And also you heard the ancient authors' minds of this saying,—Faith in Christ only justifieth man,—so plainly declared, that you see[d], that the very true meaning[e] of this proposition, or saying[f], We be justified by faith in Christ only, according to the meaning of the old ancient authors, is this: We put our faith in Christ, that we be justified by him only; that we be justified by God's free mercy, and the merits of our Saviour Christ only, and by no virtue or good work[g] of our own, that is in us, or that we can be able to have, or to do, for to deserve the same; Christ himself only being the cause meritorious thereof.

Here you perceive many words to be used, to avoid contention in words, with them that delight to brawl about

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[p] forsaking] renouncing 1547.

[a] *The homily is not divided in* 1547.

[b] It hath . . . . so plainly declared that, *wanting in* 1547.

[c] followeth] followed 1563, 1587, 1595.

[d] that you see] Thus you see 1547.

[e] meaning] sense 1547.

[f] or saying] *wanting* 1547.

[g] good work] good works 1582, 1623.

words; and also to shew the true meaning, to avoid evil taking[h] and misunderstanding: and yet peradventure all will not serve with them that be contentious; but contenders will ever forge matters[i] of contention, even when they have none occasion thereto. Notwithstanding, such be the less to be passed upon, so that the rest may profit which will be more[k] desirous to know the truth, than, when it is plain enough, to contend about it, and with contentious and captious cavillation[l] to obscure and darken it. Truth it is that our own works do not justify us, to speak properly of our justification: that is to say, our works do not merit or deserve remission of our sins, and make us of unjust, just before God: but God of his own[m] mercy, through the only merits and deservings[n] of his Son Jesus Christ, doth justify us. Nevertheless, because faith doth directly send us to Christ for remission of our sins; and that by faith given us of God, we embrace the promise of God's mercy, and of the remission of our sins—which thing none other of our virtues or works properly doth—therefore Scripture useth to say, that faith without works doth justify. And forasmuch that it is all one sentence in effect to say, Faith without works, and, Only faith, doth justify us; therefore the old ancient fathers of the church, from time to time, have uttered our justification with this speech, 'Only faith justifieth us:' meaning none other thing than St. Paul meant, when he said, *Faith without works justifieth us.* [Gal. ii. 16.] And, because all this is brought to pass through the only merits and deservings of our Saviour Christ, and not through our merits, or through the merit of any virtue that we have within us, or of any work that cometh from us; therefore, in that respect of merit and deserving, we forsake[o], as it were, altogether again, faith, works, and all other virtues. For our own imperfection is so great, through the corruption of original sin, that all is unperfect[p] that is within us,—faith, charity, hope, dread, thoughts, words, and works; and therefore not apt to merit and deserve[q] any part of our justification for us. And this form of speaking

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[h] taking] talking 1595.

[i] matters] matter 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.

[k] more] most 1623.

[l] cavillation] cavillations 1547, 1563.

[m] own] mere 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.

[n] deservings] deserving 1547.

[o] forsake] renounce 1547.

[p] unperfect] imperfect 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.

[q] deserve] discern 1582, 1623.

use we[r] in the humbling of ourselves to God, and to give all the glory to our Saviour Christ, which is best worthy to have it.

Here you have heard the office of God in our justification, and how we receive it of him freely, by his mercy, without our deserts, through true and lively faith. Now you shall hear the office and duty of a christian man unto God:—what we ought on our part[s] to render unto God again for his great mercy and goodness. Our office is, not to pass the time of this present life unfruitfully and idly, after that we are baptized or justified; not caring how few good works we do, to the glory of God, and profit of our neighbours: much less is it[t] our office, after that we be once made Christ's members, to live contrary to the same; making ourselves members of the devil, walking after his enticements, and after the suggestions of the world and the flesh; whereby we know that we do serve the world and the devil, and not God. For that faith, which bringeth forth, without repentance, either evil works or no good works, is not a right, pure, and lively faith; but a dead, devilish, counterfeit, and feigned faith, as St. Paul and St. James call it. For even the devils know and believe that Christ was born of a virgin; that he fasted forty days and forty nights, without meat and drink; that he wrought all kind of miracles, declaring himself very God. They believe also, that Christ for our sakes suffered most painful death, to redeem us[u] from everlasting[x] death; and that he rose again from death the third day: they believe that he ascended into heaven, and that he sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and at the last end of this world shall come again and judge both the quick and the dead. These articles of our faith the devils believe; and so they believe all things that be written in the New and Old Testament to be true: and yet for all this faith they be but devils, remaining still in their damnable estate, lacking the very true christian faith. For the right and true christian faith is, not only to believe that holy Scripture, and all the foresaid articles of our faith, are true; but also to have a sure trust and confidence in God's merciful promises, to be saved from everlasting damnation by Christ: whereof doth follow a loving heart to obey

They that preach, Faith only justifieth, do not teach carnal liberty, or that we should do no good works.

The devils have faith, but not the true faith. [1 Cor. xiii. 2: James ii. 17.]

What is the true and justifying faith.

[r] use we] we use 1547.
[s] part] party 1547.
[t] is it] it is 1547.
[u] us] *wanting* 1582, 1623.
[x] everlasting] eternal 1547.

his commandments. And this true christian faith neither any devil hath, nor yet any man which in the outward profession of his mouth, and in his outward receiving of the sacraments, in coming to the church, and in all other outward appearances, seemeth to be a christian man, and yet in his living and deeds sheweth the contrary. For how can a man have this true faith, this sure trust and confidence in God, that by the merits of Christ his sins be forgiven[y], and he[z] reconciled to the favour of God, and to be partaker of the kingdom of heaven by Christ, when he liveth ungodly and denieth Christ in his deeds? Surely no such ungodly man can have this faith and trust in God. For, as they know Christ to be the only Saviour of the world, so they know also that wicked men shall not enjoy[a] the kingdom of God. They know that God hateth unrighteousness; that he will destroy all those that speak untruly; that those that[b] have done good works—which cannot be done without a lively faith in Christ—shall come forth into the resurrection of life, and those that have done evil shall come unto the[c] resurrection of judgment. Very[d] well they know, also, that to them that *be contentious, and to them that will not be obedient unto the truth, but will obey unrighteousness, shall come indignation, wrath, and affliction, &c.* Therefore, to conclude: considering[e] the infinite benefits of God, shewed and given[f] unto us mercifully without our deserts; who hath not only created us of nothing, and from a piece of vile clay, of his infinite goodness, hath exalted us, as touching our soul, unto his own similitude and likeness; but also, whereas we were condemned to hell and death everlasting[g], hath given his own natural Son, being God eternal, immortal, and equal unto himself in power and glory, to be incarnated, and to take our mortal nature upon him, with the infirmities of the same; and in the same nature to suffer most shameful and painful death for our offences, to the intent to justify us, and to restore us to life everlasting; so making us also his dear[h] children, brethren unto his only Son our Saviour Christ, and inheritors for ever with him of his eternal kingdom of heaven. These great and merciful

They that continue in evil living have not true faith.

Psal. v. [5, 6].

[Rom. ii. 8].

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y forgiven] remitted 1547.
z he] be 1582, 1623.
a enjoy] possess 1547.
b that] which 1582, 1623.
c the] *wanting* 1563, 1587, 1595.
d Very] And very 1547.
e considering] consider? 1547.
f given] exhibited 1547.
g everlasting] eternal 1547.
h dear] dear beloved 1547, 1587, 1595.

benefits of God, if they be well considered, do neither minister unto us occasion to be idle, and to live without doing any good works; neither yet stirreth us up[i] by any means to do evil things: but contrariwise, if we be not desperate persons, and our hearts harder than stones, they move us to render ourselves unto God wholly, with all our will, hearts, might, and power; to serve him in all good deeds, obeying his commandments during our lives; to seek in all things his glory and honour, not our sensual pleasures and vain-glory; evermore dreading willingly to offend such a merciful God and loving Redeemer, in word, thought, or deed. And the said benefits of God, deeply considered, move us[k], for his sake, also to be ever ready to give ourselves to our neighbours; and, as much as lieth in us, to study with all our endeavour to do good to every man. These be the fruits of true faith[l]: to do good as much as lieth in us to every man; and, above all things, and in all things, to advance[m] the glory of God; of whom only we have our sanctification, justification, salvation and redemption. To whom be ever glory, praise, and honour, world without end. *Amen.*

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[i] stirreth us up] stirreth us 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.

[k] move us] do move us 1547.

[l] true faith] the true faith 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.

[m] advance] avaunce 1547, 1563.

A SHORT DECLARATION
OF
THE TRUE, LIVELY, AND CHRISTIAN FAITH.

Faith.

THE first coming[a] unto God, good christian people, is through faith, whereby, as it is declared in the last sermon, we be justified before God. And lest any man should be deceived, for lack of right understanding thereof[b], it is diligently to be noted, that faith is taken in the Scripture two manner of ways. There is one faith, which in Scripture is called a dead faith; which bringeth forth no good works, but is idle, barren, and unfruitful. And this faith, by the holy apostle St. James, is compared to *the faith of devils;* which believe God to be true and just, *and tremble* for fear, yet they do nothing well, but all evil. And such a manner of faith have the wicked and naughty christian people; *which confess God,* as St. Paul saith, *in their mouth, but deny him in their deeds; being abominable, and without the right faith, and to all good works reproveable.* And this faith is a persuasion and belief in man's heart, whereby he knoweth that there is a God, and agreeth[c] unto all truth of God's most holy word, contained in holy[d] Scripture. So that it consisteth only in believing in[e] the word of God, that it is true. And this is not properly called faith. But as he that readeth Cæsar's Commentaries, believing the same to be true, hath thereby a knowledge of Cæsar's life and notable[f] acts, because he believeth the history of Cæsar, yet it is not properly said, that he believeth in Cæsar, of whom he looketh for no help nor benefit: even so, he that believeth that all that is spoken of God in the Bible is true, and yet liveth so ungodly that he cannot look to enjoy the promises and benefits of God; although it may be said that such a man hath a faith and belief to the words of God; yet it is not properly said that he believeth in God, or hath such a faith and trust in God, whereby he may surely look for grace, mercy, and everlasting[g] life at God's hand, but rather for indignation and punishment, according to the merits of his

A dead faith.

James ii. [19].

Tit. i. [16].

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[a] coming] entry 1547.
[b] thereof] hereof 1547.
[c] agreeth] assenteth 1547.
[d] in holy] in the holy 1582, 1623.
[e] in] of 1547.
[f] notable] noble 1547.
[g] everlasting] eternal 1547.

wicked life. For, as it is written in a book intituled to be of Didymus Alexandrinus[h], "Forasmuch as faith without works is dead, it is not now faith, as a dead man is not a man[2]." This dead faith, therefore, is not the[i] sure and substantial faith which saveth sinners.

A lively faith.

Another faith there is in Scripture, which is not, as the foresaid faith, idle, unfruitful, and dead, but *worketh by charity*, as St. Paul declareth, Gal. v.; which as the other vain faith is called a dead faith, so may this be called a quick or lively faith. And this is not only the common belief of the articles of our faith; but it is also a true[k] trust and confidence of the mercy of God through our Lord Jesus Christ, and a stedfast hope of all good things to be received at God's hand: and that, although we, through infirmity, or temptation of our[l] ghostly enemy, do fall from him by sin; yet, if we return again unto him by true repentance, that he will forgive and forget our offences for his Son's sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ, and will make us inheritors with him of his everlasting kingdom: and that in the mean time, until that kingdom come, he will be our protector and defender in all perils and dangers, whatsoever do chance: and that, though sometime he doth[m] send us sharp adversity, yet that evermore he will be a loving Father unto us; correcting us for our sin, but not withdrawing his mercy finally from us, if we trust in him, and commit ourselves wholly unto him, hang only upon him, and call upon him, ready to obey and serve him. This is the true, lively, and unfeigned christian faith, and is not in the mouth and outward profession only, but it liveth, and stirreth inwardly in the heart. And this faith is not without hope and trust in God; nor without the love of God and of our neighbours; nor without the fear of God; nor without the desire to hear God's word, and to follow the same in eschewing evil, and doing gladly all good works. This faith, as St. Paul describeth it, is the sure ground and foundation of the benefits which we

[Gal. v. 6.]

[Heb. xi. [1.]]

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[h] Alexandrinus] Alexandrius 1582, 1623.
[i] the] that 1547.
[k] true] sure 1547, 1587.
[l] our] the 1587.
[m] doth] do 1547.

[2] [Notandum scilicet, qua cum fides mortua sit præter opera, jam neque fides est. Nam neque homo mortuus homo est. Didym. Alexand. in epist. B. Jacobi, c. II.: apud Biblioth. Patrum, Tom. IX. col. 55, B; ed. Paris. 1624.]

ought to look for, and trust to receive of God; a certificate and sure looking for[n] them, although they yet sensibly appear not unto us. And after he saith, *He that cometh to God must believe, both that he is, and that he is a merciful rewarder of well-doers.* And nothing commendeth good men unto God so much as this assured faith and trust in him.

[Heb. xi. 6.]

Three things are to be noted of faith.

Of this faith three things are specially to be noted. First, that this faith doth not lie dead in the heart, but is lively and fruitful in bringing forth good works. Second[o], that without it can no good works be done[p], that shall be acceptable and pleasant to God. Third[q], what manner of good works they be that this faith doth bring forth.

Faith is full of good works.

For the first. As[r] the light cannot be hid, but will shew forth itself at one place or other; so a true faith cannot be kept secret, but when occasion is offered, it will break out and shew itself by good works. And as the living body of a man ever exerciseth such things as belongeth[s] to a natural and living body, for nourishment and preservation of the same, as it hath need, opportunity, and occasion; even so the soul that hath a lively faith in it, will be doing alway some good work, which shall declare that it is living, and will not be unoccupied. Therefore, when men hear in the Scriptures so high commendations of faith, that it maketh us to please God, to live with God, and to be the children of God; if then they phantasy that they be set at liberty from doing all good works, and may live as they lust[t], they trifle with God, and deceive themselves. And it is a manifest token that they be far from having the true and lively faith, and also far from knowledge what true faith meaneth. For the very sure[u] and lively Christian faith is, not only to believe all things of God which are contained in Holy Scripture; but also is an earnest trust and confidence in God, that he doth regard us, and that he is careful over[x] us, as the father is over[y] the child whom he doth love; and that he will be merciful unto us for his only Son's sake; and that we have our Saviour Christ our perpetual Advocate and

[n] looking for] expectation of 1547.
[o] Second] Secondly 1623.
[p] done] doen 1547.
[q] Third] Thirdly 1623.
[r] As] That 1582.
[s] belongeth] belong 1623.
[t] lust] list 1623.
[u] sure] true 1587.
[x] that he is careful over] hath care of, 1547.
[y] is over] of, 1547.

Priest; in whose only merits, oblation, and suffering we do trust that our offences be continually washed and purged, whensoever we, repenting truly, do return to him with our whole heart, stedfastly determining with ourselves, through his grace, to obey and serve him in keeping his commandments, and never to turn back again to sin. Such is the true faith that the Scripture doth[z] so much commend; the which, when it seeth and considereth what God hath done for us, is also moved, through continual assistance of the Spirit of God, to serve and please him, to keep his favour, to fear his displeasure, to continue his obedient children, shewing thankfulness again by observing or keeping his commandments; and that freely, for true love chiefly, and not for dread of punishment, or love of temporal reward; considering how clearly, without our[a] deservings, we have received his mercy and pardon freely.

This true faith will shew forth itself, and cannot long be idle; for as it is written, *The just man doth live by his faith.* He neither sleepeth, nor is idle, when he would[b] wake, and be well occupied. And God by his[c] Prophet Jeremy saith, *that he is a happy and blessed man which hath faith and confidence in God. For he is like a tree set by the water-side, that spreadeth his roots abroad toward the moisture, and feareth not heat when it cometh; his leaf will be green, and will not cease to bring forth his fruit:* even so, faithful men, putting away all fear of adversity, will shew forth the fruit of their good works, as occasion is offered to do them.

Hab. ii. [4.]

Jer. xvii. [7, 8.]

THE SECOND PART OF THE SERMON OF FAITH[d].

YE[e] have heard in the first part of this Sermon, that there be two kinds of faith; a[f] dead and an unfruitful faith, and a faith lively, that worketh by charity: the first to be unprofitable; the second, necessary for the obtaining of our salvation; the which faith hath charity always joined unto it,

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[z] doth] doeth, 1582.
[a] our] *omitted* 1582.
[b] would] should 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.
[c] his] the 1587.
[d] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.
[e] Ye have heard .....what followeth] *wanting* 1547.
[f] a] an 1587.

and is fruitful, bringing[g] forth all good works. Now as concerning the same matter, you shall hear what followeth.

Eccles. xxxii. [24.] The Wise man saith, *He that believeth in God, will hearken unto his commandments.* For if we do not shew ourselves faithful in our conversation, the faith which we pretend to have is but a feigned faith, because the true christian faith is manifestly shewed by good living, and not by words only: as St. Augustine[1] saith, "Good living cannot be separated from true faith, which worketh by love." And St. Chrysostom[2] saith, 'Faith of itself is full of good works: as soon as a man doth believe, he shall be garnished with them.' How plentiful this faith is of good works, and how it maketh the work of one man more acceptable to God than

Heb. xi. of another, St. Paul teacheth at large in the eleventh chap-

Gen. iv. [4.] ter to the Hebrews, saying that *faith made the oblation of*

Gen. vi. [22.] *Abel better than the oblation of Cain.* This made Noah *to build the ark.* This made Abraham to *forsake his country*

Gen. xi. & xii. Eccles. xliv. [23.] *and all his friends,* and *go into a far country,* there to dwell among strangers. So did also Isaac and Jacob, depending, or hanging[h], only of the help and trust that they had in God. And when they came to the country which God promised them, they would build no cities, towns, nor houses; but lived like strangers in tents, that might every day be removed. Their trust was so much in God, that they set but little by any worldly thing; for that God had prepared for

[Heb. xi. 9.] them better dwelling-places in heaven, of his own foundation and building. This faith made Abraham ready at God's

Gen. xxii. [10.] Eccles. xliv. [20.] commandment to offer his own son and heir Isaac—whom he loved so well, and by whom he was promised to have innumerable issue; among the which, one should be born, *in*

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g bringing] and bringeth 1582. h or hanging] *wanting* 1547.

1 [In Evangelio Dominus loquitur, 'Veniet hora in qua omnes qui sunt in monumentis audient vocem ejus; et procedent qui bene fecerunt in resurrectionem vitæ, qui autem male egerunt in resurrectionem judicii.' Neque hic dictum est, hoc qui crediderunt, illud autem qui non crediderunt; sed hoc illi qui bene egerunt, illud qui male egerunt. Inseparabilis est quippe bona vita a fide quæ per delectionem operatur. Liber de fide et operibus, c. 23, Tom. VI. col. 138, D.]

2 [Οὐκοῦν ἅμα ἐπίστευσας, ἅμα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκόμησας, οὐχ ὅτι δὲ ἐλλείπῃ πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ' ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτὴν πίστις πλήρης ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων. Sermo de Fide et Lege Nat. ad calc. Tom. I. p. 826, D. Opp. ed. Paris. 1718.]

whom all nations should be blessed—trusting so much in God, that though he were slain, yet that God was able by his omnipotent power to raise him from death, and perform his promise. He mistrusted not the promise of God, although unto his reason every thing seemed contrary. He believed verily that God would not forsake him in dearth[i] and famine, that was in the country. And in all other dangers that he was brought unto, he trusted ever that God would be his God, and his protector and defender, whatsoever he saw to the contrary. This faith wrought so in the heart of Moses, that he *refused to be taken for king Pharaoh his daughter's son, and to have great inheritance in Egypt; thinking it better with the people of God to have affliction and sorrow, than with naughty men in sin to live pleasantly for a time. By faith he cared not for the threatening of king Pharaoh:* for his trust was so in God, that he passed not of the felicity of this world, but looked for the reward to come in heaven; setting his heart upon *the invisible* God, as if he had seen him ever present before his eyes. *By faith the children of Israel passed through the Red Sea. By faith the walls of Jericho fell down without stroke:* and many other wonderful miracles have been wrought. In all good men that heretofore have been, faith hath brought forth their good works, and obtained the promises of God. *Faith hath stopped the lions' mouths: faith hath quenched the force of fire: faith hath escaped the swords' edges: faith hath given weak men strength, victory in battle; overthrown the armies of infidels; raised the dead to life.* Faith hath made good men to take adversity in good part: some have been *mocked and whipped, bound and cast in prison; some have lost all their goods, and lived in great poverty; some have wandered in mountains, hills, and wilderness; some have been racked, some slain, some stoned, some sawn, some rent in pieces, some beheaded*[k], *some brent*[l] *without mercy, and would not be delivered, because they looked to rise again to a better state.*

Exod. ii. [11.] Heb. xi. [24–26.]

Exod. xiv. [22.] Josh. vi. [20.]

Dan. vi. [22.] Dan. iii. [25.] Heb. xi. [36–40.]

All these fathers, martyrs, and other holy men, whom St. Paul spake of, had their faith surely fixed in God, when all the world was against them. They did not

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[i] dearth] death 1582.

[k] beheaded] headed 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587.

[l] brent] burnt 1595.

only know God to be the Lord, Maker, and Governor of all men in the world; but also they had a special confidence and trust that he was, and would be their God, their comforter, aider, helper, maintainer, and defender. This is the christian faith, which these holy men had, and we also ought to have. And although they were not named christian men, yet was it a christian faith that they had: for they looked for all benefits[m] of God the Father, through the merits of his Son Jesu Christ, as we now do. This difference is between them and us, for[n] they looked when Christ should come, and we be in the time when he is come. Therefore saith St. Augustine[1], "The time is altered and changed, but not the faith." For we have both one faith in one Christ. *The same Holy Ghost also that we have, had they,* saith St. Paul. For as the Holy Ghost doth teach us to trust in God, and to call upon him as our Father, so did he teach them to say, as it is written, *Thou, Lord, art our Father and Redeemer; and thy Name is without beginning, and everlasting.* God gave them then grace to be his children, as he doth us now. But now, by the coming of our Saviour Christ, we have received more abundantly the Spirit of God in our hearts; whereby we may conceive a greater faith, and a surer[o] trust, than many of them had. But in effect they and we be all one: we have the same faith that they had in God, and they the same that we have. And St. Paul so much extolleth their faith, because we should no less but rather more give ourselves wholly unto Christ, both in profession and living, now when Christ is come, than the old fathers did before his coming. And by all the declaration of St. Paul it is evident, that the true, lively, and christian faith is no dead, vain, or unfruitful thing; but a thing of perfect virtue, of wonderful operation or working, and strength, bringing forth all good motions and good works.

2 Cor. iv. [13.]

Isai. lxiii. [16.]

All holy Scripture agreeably beareth witness, that a true lively faith in Christ doth bring forth good works; and therefore every man must examine and try[p] himself diligently, to know whether he have the same true lively faith in his

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[m] all benefits] the benefits 1587.
[n] for] that 1623.
[o] a surer] and surer 1587.
[p] and try] *wanting* 1547.

[1] [Tempora variata sunt, non fides. In S. Johan. Tract. XLV. Opp. Tom. IX. 227, A.]

heart unfeignedly, or not: which he shall know by the fruits thereof. Many that professed the faith of Christ were in this error, that they thought they knew God, and believed in him, when in their life they declared the contrary. Which error St. John in his first epistle confuting, writeth in this wise, *Hereby we are certified that we know God, if we observe his commandments. He that saith he knoweth God, and observeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him.* And again he saith, *Whosoever sinneth doth not see God, nor know him. Let no man deceive you, well-beloved children.* And moreover he saith, *Hereby we know that we be of the truth, and so we shall persuade our hearts before him. For if our own hearts reprove us, God is above our hearts, and knoweth all things. Well-beloved, if our hearts reprove us not, then have we confidence in God, and shall have of him whatsoever we ask, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that please him.* And yet further he saith, *Every man that believeth that Jesus is Christ, is born of God; and we know that whatsoever*[q] *is born of God doth not sin: but the generation of God purgeth him*[r], *and the devil doth not touch him.* And finally he concludeth, and shewing[s] the cause why he wrote this epistle, saith[t], *For this cause have I thus written unto you, that you may know that you have everlasting life which do believe in the Son of God.* And in his third Epistle he confirmeth the whole matter of faith and works in few words, saying, *He that doeth well is of God, and he that doeth evil knoweth not God.* And as[u] St. John saith, that as[x] the lively knowledge and faith of God bringeth forth good works, so saith he likewise of hope and charity, that they cannot stand with evil living. Of hope he writeth thus, *We know that when God shall appear, we shall be like unto him, for we shall see him even as he is. And whosoever hath this hope in him, doth purify himself, like as God is pure.* And of charity he saith these words, *He that doth keep God's word and commandment, in him is truly the perfect love of God.* And again he

1 John ii. [3, 4.]
1 John iii. [6, 7.]
1 John iii. [19–22.]
1 John v. [1, 18.]
1 John v. [12.]
3 John [11].
1 John iii. [2, 3.]
1 John ii. [5.]

[q] whatsoever] whosoever 1547, 1623.
[r] the generation of God purgeth him] he that is begotten of God purgeth himself 1623.
[s] shewing] sheweth 1582, 1587, 1623.
[t] saith] saying 1582, 1587.
[u] And as] And S. John, 1587.
[x] as] *wanting* 1547.

1 John v. [3] saith, *This is the love of God, that we should keep his commandments.* And St. John wrote not this as a subtile saying[y], devised of his own phantasy: but as a most certain and necessary truth, taught unto him by Christ himself, the eternal and infallible verity; who in many places doth most clearly affirm, that faith, hope, and charity cannot consist, or stand[z], without good and godly works. Of faith he saith, *He that believeth in the Son hath everlasting life; but he that believeth not in the Son shall not see that life, but the wrath of God remaineth upon him.* And the same he confirmeth with a double oath, saying, *Forsooth and forsooth*[a], *I say unto you, He that believeth in me hath everlasting life.* Now forasmuch as he that believeth in Christ hath everlasting life, it must needs consequently follow that he that hath this faith must have also good works, and be studious to observe God's commandments obediently. For to them that have evil works, and lead their life in disobedience and transgression, or breaking[b], of God's commandments, without repentance, pertaineth not everlasting[c] life, but[d] everlasting death, as Christ himself saith, *They that do well shall go into life eternal; but they that do evil shall go into the*[e] *everlasting*[f] *fire.* And again[g] he saith, *I am the first letter and the last, the beginning and the ending. To him that is athirst, I will give of the water of the well of life freely. He that hath the victory shall have all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my Son; but they that be fearful, mistrusting God, and lacking faith, they that be cursed people, and murderers, and fornicators, and sorcerers, and idolaters, and all liars, shall have their portion in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.* And as Christ undoubtedly affirmeth that true faith *bringeth forth good works*, so doth he say likewise of charity, *Whosoever hath my commandments, and keepeth them, that is he that loveth me.* And after he saith, *He that loveth me will keep my word, and he that loveth me not, keepeth not my words.* And as the love of God is tried

1 John v. [10.] John iii. [36.]

John vi. [47.]

Matt. xxv. [46.]

Rev. xxi. [6—8.]

Charity bringeth forth good works. John xiv. [21, 24.]

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[y] saying] proposition 1547.
[z] or stand] *wanting* 1547.
[a] forsooth] verily 1623.
[b] or breaking] *wanting* 1547.
[c] not everlasting] not to everlasting 1574, 1582, 1587.
[d] but] but to 1582, 1587.
[e] the] *wanting* 1547.
[f] everlasting] eternal 1547.
[g] And again] Again he saith, 1547.

by good works, so is the fear of God also; as the wise man saith, *The dread of God putteth away sin.* And also he saith, *He that feareth God will do good works.* Eccles. i [21.] Eccles. xv. [1.]

THE THIRD PART OF THE SERMON OF FAITH.

[a]YOU have heard in the second part of this Sermon, that no man should think that he hath that lively faith which Scripture commandeth, when he liveth not obediently to God's laws; for all good works spring out of that faith. And also it hath been declared unto you by examples, that faith maketh men stedfast, quiet, and patient in all affliction. Now as concerning the same matter, you shall hear what followeth.

A man may soon deceive himself, and think in his own phantasy, that he by faith knoweth God, loveth him, feareth him, and belongeth to him, when in very deed he doth nothing less. For the trial of all these things is a very godly and Christian life. He that feeleth his heart set to seek God's honour; and studieth to know the will and commandments of God, and to frame[b] himself thereunto; and leadeth not his life after the desire of his own flesh, to serve the devil by sin; but setteth his mind to serve God for his[c] own sake; and for his sake also to love all his neighbours, whether they be friends or adversaries, doing good to every man, as opportunity serveth, and willingly hurting no man; such a man may well rejoice in God, perceiving by the trade of his life that he unfeignedly hath the right knowledge of God, a lively faith, a stedfast[d] hope, a true and unfeigned love and fear of God. But he that casteth away the yoke of God's commandments from his neck; and giveth himself to live without true repentance, after his own sensual mind and pleasure, not regarding to know God's word, and much less to live according thereunto; such a man clearly deceiveth himself, and seeth not his own heart, if he thinketh that he either knoweth God, loveth him, feareth him, or trusteth in him.

Some peradventure phantasy in themselves that they belong to God, although they live in sin; and so they come

[a] You] 'You have heard ... followeth.' *wanting* 1547.
[b] frame] conform 1547.
[c] his] God's 1563, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[d] stedfast] constant 1547.

to the church, and shew themselves as God's dear children. But St. John saith plainly, *If we say that we have any company with God, and walk in darkness, we do lie.* Other do vainly think that they know and love God, although they pass not of the[e] commandments. But St. John saith clearly, *He that saith, I know God, and keepeth not his commandments, he is a liar.* Some falsely persuade themselves, that they love God, when they hate their neighbours. But St. John saith manifestly, *If any man say, I love God, and yet hateth his brother, he is a liar. He that saith that he is in the light, and hateth his brother, he is still in darkness. He that loveth his brother dwelleth in the light; but he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth; for darkness hath blinded his eyes.* And moreover he saith, *Hereby we manifestly know the children of God from the children of the devil: he that doeth not righteously is not the child of God, nor he that hateth his brother.*

John i. [6.] 1 John ii. [4.] 1 John iv. [20.] 1 John iii. [9—11.] 1 John iii. [10.]

Deceive not yourselves, therefore, thinking that you have faith in God, or that you love God, or do trust in him, or do fear him, when you live in sin: for then your ungodly and sinful life declareth the contrary, whatsoever you[f] say or think. It pertaineth to a christian man to have this true christian faith; and to try himself whether he hath it or no; and to know what belongeth to it, and how it doth work in him. It is not the world that we can trust to: the world, and all that is therein, is but vanity. It is God that must be our defence and protection against all temptation of wickedness and sin, errors, superstition, idolatry, and all evil. If all the world were on our side, and God against us, what could the world avail us? Therefore let us set our whole faith and trust in God, and neither the world, the devil, nor all the power of them, shall prevail against us. Let us therefore, good christian people, try and examine our faith, what it is; let us not flatter ourselves, but look upon our works, and so[g] judge of our faith what it is. Christ himself speaketh of this matter, and saith, *The tree is known by the fruit.* Therefore let us do good works, and thereby declare our faith to be the lively christian faith. Let us, by such virtues as ought to spring out of faith, shew our

Luke vi. [44.]

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[e] the] his 1547. [f] you] ye 1547. [g] so judge] to judge 1587.

election to be sure and stable; as St. Peter teacheth, *Endeavour yourselves to make your calling and choosing*[h] *certain by good works.* And also he saith, *Minister or declare in your faith, virtue*[i] *in virtue, knowledge in knowledge, temperance in temperance, patience again in patience, godliness in godliness, brotherly charity in brotherly charity, love in love.* So shall we shew indeed that we have the very lively christian faith; and may so both certify our conscience the better that we be in the right faith, and also by these means confirm other men. If these fruits do not follow, we do but mock with God, deceive ourselves, and also other men. Well may we bear the name of christian men, but we do lack the true faith that doth belong thereunto: for true faith doth ever bring forth good works; as St. James saith, *Shew me thy faith by thy deeds.* Thy deeds and works must be an open testimonial of thy faith: otherwise thy faith, being without good works, is but the devil's faith, the faith of the wicked, a phantasy of faith, and not a true christian faith. And like as the devils and evil people be nothing the better for their counterfeit faith, but it is unto them the more cause of damnation; so they that be christened, and have received knowledge of God and of[k] Christ's merits, and yet of a set purpose do live idly, without good works,—thinking the name of a naked faith to be either sufficient for them, or else setting their minds upon vain pleasures of this world, do live in[l] sin without repentance, not uttering the fruits that do belong to such an high profession,—upon such presumptuous persons and wilful sinners must needs remain the great vengeance of God, and eternal punishment in hell, prepared for the unjust[m] and wicked livers.

2 Pet. i. [10.] [2 Pet. i. 5, 7.] James ii. [18.]

Therefore, as you profess the name of Christ, good christian people, let no such phantasy and imagination of faith at any time beguile you; but be sure of your faith; try it by your living; look upon the fruits that cometh of it; mark the increase of love and charity by it towards[n] God and your

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[h] choosing] election 1547, 1623.

[i] virtue ...] minister or declare in your faith, virtue; in virtue, knowledge; in knowledge, temperance; in temperance, patience; again, in patience, godliness; in godliness, brotherly charity; in brotherly charity, love 1547. 1582, 1595, 1623 *agree with* 1547, *omitting* again. 1563 *agrees with the text, omitting* in love, *and* 1587, *omitting also* again.

[k] of] *omitted* 1587.

[l] live] living 1547.

[m] unjust] devil 1547, *omitted* 1563.

[n] towards] toward 1547.

neighbour; and so shall you perceive it to be a true lively[o] faith. If you feel and perceive such a faith in you, rejoice in it, and be diligent to maintain it and keep it still in you; let it be daily increasing, and more and more by[p] well working; and so shall you be sure that you shall[q] please God by this faith; and at the length[r], as other faithful men have done before, so shall you, when his will is, come to him and receive the end and final reward of your faith, as St. Peter
1 Pet. i. [9.] nameth it, *the salvation of your souls*. The which God grant us, that hath promised the same unto his[s] faithful: to whom be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

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o lively] and lively 1587.
p by] be 1547.
q shall] *omitted* 1587, 1595.
r the] *omitted* 1587, 1595.
s his] the 1587, 1595.

Cranmer

A SERMON[a]

OF

GOOD WORKS ANNEXED UNTO FAITH.

IN the last Sermon was declared unto you what the lively and true faith of a christian man is: that it causeth not a man to be idle, but to be occupied in bringing forth good works, as occasion serveth.

16

Now, by God's grace, shall be declared the second thing that before was noted of faith, That without it can no good work be done, accepted[b] and pleasant unto God. *For as a branch cannot bear fruit of itself,* saith our Saviour Christ, *except it abide in the vine; so cannot you, except you abide in me. I am the vine, and you be the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, he bringeth forth much fruit: for without me you can do nothing.* And St. Paul proveth, that Enoch[c] had faith, because he pleased God; *For without faith,* saith he, *it is not possible to please God.* And again, to the Romans he saith, *Whatsoever work is done without faith, it is sin.* Faith giveth life[d] to the soul; and they be as much dead to God that lack faith, as they be to the world whose bodies lack souls. Without faith, all that is done of us is but dead before God, although the work seem never so gay and glorious before man. Even as the[e] picture graven or painted is but a dead representation of the thing itself, and is without life, or any manner of moving; so be the works of all unfaithful persons before God. They do appear to be lively works, and indeed they be but dead, not availing to the everlasting[f] life: they be but shadows and shews of lively and good things, and not good and lively things indeed. For true faith doth give life to the works[g]; and out of such faith come good works, that be very good works indeed; and without faith[h] no work is good before God, as saith St. Augustine[1]: "We must set no good

No good work can be done without faith. John xv. [4, 5.]

Heb. xi. [5, 6.]

Rom. xiv. [23.]

16

[a] A sermon] An homily or sermon 1547.

[b] accepted] acceptable 1547, 1587, 1595.

[c] that Enoch] that the Eunuch 1563, 1574, 1582, 1623.

[d] life] light 1587, 1595.

[e] the] a 1547.

[f] everlasting] eternal 1547.

[g] works] work 1547.

[h] faith] it 1547, *omitted* 1563.

[1] [Quid ergo? Debemus nulla opera præponere fidei, id est, ut ante fidem quisquam dicatur bene operatus. Ea enim ipsa opera quæ

works before faith, nor think that before faith a man may do any good works[i]: for such works, although they seem unto men to be praiseworthy, yet indeed they be but vain, and not allowed before God. They be as the course of a[k] horse that runneth out of the way, which taketh great labour, but to no purpose. Let no man, therefore, saith he, reckon upon his good works before his faith; whereas faith was not, good works were not. The intent," saith he, "maketh the good works; but faith must guide and order the intent of man."

Matt. vi. [23.] And Christ saith, *If thine*[l] *eye be naught, thy whole body is full of darkness.* "The eye doth signify the intent," saith St. Augustine[2], "wherewith a man doeth a thing." So that he which doeth not his good works with a godly intent, and a[m] true faith that worketh by love, the whole body beside, that is to say, all the whole number of his works, is dark, and there is no light in them[n]. For good deeds be not measured by the facts themselves, and so discerned[o] from vices; but by the ends and intents for the which[p] they be[q] done. If a heathen man clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and do such other like works; yet, because he doeth them not in faith for the honour and love of God, they be but dead, vain, and fruitless works to him. Faith is it that doeth commend the work[r] to God: for, as St. Augustine[3] saith, "Whether thou wilt or no, that work that cometh not of faith is naught:" where the faith of Christ is not the foundation, there is no good work, what building soever we

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[i] works] work 1587, 1595.
[k] a] an *all except* 1563.
[l] thine] thy 1547.
[m] a] *wanting* 1547.
[n] in them] in it 1547.
[o] discerned] dissevered 1547.
[p] the which] for which 1547.
[q] be] were 1582.
[r] work] word 1563, 1587.

dicuntur ante fidem, quamvis videantur hominibus laudabilia, inania sunt. Ita mihi videntur esse, ut magnæ vires et cursus celerrimus præter viam. Nemo ergo computet bona opera sua ante fidem: ubi fides non erat, bonum opus non erat. Bonum enim opus intentio facit, intentionem fides dirigit. Enarrat. in Psalm XXXI. II. § 4: Opp. Tom. IV. col. 129, C.]

[2] [Oculum ergo hic accipere debemus ipsam intentionem qua facimus quidquid facimus, etc. De Sermone Domini, Lib. II. c. 45: Opp. Tom. III. Part II. col. 156. The paragraph which follows is also due to St. Augustine. See Contra Julian. Pelagian. Lib. IV. c. 33: Tom. X. col. 397, B.]

[3] [Omne enim, velis nolis, quod non ex fide, peccatum est. Contra Julian. Lib. IV. c. 32: Tom. X. col. 396, F.]

make. "There is one work, in the which be all good works, that is faith which worketh by charity[1]:" if thou have it, thou hast the ground of all good works; for the virtues of strength, wisdom, temperance, and justice, be all referred unto this same faith. Without this faith we have not them, but only the names and shadows of them; as St. Augustine saith: "All the life of them that lack the true faith is sin; and nothing is good without him that is the Author of goodness: where he is not, there is but feigned virtue, although it be in the best works[2]." And St Augustine, declaring this verse of the psalm, *The turtle hath found a nest where she may keep her young birds,* saith[3] that "Jews, heretics, and pagans do good works; they clothe the naked, feed the poor, and do other works of mercy: but because they be not done in the true faith, therefore the birds be lost. But if they remain in faith, then faith is the nest and safeguard of their birds:" that is to say, safeguard of their good works, that the reward of them be not utterly lost.

And this matter, which St. Augustine at large in many books disputeth, St. Ambrose[4] concludeth in few words, say-

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[1] [Opus ergo unum est, in quo sunt omnia, fides quæ per dilectionem operatur. S. August. Ennarat. in Ps. LXXXIX.: Tom. IV. col. 722, D.]

[2] [Omnis infidelium vita peccatum est, et nihil est bonum sine summo bono. Ubi enim deest agnitio æternæ et incommutabilis veritatis, falsa virtus est, etiam in optimis moribus. Lib. De vera Innocentia, § cvi. ad calc. Opp. August. Tom. X. col. 155.]

[3] [Quanti videntur præter Ecclesiam bona operari! Quam multi etiam pagani pascunt esurientem, vestiunt nudum, suscipiunt hospitem, visitant ægrotum, consolantur inclusum! Quam multi hæc faciunt! Quasi videtur parere turtur, sed non sibi invenit nidum. Quam multa multi hæretici non in Ecclesia operantur, non in nido pullos ponunt! Conculcabuntur et conterentur, non servabuntur, non custodientur . . . Permanendo ergo in fide ipsa fides nidus est pullorum tuorum. Enarrat. in Ps. LXXXIII. § 7: Tom. IV. col. 664, B, C.]

[4] [His ergo atque aliis malis in naturam humanam irruentibus, fide perdita, spe relicta, intelligentia obcæcata, voluntate captiva, nemo in se unde repararetur invenit; quia etsi fuit qui in naturali intellectu conatus sit vitiis reluctari, hujus tantum temporis vitam steriliter ordinavit, ad veras autem virtutes æternamque beatitudinem non profecit. Sine cultu enim veri Dei, etiam quod virtus videtur esse, peccatum est: nec placere ullus Deo sine Deo potest. De Vocatione Gentium, Lib. I. c. 3; Opp. Tom. IV. col. 514, F. ed. Paris. 1614.]

ing; "He that by nature would withstand vice, either by natural will or reason, he doth in vain garnish the time of this life, and attaineth not the very true virtues: for without the worshipping of the true God, that which seemeth to be virtue is vice."

And yet most plainly to this purpose writeth St. John Chrysostom[1], in this wise: "You shall find many which have not the true faith, and be not of the flock of Christ, and yet (as it appeareth) they flourish in good works of mercy: you[s] shall find them full of pity[t], compassion, and given to justice; and yet, for all that, they have no fruit of their works, because the chief work lacketh. For when the Jews asked of Christ, what they should do to work good
John vi. [29.] works, he answered, *This is the work of God, to believe in him whom he sent:* so that he called[u] faith the work of God.

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[s] you] ye 1547. [t] pity] piety 1582. [u] called] calleth 1547.

1 [Εὑρήσεις ἄνδρας συμπαθεῖς, ἐλεήμονας, δικαιοσύνῃ προσέχοντας· ἀλλ' οὐδὲις καρπὸς τοῖς ἔργοις, ἐπειδὴ ἡγνόησαν τὸ ἔργον τῆς ἀληθείας. Καλὰ μὲν γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλὰ δεῖ προηγεῖσθαι τὸ ἔργον τὸ ἀνώτατον. Καὶ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων ποτὲ λεγόντων πρὸς τὸν Κύριον, Τί ποιήσομεν, ἵνα ἐργασώμεθα τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Θεοῦ; ἀπεκρίνατο πρὸς αὐτοὺς, Τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ ἔργον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ἵνα πιστεύσητε εἰς ὃν ἀπέστειλεν ἐκεῖνος. Ὅρα πῶς τὴν πίστιν ἔργον ἐκάλεσεν. Οὐκοῦν ἅμα ἐπίστευσας, ἅμα καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἐκόμησας, οὐχ ὅτι δὲ ἐλλείπῃ πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, ἀλλ' ὅτι καθ' ἑαυτὴν πίστις πλήρης ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν ἔργων . . . οὐδέν ἐστιν ἔξω πίστεως ἀγαθόν. Ἐοίκασι δέ μοι, ἀδελφοὶ, ἵνα εἰκόνι τινὶ χρήσωμαι τοῦ λόγου, ἐοίκασιν οἱ ἔργοις κομῶντες ἀγαθοῖς, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας ἀγνοήσαντες, λειψάνοις νεκρῶν, καλὰ μὲν ἐνδεδυμένοις, αἴσθησιν δὲ τῶν καλῶν οὐκ ἔχουσι . . . Οὐ δεῖ μὲν τὴν πίστιν γυμνὴν εἶναι τῶν ἔργων, ἵνα μὴ ὑβρίζηται· πλὴν ἀνωτέρα τῶν ἔργων ἡ πίστις. Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τιμῇ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔδει πρῶτον προηγεῖσθαι τὸ ζῆν, καὶ οὕτω τὸ τρέφεσθαι· τὸ γὰρ συνέχον τὴν ζωὴν ἡμῶν ἐστιν ἡ τροφή· οὕτω δεῖ προηγεῖσθαι ἡμῶν τῆς ζωῆς τὴν εἰς Χριστὸν ἐλπίδα, τρέφεσθαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς. Τὸν μὴ τρεφόμενον ἐγχωρεῖ ζῆν πολλάκις, τὸν δὲ μὴ ζῶντα οὐκ ἐγχωρεῖ τρέφεσθαι . . . δεῖ μὲν τοῖς ἔργοις τρέφεσθαι, δεῖ δὲ πρὸ τῶν ἔργων τὴν πίστιν ἐνδύεσθαι· ἄνευ πίστεως τὸν ἐργαζόμενον ἔργα δικαιοσύνης οὐ δύνῃ παραστῆσαι ζήσαντα, ἄνευ δὲ ἔργων τὸν πιστὸν δύναμαι δεῖξαι καὶ ζήσαντα καὶ βασιλείας ἀξιωθέντα. Οὐδεὶς ἄνευ πίστεως ἔζησεν· ὁ δὲ λῃστὴς, πιστεύσας μόνον, ἐδικαιώθη. Καὶ μή μοι λέγε, οὐκ ἔσχε καιρὸν πολιτεύεσθαι· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐγὼ τοῦτο φιλονεικῶ, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο παρέστησα, ὅτι ἡ πίστις καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔσωσεν. Εἰ γὰρ ἐπέζησε τῇ πίστει, καὶ ἔργων ἠμέλησεν, ἐξέπιπτε τῆς σωτηρίας. Τὸ δὲ σκοπούμενον νῦν καὶ ζητούμενον, ὅτι καὶ ἡ πίστις καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἔσωσεν, ἔργα δὲ καθ' ἑαυτὰ οὐδαμοῦ τοὺς ἐργάτας ἐδικαίωσε. Sermo de Fide et Lege Naturæ, Tom. I. pp. 826, A, B, C, D. ed. Paris. 1718.]

And as soon as a man hath faith, anon he shall flourish in good works: for faith of itself is full of good works; and nothing is good without faith. And for a similitude he saith, that they which glister and shine in good works, without faith in God, be like dead men which have goodly and precious tombs, and yet it availeth them nothing. Faith may not be naked without good[v] works; for then it is[w] no true faith: and when it is adjoined to works, yet it is above the works. For as men, that be very men indeed, first have life, and after be nourished; so must our faith in Christ go before, and after be nourished with good works. And life may be without nourishment, but nourishment cannot be without life. A man must needs be nourished by good works; but first he must have faith. He that doeth good deeds, yet without faith, he hath no life[x]. I can shew a man that by faith without works lived, and came to heaven: but without faith never man had life. The thief that was hanged when Christ suffered, did believe only, and the most merciful God justified[y] him. And because no man shall say again[z], that he lacked time to do good works, for[a] else he would have done them; truth it is, and I will not contend therein, but this I will surely affirm, that faith only saved him. If he had lived, and not regarded faith and the works thereof, he should have lost his salvation again. But this is the effect that I say, that faith by itself saved him; but works by themselves never justified any man." Here ye have[b] heard the mind of St. Chrysostom; whereby you may perceive, that neither faith is without works, having opportunity thereto, nor works can avail to everlasting[c] life, without faith.

THE SECOND PART OF THE SERMON OF GOOD WORKS[d].

OF three[e] things, which were in the former Sermon especially[f] noted of lively faith, to be declared unto you, the first was, that faith is never idle, without good works,

[v] good] *wanting* 1547.
[w] it is] is it 1587.
[x] no life] not life 1547.
[y] justified] did justify 1547, 1587.
[z] say again] object 1547.
[a] for] or 1547.
[b] Here ye have] Here have ye 1547.
[c] everlasting] eternal 1547.
[d] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.
[e] Of three...without faith] *wanting* 1547.
[f] especially] specially 1582,1584,1595.

when occasion serveth: the second, that good works acceptable to God cannot be done without faith. Now to go forward[g] to the third part, that is[h], What manner of works they be which spring out of true faith, and lead faithful men unto everlasting[i] life.

What works they are that spring out of faith.

This cannot be known so well as by our Saviour Christ himself, who was asked of a certain great man the same question; *What works shall I do*, said a prince, *to come to everlasting life?* To whom Jesus answered, *If thou wilt come to*[k] *everlasting*[l] *life, keep the commandments.* But the prince, not satisfied herewith, asked farther, *Which commandments?* The Scribes and Pharisees had made so many of their own laws and traditions to bring men to heaven, besides God's commandments, that this man was in doubt whether he should come to heaven by those laws and traditions, or by the law[m] of God: and therefore he asked Christ which commandments he meant. Whereunto Christ made him a plain answer, rehearsing the commandments of God, saying, *Thou shalt not kill; Thou shalt not commit adultery; Thou shalt not steal; Thou shalt not bear false witness; Honour thy father and*[n] *mother;* and, *Love thy neighbour*[o] *as thyself.* By which words Christ declared, that the laws of God be the very way that doth[p] lead to everlasting life, and not the traditions and laws of men. So that this is to be taken for a most true lesson, taught by Christ's own mouth, that the works of the moral[q] commandments of God be the very true works of faith, which lead to the blessed life to come.

Matt. xix. [16, 17.]

Matt. xix. [18, 19.]

The works that lead to heaven, be the works of God's commandments.

But the blindness and malice of man, even from the beginning, hath ever been ready to fall from God's commandments. As Adam, the first man, having but one commandment, That he should not eat of the fruit forbidden; notwithstanding God's commandment, he gave credit unto the woman, seduced by the subtle persuasion of the serpent, and so followed his own will, and left God's commandment. And ever

Man, from his first falling from God's commandments, hath ever been ready to do the like; and to devise works of his own fantasy to please God withal.

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[g] forward] forth 1582, 1584, 1595.

[h] Now...that is] Now to proceed to the third part which in the former Sermon was noted in faith, that is to say, What... 1547.

[i] eyerlasting] eternal 1547.

[k] to] to the 1587, 1595.

[l] everlasting] eternal 1547.

[m] law] laws 1547, 1587.

[n] and] and thy 1582.

[o] neighbour] neighbours 1563.

[p] doth] do 1547.

[q] moral] mortal 1563.

since that time, all that came of him[r] hath[s] been so blinded through original sin, that they have been ever ready to fall from[t] God and his law, and to invent a new way unto salvation by works of their own device: so much, that almost all the world, forsaking the true honour of the only eternal living God, wandered about[u] their own fantasies; worshipping, some the sun, the moon, the stars; some, Jupiter, Juno, Diana, Saturnus, Apollo, Neptunus, Ceres, Bacchus, and other dead men and women. Some, therewith not satisfied, worshipped divers kinds of beasts, birds, fish, fowl, and serpents; every country[x], town, and house, in manner[y], being divided and setting up images of such things as they liked, and worshipping the same.

The devices and idolatry of the Gentiles.

Such was the rudeness of the people after they fell to their own fantasies, and left the eternal living God and his commandments, that they devised innumerable images and gods. In which error and blindness they did remain, until such time as Almighty God, pitying the blindness of man, sent his true prophet Moses into the world, to reprove and rebuke[z] this extreme madness, and to teach the people to know the only living God, and his true honour and worship. But the corrupt inclination of man was so much given to follow his own fantasies[a], and, as you would say, to favour his own bird that he brought up himself; that all the admonitions, exhortations, benefits, and threatenings of God could not keep him from such his inventions. For, notwithstanding all the benefits of God shewed unto the people of Israel, yet when Moses went up into the mountain to speak with Almighty God, he had tarried there but a few days when the people began to invent new gods: and, as it came in[b] their heads, they made a calf of gold, and kneeled down and worshipped it. And after that they followed the Moabites, and worshipped Baalpeor, the Moabites' god. Read the book of Judges, the book[c] of the Kings, and the Prophets; and there you shall find how unsteadfast the people were, how full of inventions, and more ready to run after their own

The devices and idolatry of the Israelites. Exod. xxxii.

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[r] all that came of him] all his succession 1547.
[s] hath] have 1582.
[t] fall from] decline from 1547.
[u] about] in 1547.
[x] country] region 1547.
[y] in manner] in a manner 1547.
[z] to reprove and rebuke] to reprehend 1547.
[a] fantasies] fantasie 1582.
[b] in] into 1547.
[c] book] books 1547, 1587, 1595.

fantasies, than God's most holy commandments. There shall you read of Baal, Moloch, Chamos, Melchom[d], Baalpeor, Astaroth, Bell, the Dragon, Priapus, the brazen Serpent, the twelve Signs, and many others; unto whose images the people, with great devotion, invented pilgrimages; precious[e] decking and censing them; kneeling down and offering to them; thinking that an high merit before God, and to be esteemed above the precepts and commandments of God. And where, at that time, God commanded no sacrifice to be made but in Jerusalem only, they did clean contrary; making altars and sacrifices every where; in hills, in woods, and in houses; not regarding God's commandments, but esteeming their own fantasies and devotions to be better than they. And the error hereof was so spread abroad, that not only the unlearned people, but also the priests and teachers of the people, partly by glory and covetousness were corrupted, and partly by ignorance blindly deceived with the same abominations: so much that, king Ahab having but only Elias a true teacher and minister of God, there were eight hundred and fifty priests that persuaded him to honour Baal, and to do sacrifice in the woods or groves. And so continued that horrible error, until the three noble kings, as Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, and Josiah, God's chosen[f] ministers, destroyed the same clearly, and brought again the people from such their feigned inventions, unto the very commandments of God; for the which thing their immortal reward and glory doth and shall remain with God for ever.

1 Kings xviii. [19.]

Religions and sects among the Jews.

And beside the foresaid inventions, the inclination of man to have his own holy devotions, devised new sects and religions, called Pharisees, Sadducees, and Scribes; with many holy and godly traditions and ordinances, as it seemed by the outward appearance and goodly glistering of the works, but in very deed all tending to idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy; their hearts within being full of malice, pride, covetousness, and all wickedness[g]. Against which sects, and their pretended holiness, Christ cried out more vehemently than he did against any other persons, saying and often rehearsing[h] these words, *Woe be to you, Scribes and Pha-*

Matt. xxiii. [25, 26.]

[d] Melchom] Mechom 1547.
[e] precious] preciously 1587, 1595.
[f] chosen] elect 1547.
[g] wickedness] iniquity 1547.
[h] rehearsing] repeating 1547.

risees, ye hypocrites! for you make clean the vessel without, but within ye[i] *be full of ravine and filthiness. Thou blind Pharisee and hypocrite! first make the inward part clean.* For, notwithstanding all the goodly traditions, and outward shews[k] of good works devised of their own imagination, whereby they appeared to the world most religious and holy of all men, yet Christ, who saw their hearts, knew that they were inwardly, in the sight of God, most unholy, most abominable, and farthest from God of all men. Therefore said he unto them, *Hypocrites, the prophet Isaiah spake full truly of you, when he said, This people honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me. They worship me in vain that teach doctrines and commandments of men; for you leave the commandments of God to keep your own traditions.* Matt. xv. [7—9.] Isai. xxix. [13.]

Man's laws must be observed and kept; but not as God's laws.

And though[l] Christ said, *They worship God in vain that teach doctrines and commandments of men,* yet he meant not thereby to overthrow all men's commandments; for he himself was ever obedient to the princes and their laws, made for good order and governance of the people; but he reproved the laws and traditions made by the Scribes and Pharisees, which were not made only for good order of the people, as the civil laws were, but they were set up so high[m], that they were made to be a right[n] and pure worshipping of God as they had been equal with God's laws, or above them: for many of God's laws could not be kept, but were fain to give place unto them. This arrogancy God detested, that man should so advance his laws, to make them equal with God's laws, wherein the true honouring and right worshipping of God standeth, and to make his laws for them to be left off[o]. God hath appointed his laws; whereby his pleasure is to be honoured. His pleasure is also, that all man's[p] laws, not being[q] contrary unto[r] his laws, shall be obeyed and kept, as good and necessary for every commonweal; but not as things wherein principally his honour resteth. And all civil and man's laws either be, or should be made, to bring in[s] men the better to keep God's laws; that

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[i] ye] you 1587.
[k] shews] shew 1547.
[l] though] although 1587.
[m] set up so high] so highly extolled 1547.
[n] be a right] be right 1582.
[o] to be left off] to be omitted 1547.
[p] man's] men's 1563, 1582, 1587.
[q] not being] being not 1547, 1563, 1587.
[r] unto] to 1587, 1595.
[s] bring in] induce 1547, bring 1623.

consequently, or followingly[t], God should be the better honoured by them. Howbeit, the Scribes and Pharisees were not content that their laws should be no higher esteemed than other positive and civil laws; nor would not have them called by the name of other temporal laws; but called them holy and godly traditions, and would have them esteemed, not only for a right and true worshipping of God, as God's laws be indeed; but also for[u] the most high honouring of God, to the which the commandments of God should give place. And for this cause did Christ so vehemently speak against them, saying, *Your traditions, which men esteem so high, be abomination before God.* For, commonly, of such traditions followeth the transgression or breaking[x] of God's commandments, and a more devotion in keeping[y] of such things, and a greater conscience in breaking of them, than of the commandments of God. As the Scribes and Pharisees so superstitiously and scrupulously kept the Sabbath, that they were offended with Christ because he healed sick men; and with his Apostles, because they, being sore hungry, gathered the ears of corn to eat upon that day. And, because his disciples washed not their hands so often as the traditions required, the Scribes and Pharisees quarrelled with Christ, saying, *Why do thy disciples break the traditions of the seniors?* But Christ laid to their charge[z], that they, for to keep their own traditions, did teach men to break the very commandments of God. For they taught the people such a devotion, that they offered their goods into the treasure-house of the temple, under the pretence of God's honour, leaving their fathers and mothers, to whom they were chiefly bound, unholpen: and so they brake the commandments of God, to keep their own traditions. They esteemed more an oath made by the gold or oblation in the temple than an oath made in the name of God himself, or of the temple. They were more studious to pay their tithes of small things than to do the greater things commanded of God: as works of mercy, or to do justice, or to deal sincerely, uprightly, and faithfully with God and man. *These*, saith Christ, *ought to be done, and the other not left undone*[a]. And, to be short,

Holy traditions were esteemed as God's laws.

[Luke xvi. 15.] Holiness of man's device is commonly occasion that God is offended.

Matt. xii. [10—14.]

[Matt. xii. 1, 2.]

Matt. xv. [2.]

[Mark vii. 11, 12.]

[Matt. xxiii. 16.]

Matt. xxiii. [23.]

[t] or followingly] *wanting* 1547.
[u] but also for] and also to be 1587.
[x] or breaking] *wanting* 1547.
[y] keeping] observing 1547, the keeping 1587.
[z] laid to their charge] objected against them 1547.
[a] undone] *wanting* 1547.

they were of so blind judgment that they stumbled at a straw, and leaped over a block: they would, as it were, nicely take a fly out of their cup, and drink down a whole camel; and therefore Christ called them *blind guides*, warning his disciples from time to time to eschew their doctrine. For although they seemed to the world to be most perfect men, both in living and teaching; yet was their life but hypocrisy, and their doctrine but sour leaven mingled[b] with superstition, idolatry, and overthwart[c] judgment, setting up the traditions and ordinances of man, in the stead[d] of God's commandments. [Matt. xxiii. 24.]

THE THIRD PART OF THE SERMON OF GOOD WORKS[e].

THAT[f] all men might rightly judge of good works, it hath been declared in the second part of this Sermon, what kind of good works they be that God would have his people to walk in; namely, such as he hath commanded in his Holy Scripture, and not such works as men have studied out of their own brain, of a blind zeal and devotion, without the word of God. And by mistaking the nature of good works, man hath most highly displeased God, and hath gone from his will and commandments[g]. So that thus you have heard how much the world, from the beginning until Christ's time, was ever ready to fall from the commandments of God, and to seek other means to honour and serve him, after a devotion found out[h] of their own heads; and how they did set up[i] their own traditions as high or above God's commandments; which hath happened also in our times (the more it is to be lamented) no less than it did among the Jews; and that by the corruption, or at the least[k] by the negligence, of them that chiefly ought to have preserved[l] the pure and heavenly doctrine left by Christ. What man, having any judgment or learning, joined with a true zeal unto God, doth not see and lament to have entered into Christ's religion

[b] mingled] mixed 1547.
[c] overthwart] preposterous 1547.
[d] in the stead] instead 1582, 1623.
[e] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.
[f] That ... commandments. So that] *wanting* 1547.
[g] commandments]commandment1587.
[h] found out] imagined 1547.
[i] did set up] extolled 1547.
[k] at the least] at least 1582, 1623.
[l] to have preserved] to have preferred God's commandments and to have preserved 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.

such false doctrine, superstition, idolatry, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses; so as by little and little, through the sour leaven thereof, the sweet bread of God's holy word hath been much hindered and laid apart? Never had the Jews, in their most blindness, so many pilgrimages unto images, nor used so much kneeling, kissing, and censing of them, as hath been used in our time. Sects and feigned religions were neither the fortieth[m] part so many among the Jews, nor more superstitiously and ungodlily abused, than of late days they have been among us. Which sects and religions had so many hypocritical and feigned works[n] in their state of religion, as they arrogantly named it, that their lamps, as they said, ran always over: able to satisfy not only for their own sins, but also for all other their benefactors, brothers, and sisters of religion[o], as most ungodly and craftily they had persuaded the multitude of ignorant people: keeping in divers places, as it were [marts[p]] or markets of merits; being full of their holy relics, images, shrines, and[q] works of overflowing abundance[r] ready to be sold. And all things which they had were called holy,—holy cowls, holy girdles, holy pardons, beads, holy shoes, holy rules, and all full of holiness. And what thing can be more foolish, more superstitious, or ungodly, than that men, women, and children, should wear a friar's coat to deliver them from agues or pestilence, or when they die, or when they be buried, cause it to be cast upon them, in hope thereby to be saved? Which superstition, although, thanks be to God, it hath been little used in this realm, yet in divers other realms it hath been and yet is[s] used among many, both learned and unlearned.

Sects and religions among Christian men.

But, to pass over the innumerable superstitiousness that hath been in strange apparel, in silence[t], in dormitory, in cloister, in chapter, in choice of meats and drinks[u], and in such like things; let us consider what enormities and abuses have been in the three chief principal points, which they called the three essentials, or three chief foundations[x] of religion, that is to say, obedience, chastity, and wilful poverty.

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[m] fortieth] forty 1587.
[n] and feigned] *wanting* 1547.
[o] religion] their religion 1547.
[p] marts] matters 1563, 1574.
[q] and] *wanting* 1587.
[r] of overflowing abundance] of supererogation 1547.
[s] is] it is 1582.
[t] silence] science 1587.
[u] drinks] in drinks 1547, 1563, 1587.
[x] or three chief foundations] *wanting* 1547.

The three chief vows of religion.

First, under pretence or colour of obedience to their father in religion (which obedience they made themselves), they were made free[y], by their rules and canons, from the obedience of their natural father and mother, and from the obedience of emperor and king, and all temporal power; whom of very duty, by God's laws, they were bound to obey. And so the profession[z] of their obedience not due, was a forsaking[a] of their due obedience. And how their profession of chastity was kept[b], it is more honesty to pass over in silence, and let the world judge of that which is well known, than with unchaste words, by expressing of their unchaste life, to offend chaste and godly ears. And as for their wilful poverty, it was such, that when in possessions, jewels, plate, and riches, they were equal or above merchants, gentlemen, barons, earls, and dukes; yet by this subtle sophistical term, *Proprium in communi*, that is to say, "Proper in common," they mocked[c] the world; persuading that notwithstanding all their possessions and riches, yet they kept[d] their vow, and were in wilful poverty. But for all their riches, they might neither[e] help father nor mother, nor other that were indeed very needy and poor, without the licence of their father-abbot, prior, or warden: and yet they might take of every man, but they might not give aught to any man, no not to them whom the laws of God bound them to help. And so, through their traditions and rules, the laws of God could bear no rule with them: and therefore of them might be most truly said that which Christ spake unto the Pharisees, *You break the commandments of God by your traditions: you honour God with your lips, but your hearts be far from him.* And the longer prayers they used by day and by night, under pretence or colour of[f] such holiness, to get the favour of widows and other simple folks, that they might sing trentals and service for their husbands and friends, and admit or receive them into their prayers[g], the more truly is verified of them the saying of Christ, *Woe be unto*[h] *you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you*

Matt. xv. [3, 8.]

Matt. xxiii. [14, 15.]

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[y] made free] exempted 1547.
[z] profession] possession 1582.
[a] forsaking] renunciation 1547.
[b] kept] observed 1547.
[c] mocked] deluded 1547.
[d] kept] observed 1547.
[e] neither] never 1582.
[f] or colour] *wanting* 1547.
[g] admit or receive them into their prayers] admit them into their suffrages 1547.
[h] unto] to 1547, 1563, 1587.

devour widows' houses under colour of long prayers; therefore your damnation shall be the greater. Woe be to you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! for you go about by sea and by land to make more novices, and new brethren; and when they be let in, or received[i] *of your sect, you make them the children of hell worse than yourselves be.*

Honour be to God, who did put light in the heart of his faithful and true minister, of most famous memory, king Henry VIII., and gave him the knowledge of his word, and an earnest affection to seek his glory, and to put away all such superstitious and pharisaical sects, by antichrist invented, and set up again[k] the true word of God, and glory of his most blessed name; as he gave the like spirit unto the most noble and famous princes, Jehoshaphat, Josiah, and Hezekiah. God grant all us, the queen's[l] highness' faithful and true subjects, to feed of the sweet and savoury bread of God's own word; and, as Christ commanded, to eschew all our pharisaical and papistical leaven of man's feigned religion: which, although it were before God most abominable, and contrary to God's commandments and Christ's pure religion, yet it was praised[m] to be a most godly life and highest state of perfection; as though a man might be more godly, and more perfect, by keeping the rules, traditions, and professions of men, than by keeping the holy commandments of God.

Other devices and superstitions.

And briefly, to pass over the ungodly and counterfeit religion, let us rehearse some other kinds of papistical superstitions and abuses, as of beads, of lady-psalters, and rosaries, of fifteen O's, of St Bernard's verses, of St Agathe's letters, of purgatory, of masses satisfactory; of stations and jubilees, of feigned relics, of[n] hallowed beads, bells, bread, water, palms[o], candles, fire, and such other; of superstitious fastings, of fraternities or brotherhoods[p], of pardons, with such like merchandise; which were so esteemed and abused to the great prejudice of God's glory and commandments, that they were made most high and most holy things, whereby to attain to the everlasting[q] life, or remission of sin. Yea also vain inventions, unfruitful ceremonies, and ungodly laws, decrees,

Decrees and decretals.

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[i] let in, or received] admitted 1547.
[k] again] against 1547, 1587, 1595.
[l] queen's] king's 1547, 1623.
[m] praised] extolled 1547.
[n] of] or 1582.
[o] palms] psalms 1582.
[p] fraternities or brotherhoods] fraternities of 1547,...brotherheads 1582,1587.
[q] everlasting] eternal 1547.

and councils of Rome, were in such wise advanced, that nothing was thought comparable in authority, wisdom, learning and godliness unto them; so that the laws of Rome, as they said, were to be received of all men as the four Evangelists, to the which all laws of princes must give place: and the laws of God also partly were left off[r], and less esteemed, that the said laws, decrees, and councils, with their traditions and ceremonies, might be more duly kept[s], and had in greater reverence. Thus was the people, through ignorance, so blinded with the godly shew and appearance of those things, that they thought the keeping[t] of them to be a more holiness, a more perfect service and honouring of God, and more pleasing to God, than the keeping of God's commandments. Such hath been the corrupt inclination of man; ever superstitiously given to make new honouring of God of his own head, and then to have more affection and devotion to keep[u] that than to search out God's holy commandments, and to keep them: and furthermore, to take God's commandments for men's commandments, and men's commandments for God's commandments; yea, and for the highest and most perfect and holy of all God's commandments. And so was all confused, that scant well-learned men, and but a small number of them, knew, or at the least would know and durst affirm, the truth, to separate or sever[x] God's commandments from the commandments of men. Whereupon did grow much error, superstition, idolatry, vain religion, overwhart[y] judgment, great contention, with all ungodly living.

An exhortation to the keeping of God's commandments.

Wherefore, as you have any zeal to the right and pure honouring of God; as you have any regard to your own souls, and to the life that is to come, which is both without pain and without end; apply yourselves chiefly above all thing[s][z], to read and to hear[a] God's word: mark diligently therein what his will is you shall do, and with all your endeavour apply yourselves to follow the same. First you must have an assured faith in God, and give yourselves wholly unto him; love him in prosperity and adversity, and dread to offend him evermore. Then, for his sake, love all men,

A brief rehearsal of God's commandments.

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[r] left off] omitted 1547.
[s] kept] observed 1547.
[t] keeping] observing 1547.
[u] keep] observe 1547.
[x] or sever] *wanting* 1547.
[y] overwhart] preposterous 1547, overthwart 1563, 1582.
[z] thing[s]] thing 1547, 1563, 1574.
[a] and to hear] and hear 1582.

friends and foes, because they be his creation and image, and redeemed by Christ, as ye are. Cast in your minds how you may do good unto all men unto your powers, and hurt no man. Obey all your superiors and governors; serve your masters faithfully and diligently, as well in their absence as in their presence; not for dread of punishment only, but for conscience sake, knowing that you are bound so to do by God's commandments. Disobey not your fathers and mothers, but honour them, help them, and please them to your power. Oppress not, kill not, beat not, neither slander, nor hate any man; but love all men, speak well of all men, help and succour every man as you may, yea, even your enemies that hate you, that speak evil of you, and that do hurt you. Take no man's goods, nor covet your neighbour's goods wrongfully; but content yourselves with that which ye get truly; and also bestow your own goods charitably, as need and case requireth. Flee all idolatry, witchcraft and perjury: commit no manner of adultery, fornication, nor other unchasteness, in will nor in deed, with any other man's wife, widow[b], maid, or otherwise. And travailing continually during your life thus in keeping[c] the commandments of God, wherein standeth[d] the pure, principal, and right[e] honour of God, and which, wrought in faith, God hath ordained to be the right trade and pathway unto heaven, you shall not fail, as Christ hath promised, to come to that blessed and everlasting[f] life, where you shall live in glory and joy with God for ever: to whom be praise, honour, and empery, for ever and ever. *Amen.*

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[b] widow] widow, or 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.

[c] keeping] the observing 1547.

[d] standeth] consisteth 1547.

[e] right] direct 1547.

[f] everlasting] eternal 1547.

A SERMON[a]

OF

CHRISTIAN LOVE AND CHARITY.

OF all things that be good to be taught unto christian people, there is nothing more necessary to be spoken of, and daily called upon, than charity; as well for that all manner of works of righteousness be contained in it, as also that the decay thereof is the ruin or fall[b] of the world, the banishment of virtue, and the cause of all vice. And forsomuch as almost every man maketh and frameth to himself charity after his own appetite; and, how detestable soever his life be both unto God and man, yet he persuadeth himself still that he hath charity; therefore you shall hear now a true and plain description or setting forth[c] of charity, not of men's imagination, but of the very words and example of our Saviour Jesus Christ. In which description or setting forth[c], every man, as it were in a glass, may consider himself[d], and see plainly without error whether he be in the true charity or not.

What charity is.

Charity is to love God with all our heart, all our life, and all our powers and strength. With all our heart[e]; that is to say, that our heart[e], mind, and study be set to believe his word, to trust in him, and to love him above all other things that we love best in heaven or in earth. With all our life; that is to say, that our chief joy and delight be set upon him and his honour; and our whole life given unto the service of him above all things, with him to live and die, and to forsake all other things rather than him: *for he that loveth his father or mother, son or daughter, house or land, more than me,* saith Christ, *is not worthy to have me.* With all our powers[f]; that is to say, that with our hands and feet, with our eyes and ears, our mouths and tongues, and with all other[g] parts and powers both of body and soul, we should be given to the keeping and fulfilling of his commandments. This is the first and principal part of charity; but it is not

The love of God.

Matt. x. [37.]

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[a] A sermon] An homily, 1547.
[b] or fall] *wanting* 1547.
[c] or setting forth] *wanting* 1547.
[d] himself] with himself, 1587.
[e] heart] hearts, 1547, 1563, 1587.
[f] powers] power, 1582.
[g] other] our 1582.

The love of thy neighbour.

the whole: for charity is also to love every man, good and evil, friend and foe; and whatsoever cause be given to the contrary, yet nevertheless to bear good will and heart unto every man: to use ourselves well unto them, as well in words and countenance[h], as in all our outward acts and deeds: for so Christ himself taught, and so also he performed in deed. Of the love of God he taught in this wise unto a doctor of the law, that asked him which was the great and chief commandment in the law, *Love thy Lord God,* said Christ, *with all thy heart, with all thy life*[i], *and with all thy mind.* And of the love, that we ought to have among ourselves each to other, he teacheth us thus, *You have heard it taught in times past, Thou shalt love thy friend, and hate thy foe: but I tell you, Love your enemies; speak well of them that defame*[k] *and speak evil of you; do well to them that hate you; pray for them that vex and persecute you; that you may be the children of your Father that is in heaven: for he maketh his sun to rise both upon the evil and good, and sendeth rain to just*[l] *and unjust. For if you love them that love you, what reward shall you have? Do not the publicans likewise? And if you speak well only of them that be your brethren and dear beloved friends, what great*[m] *matter is that? Do not the heathen the same also?* These be the very words of our Saviour Christ himself, touching the love of our neighbour. And forasmuch as the Pharisees, with their most pestilent traditions and[n] false interpretations and glosses, had corrupted and almost clearly stopped up this pure well of God's lively word, teaching that this love and charity pertained only to a man's friends, and that it was sufficient for a man to love them which do love him, and to[o] hate his foes; therefore Christ opened this well again, purged it and scowered it by giving unto his godly law of charity a true and clear interpretation, which is this; that we ought to love every man, both friend and foe: adding thereto what commodity we shall have thereby, and what incommodity by doing the contrary. What thing can we wish so good for us, as the eternal heavenly Father to

Matt. xxii. [37.]

Matt. v. [43—47.]

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[h] countenance] countenances 1582.
[i] life] soul 1623.
[k] defame] defame you 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587.
[l] just] the just 1582, 1623.
[m] great] greater 1582.
[n] and] *wanting* 1547.
[o] to] *wanting* 1582.

reckon[p] and take us for his children? And this shall we be sure of, saith Christ, if we love every man without exception. And if we do otherwise, saith he, we be no better than the Pharisees, publicans, and heathen, and shall have our reward with them; that is, to be shut out[q] from the number of God's chosen[r] children, and from his everlasting inheritance in heaven.

Thus of true charity Christ taught, that every man is bound to love God above all things; and to love every man, friend and foe. And thus[s] likewise he did use himself, exhorting his adversaries, rebuking the faults of his adversaries; and when he could not amend them, yet he prayed for them. First, he loved God his Father above all things; so much, that he sought not his own glory and will, but the glory and will of his Father. *I seek not,* said[t] he, *mine own will, but the will of him that sent me.* John v. [30.] Nor he refused not to die, to satisfy his Father's will; saying, *If it may be, let this cup of death go*[u] *from me; if not, thy will be done, and not mine.* Matt. xxvi. [39, 42.] He loved not[x] only his friends, but also his enemies; which in their hearts bare exceeding great hatred against him, and with[y] their tongues spake all evil of him, and in their acts and deeds pursued him with all their might and power, even unto death: yet all this notwithstanding, he withdrew not his favour from them; but still loved them, preached unto them of love, rebuked their false doctrine, their wicked living, and did good unto them, patiently taking[z] whatsoever they spake or did against him. When they gave him evil words, he gave none evil again; when they did strike him, he did not smite again; and when he suffered death, he did not slay[a] them, nor threaten them, but prayed for them, and did put[b] all things to his Father's will. *And as a sheep that is led unto the shambles to be slain, and as a lamb that is shorn of his fleece, maketh*[c] *no noise nor resistance; even so he went unto*[d] *his death without repugnance, or opening of his mouth to say any evil.* Isai. liii. [7, 8.] Acts viii. [32.]

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p reckon] repute 1547.
q shut out] excluded 1547.
r chosen] elect 1547.
s thus] this 1587.
t said] saith 1587.
u go] pass 1582.
x not] also not 1547.
y with] in 1547, 1563, 1587.
z taking] accepting 1547.
a slay] flea 1547, 1563.
b did put] referred 1547.
c maketh] makes 1547.
d he went unto] he went to 1582, 1623; went he unto 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.

Thus have I set forth[e] unto you what[f] charity is, as well by the doctrine as by the examples[g] of Christ himself: whereby also every man may without error know himself, what state and condition he standeth in; whether he be in charity, and so the child of the Father in heaven or not. For, although almost every man persuadeth himself to be in charity, yet let him examine none other man but his own heart, his life and conversation; and he shall not be deceived, but truly discern and judge whether he be in perfect charity or not. For he that followeth not his own appetite and will, but giveth himself earnestly to God to do all his will and commandments, he may be sure that he loveth God above all things: and else, surely he loveth him not, whatsoever he pretend; as Christ said, *If ye love me, keep my commandments. For he that knoweth my commandments, and keepeth them, he it is,* saith Christ, *that loveth me.* And again he saith, *He that loveth me, will keep my word: and my Father will love him; and we will both come to him, and dwell with him: and he that loveth me not, will not keep my words.* And likewise, he that beareth good[h] heart and mind, and useth well his tongue and deeds unto every man, friend and foe, he may know thereby that he hath charity. And then[i] he is sure also that Almighty God taketh him for his dear beloved son; as St. John saith, *Hereby manifestly are known the children of God from the children of the devil; for whosoever doth not love his brother, belongeth not unto God.*

[John xiv. 15, 21.]

John xiv. [23.]

1 John iii. [10.]

THE SECOND PART OF THE SERMON OF CHARITY[a].

YOU[b] have heard a plain and fruitful setting forth of charity, and how profitable and necessary a thing charity is; how charity stretcheth itself both to God and man, friend and foe, and that by the doctrine and example of Christ; and also who may certify himself whether he be in perfect charity or not. Now, as concerning the same matter it followeth. The[c] perverse nature of man, corrupt with sin, and destitute

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[e] set forth] described 1547.
[f] what] that 1582.
[g] examples] example 1547, 1587, 1597.
[h] good] a good 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[i] then] when 1582.
[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.
[b] You...followeth] *wanting* 1547.
[c] The] But the 1547.

of God's word and grace, thinketh it against all reason that a man should love his enemy; and hath many persuasions which bring[d] him to the contrary. Against all which reasons we ought as well to set the teaching as the living of our Saviour Christ; who loving us when we were his enemies, doth teach us to love our enemies. He did patiently take for us many reproaches, suffered beating and most cruel death. Therefore we be no members of him, if we will not follow him. *Christ*, saith St Peter, *suffered for us, leaving an example that we should follow him.* 1 Pet ii. [21.]

Against carnal men, that will not forgive their enemies.

Furthermore, we must consider, that to love our friends, is no more but that which thieves, adulterers, homicides, and all wicked persons do: insomuch that Jews, Turks, Infidels, and all brute beasts, do love them that be their friends; of whom they have their living, or any other benefits. But to love enemies, is the proper condition only of them that be the children of God, the disciples and followers of Christ. Notwithstanding, man's froward and corrupt nature weigheth over deeply many times the offence and displeasure done unto him by enemies; and thinketh it a burden intolerable to be bound to love them that hate him. But the burden should be easy enough, if, on the other side, every man would consider what displeasure he hath done to his enemy again, and what pleasure he hath received of his enemy. And if we find no equal or even[e] recompence, neither in receiving pleasures of our enemy, nor in requiting displeasures[f] unto him again; then let us ponder the displeasures which we have done against almighty God, how often and how grievously we have offended him; whereof if we will have of God forgiveness, there is none other remedy but to forgive the offences done unto us; which be very small in comparison of our offences done against God. And if we consider that he which hath offended us deserveth not to be forgiven of us, let us consider again, that we much less deserve to be forgiven of God. And although our enemy deserve not to be forgiven for his own sake, yet we ought to forgive him for God's love; considering how great and many benefits we have received of him without our deserts, and that Christ hath

[d] bring] induceth 1547.
[e] or even] *wanting* 1547.
[f] requiting displeasures] rendering displeasure 1547.

deserved of us, that for his sake we should forgive them their trespasses committed against us.

A question. But here may rise a necessary question to be dissolved: If charity require to think, speak, and do well unto every man, both good and evil, how can magistrates execute justice upon malefactors or evil-doers[g] with charity? How can they cast evil men in prison, take away their goods, and sometimes their lives, according to laws, if charity will not suffer them so to do?

Answer. Hereunto is a plain and brief answer: that plagues and punishments be not evil of themselves, if they be well taken of the harmless[h]; and to an evil man they are both good and necessary, and may be executed according to charity, and with charity should be executed. For declaration whereof

Charity hath two offices. you shall understand, that charity hath two offices; the one contrary to the other, and yet both necessary to be used upon men of contrary sort and disposition. The one office of charity is, to cherish good and harmless[i] men; not to oppress them with false accusations, but to encourage them with rewards to do well, and to continue[j] in well doing; defending them with the sword from their adversaries: as[k] the office of bishops and pastors is, to praise[l] good men for well doing, that they may continue[m] therein; and to rebuke and correct by the word of God the offences and crimes of all evil-disposed persons. For the other office of charity is, to rebuke, correct, and punish vice, without regard[n] of persons; and[o] is to be used against them only that be evil men, and malefactors or evil-doers[p]. And that it is as[q] well the office[r] of charity to rebuke, punish, and correct them that be evil, as it is to cherish and reward them that be good and harmless[s], St.

Rom. xiii. [1.] Paul declareth, writing to the Romans, saying, *That the high powers are ordained of God*, not to be dreadful to them that do well, but unto malefactors; to draw the sword to take vengeance of him that committeth the sin. And St.

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g or evil-doers] *wanting* 1547.
h harmless] innocents 1547.
i harmless] innocent 1547.
j continue] persevere 1547.
k as] And 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.
l praise] laud 1547.
m continue] persevere 1547.
n regard] acceptation 1547.
o and] this 1547.
p or evil-doers] *wanting* 1547.
q And that it is as] And it is 1547; that is as 1587.
r office] offices 1582.
s harmless] innocent 1547.

Paul biddeth Timothy *stoutly and earnestly*[t] *to rebuke sin* 1Tim. v. [20.]
by the word of God. So that both offices should be diligently executed, to fight against[u] the kingdom of the devil; the preacher with the word, and the governor[x] with the sword: else they love neither[y] God nor them whom they govern, if, for lack of correction, they wilfully suffer God to be offended, and them whom they govern to perish. For as every loving father correcteth his natural son when he doth amiss, or else he loveth him[z] not; so all governors of realms, countries, towns, and houses, should lovingly correct them which be offenders under their governance, and cherish them which live innocently, if they have any respect either unto God and their office, or love unto them of whom they have governance. And such rebukes and punishments of them that offend must be done in[a] due time; lest by delay the offenders fall headlong[b] into all manner of mischief; and not only be evil themselves, but also do hurt unto many men; drawing other, by their evil example, to sin and outrage after them: as one thief may both rob many men, and also make many thieves; and one seditious person may allure many, and noy[c] a whole town or country. And such evil persons that be so great offenders of God and the commonweal, charity requireth to be cut off from the body of the commonweal, lest they corrupt other good and honest persons; like as a good surgeon cutteth away a rotten[d] and festered member, for love he hath to the whole body, lest it infect other members adjoining unto[e] it.

Thus it is declared unto you, what true charity or christian love is, so plainly that no man need to be deceived: which love whosoever keepeth, not only towards God, whom he is bound to love above all things, but also toward his neighbour, as well friend as foe, it shall surely keep him from all offence of God, and just offence of man. Therefore bear well away this one short lesson; that by true christian charity, God ought to be loved, [above all things; and all

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[t] stoutly and earnestly] constantly and vehemently 1547.
[u] fight against] impugn 1547.
[x] governor] governors 1547.
[y] love neither] neither love 1582.
[z] him] them 1563.
[a] in] unto 1563.
[b] headlong] headlings 1547; headlongs 1563.
[c] noy] annoy 1595, 1623.
[d] rotten] putrified 1547.
[e] unto] to 1547, 1563.

men ought to be loved[f],] good and evil, friend and foe; and to all such we ought, as we may, to do good; those that be good, of love to encourage and cherish, because they be good; and those that be evil, of love to procure and seek[g] their correction and due punishment, that they may thereby either be brought to goodness, or, at the least, that God and the commonwealth may be[h] less hurt and offended. And if we thus direct our life by christian love and charity, then Christ doth promise and assure us that he loveth us; that[i] we be the children of our heavenly Father; reconciled to his favour; very members of Christ; and that, after this short time of this present and mortal life, we shall have with him everlasting life in his everlasting[k] kingdom of heaven. Therefore to him, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and[l] ever. *Amen.*

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[f] above...loved] *wanting* 1563, 1574, 1582.
[g] and seek] *wanting* 1547.
[h] be] be the 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.
[i] that] and that 1587.
[k] everlasting] eternal 1547.
[l] and] and for 1582.

A SERMON

AGAINST

SWEARING AND PERJURY[a].

ALMIGHTY God, to the intent his most holy name should be had in honour, and evermore be magnified of the people, commandeth that no man should take his name vainly in his mouth; threatening punishment unto him that unreverently abuseth it by swearing, forswearing, and blasphemy. To the intent therefore that this commandment may be the better known and kept, it shall be declared unto you, both how it is lawful for christian people to swear; and also what peril and danger it is vainly to swear, or to be forsworn.

How and in what causes it is lawful to swear.

First, when judges require oaths of the people for declaration or opening[b] of the truth, or for execution of justice, this manner of swearing is lawful. Also when men make faithful promises, with calling to witness[c] of the name of God, to keep[d] covenants, honest promises, statutes, laws, and good customs, as christian princes do in their conclusions of peace, for conservation of commonwealths; and private persons promise their fidelity in matrimony, or one to another in honesty[e] and true friendship; and all men when they do swear to keep common laws and[f] local statutes, and good customs, for due order to be had and continued among men; when subjects do swear to be true and faithful to their king and sovereign lord; and when judges, magistrates, and officers swear truly to execute their offices; and when a man would affirm the truth to the setting forth of God's glory, for the salvation of the people, in open preaching of the gospel, or in giving of good counsel privately for their souls' health: all these manner of swearing[g], for causes necessary and honest, be lawful. But when men do swear of custom, in reasoning, buying, and selling, or other daily communications[h] (as many be common and great swearers) such kind of swearing is ungodly, unlawful, and forbidden[i] by the commandment of God: for such

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[a] A Sermon against swearing and perjury] Against swearing and perjury 1547, 1563.

[b] or opening] *wanting* 1547.

[c] calling to witness] attestation 1547.

[d] keep] observe 1547.

[e] honesty] honest 1547.

[f] and] or 1547.

[g] swearing] swearings 1547, 1563.

[h] communications] communication 1547, 1563.

[i] forbidden] prohibited 1547.

swearing is nothing else but taking of God's holy name in vain.

And here is to be noted, that lawful swearing is not forbidden, but commanded by[k] Almighty God. For we have examples of Christ and godly men, in holy scripture, that did swear themselves, and required oaths of other[l] likewise: and God's commandment is, *Thou shalt dread thy Lord God, and shalt swear by his name.* And Almighty God by his prophet David saith, *All men shall be praised that swear*[m] *by him.* Thus did our Saviour Christ swear divers times, saying, *Verily, verily.* And St. Paul sweareth thus, *I call God to witness.* And Abraham, waxing old, required an oath of his servant, that he should procure a wife for his son Isaac, which should come of his own kindred: and the servant did swear that he would perform his master's will. Abraham also, being required, did swear unto Abimelech the king of Geraris, that he should not hurt him, nor his posterity: and so[n] likewise did Abimelech swear unto Abraham. And David did swear to be and continue a faithful friend to Jonathan; and Jonathan did swear to become a faithful friend unto David.

Deut. vi. [13.]
Psal. lxiii. [11.]
John iii. [3.] 2 Cor. i. [23.]
Gen. xxiv. [3.]
Gen. xxi. [23.]
[1 Sam. xx. 16, 17.]

Also God once commanded that if a thing were laid to pledge to any man, or left with him to keep, if the same thing were stolen, or lost, that the keeper thereof should be sworn before judges, that he did not convey it away, nor used any deceit in causing the same to be conveyed away, by his consent or knowledge. And St Paul saith, that in all matters of controversy between two persons, whereas one saith yea, and the other nay, so as no due proof can be had of the truth, the end of every such controversy must be an oath ministered by a judge. And, moreover, God by the prophet Jeremiah saith, *Thou shalt swear, the Lord liveth, in truth, in judgment, in righteousness.* So that whosoever[o] sweareth when he is required of a judge, let him be sure in his conscience, that his oath have these three conditions, and he shall never need to be afraid of perjury.

[Exod. xxii. 11.]
Heb. vi. [16.]
Jer. iv. [2.]

What conditions an oath ought to have.

First, he that sweareth may[p] swear truly; that is, he must, setting apart[q] all favour and affection to the parties,

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k by] of 1547, 1563, 1587.
l other] others 1582.
m swear] sweareth 1547.
n so] *wanting* 1582.
o whosoever] whoso 1547.
p may] must 1563, 1587, 1595, must swear, that he sweareth truly 1547.
q setting apart] secluding 1547.

have the truth only before his eyes; and, for love thereof, say and speak that which he knoweth to be truth[r], and no further. The second is, he that taketh an oath, must do it with judgment; not rashly and unadvisedly, but soberly, considering what an oath is. The third is, he that sweareth, must swear in righteousness; that is, for the very zeal and love which he beareth to the defence of innocency, to the maintenance of the truth, and of[s] the righteousness of the matter or cause: all profit, disprofit, all love and favour unto the person for friendship or kindred, laid apart. Thus an oath if it have with it these three conditions, is a part of God's glory, which we are bound by his commandment[t] to give unto him. For he willeth that we shall swear only by his name: not that he hath pleasure in our oaths; but, like as he commanded the Jews to offer sacrifice[u] unto him, not for any delight that[x] he had in them, but to keep the Jews from committing of idolatry, so he, commanding us to swear by his holy name, doth not teach us that he delighteth in swearing; but he thereby forbiddeth all men to give his glory to any creature in heaven, earth, or water.

The second.

The third.

Why we be willed in scripture to swear by the name of God.

Isai. xlii. [8.] Psal. xv. [4.]

Hitherto you see that oaths lawful are commanded of God; used of patriarchs and prophets; of Christ himself; and of his apostle Paul. Therefore christian people must think lawful oaths both godly and necessary. For by lawful promise[y] and covenants, confirmed by oaths, princes and their countries are confirmed in common tranquillity and peace. By holy promises, with calling the name of God to witness[z], we be made lively members of Christ, when we profess his religion receiving the sacrament of baptism. By like holy promise the sacrament of matrimony knitteth man and wife in perpetual love, that they desire not to be separated for any displeasure or adversity that shall after happen. By lawful oaths, which kings, princes, judges, and magistrates do swear, common laws are kept inviolate; justice is indifferently ministered; harmless[a] persons, fatherless children[b], widows, and poor men, are defended from murderers, oppressors, and thieves; that they suffer no wrong, nor take any harm. By lawful oaths, mutual society, amity, and good order is kept

Commodities had by lawful oaths made and observed.

1d

4 l.

4a

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r truth] a truth 1587.
s of] to the 1563, 1587, 1595, to 1547.
t commandment] commandments 1582.
u sacrifice] sacrifices 1582, 1587.
x that] *wanting* 1587.
y promise] promises 1547, 1587.
z with calling the name of God to witness] with attestation of God's name 1547.
a harmless] innocent 1547.
b fatherless children] orphans 1547.

continually in all commonalties; as boroughs, cities, towns, and villages. And by lawful oaths malefactors are searched out, wrong doers are punished, and they which sustain wrong are restored to their right. Therefore lawful swearing cannot be evil, which bringeth unto us so many godly, good, and necessary commodities.

Vain swearing is forbidden.

Wherefore when Christ so earnestly forbad swearing, it may not so be[c] understanded[d] as though he did forbid all manner of oaths: but he forbiddeth all vain swearing and forswearing both by God, and by[e] his creatures; as the common use of swearing in buying, selling, and in our daily communication; to the intent every christian man's word should be as well regarded in such matters, as if he should confirm his communication with an oath. For "every christian man's word," saith St Jerome[1], "should be so true, that it should be regarded as an oath." And Chrysostom[2], witnessing the same, saith, "It is not convenient to swear: for what needeth us to swear, when it is not lawful for one of us to make a lie unto another?" Peradventure some will say, I am compelled to swear, for else men that do commune[f] with me, or do buy and sell with me, will not believe me. To this answereth St Chrysostom[3], "that he that thus saith, sheweth himself to be an unjust and a deceitful person: for if he were a trusty man, and his deeds taken to agree with his words, he should not need to swear at all." For, he that useth truth and plainness in his bargaining and communication, he shall have no need, by such vain swearing, to bring himself in credence with his neighbours; nor his neighbours will not mistrust his sayings.

An objection.

An answer.

[c] so be] be so 1547, be 1563.
[d] understanded] understand 1563, understood 1623.
[e] by] *wanting* 1547.
[f] commune] common 1563.

[1 Evangelica autem veritas non recipit juramentum, cum omnis sermo fidelis pro jurando sit. S. Hieron. Opp. Tom. IV. col. 18, Paris. 1706.]

[2 μέγας ὁ τῶν Χριστιανῶν Θεὸς οἵους κατέστησεν ἀνθρώπους ..... οὐκ ὄμοσθον ψεύδεσθαι, ἐπιορκεῖν οὐκ ἀνέχονται, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδὲ ὀμνύειν. S. Chrys. Opp. Tom. II. p. 104. c. D. Paris. 1718.]

[3 καὶ γάρ τε τοιοῦτός ποτε παρ' ἑνὸς ἤκουσα ὅτι ἂν μὴ ὀμόσω μυρίους ἄρκους οὐ πιστεύει. σὺ τοίνυν αἴτιος ὁ πραγείρων ὀμνύειν· ἐπεὶ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἦν ἀλλὰ πάντα ἦν δῆλον ὅτι οὐκ ὀμνύεις, πίστευε μοι λέγοντι ὅτι τῶν μυρίους καταθέντων ὅρκους μᾶλλον ἂν ἐπιστεύθης ἐπιτεύσας μόνον. S. Chrys. Opp. Tom. IX. p. 79, B. Paris. 1731.]

And, if his credence be so much lost indeed, that he thinketh no man will believe him without he swear, then he may well think his credence is clean gone: for truth it is, as Theophylactus[4] writeth, that "no man is less trusted, than he that useth much to swear;" and Almighty God by the Wise Man saith, *That man which sweareth much shall be full of sin, and the scourge of God shall not depart from his house.* Ecclus. xxiii. [11.]

But here some men will say, for excusing of their many oaths in their daily talk, Why should I not swear, when I swear truly? To such men it may be said, that though they swear truly, yet in swearing often unadvisedly, for trifles, without necessity, and when they should not swear, they be not without fault, but do take God's most holy name in vain. Much more ungodly and unwise men are they that abuse God's most holy name, not only in buying and selling of small things daily in all places; but also in[g] eating, drinking, playing, communing[h], and reasoning: as if none of these things might be done, except in doing of them the most holy name of God be commonly used and abused, vainly and unreverently talked of, sworn by, and forsworn, to the breaking of God's commandment, and procurement of his indignation. Another objection. An answer.

THE SECOND PART[i] OF THE SERMON OF SWEARING.

YOU[a] have been taught in the first part of this Sermon against swearing and perjury, what great danger it is to use the name of God in vain: and that all kind of swearing is not unlawful, neither against God's commandment: and that there be three things required in a lawful oath. First, that it be made for the maintenance of the truth: secondly[b], that it be made with judgment, not rashly and unadvisedly: thirdly, for the zeal and love of justice. Ye heard also what commodities cometh of lawful oaths; and what danger cometh of rash and unlawful oaths.

Now, as concerning the rest of the same matter, ye[c] shall

[a] In] *wanting* 1547, 1563, 1587.
[b] communing] commoning 1563.
[i] *The Homily is not divided* 1547.
[a] You...Now,] *wanting* 1547.
[b] secondly] second 1582, 1587.
[c] ye] you 1582, 1623.

[4 Οὐδεὶς γὰρ οὕτως ἀπιστεῖται, ὡς ὁ πρόχειρος ὀμνύων. Theophylact. in Evangelia, p. 32, n. : Paris. 1635.]

understand, that as well they use the name of God in vain that by an oath make lawful[d] promises of good and honest things and perform them not, as they which do promise evil and unlawful things and do perform the same.

Lawful oaths and promises would be better regarded.

Josh. ix. [15.]

Of such men that regard not their godly promises bound[e] by an oath, but wittingly and wilfully break[f] them, we do read in holy scripture two notable punishments. First, Joshua and the people of Israel made a league and faithful promise of perpetual amity and friendship with the Gibeonites: notwithstanding, afterwards[g], in the days of wicked Saul, many of these Gibeonites were murdered, contrary to the said faithful promise made: wherewith Almighty God was so sore[h] displeased, that he sent an universal hunger[i] upon the whole country, which continued by the space of three years: and God would not withdraw his punishment, until the said offence was revenged by the death of seven sons, or next kinsmen, of king Saul. And[k] whereas Zedekiah, king of Jerusalem, had promised fidelity to the king of Chaldea; afterward, when Zedekiah, contrary to his oath and allegiance, did rebel against king Nebuchadnezzar, this heathen king, by God's permission and sufferance[l], invading the land of Jewry, and besieging the city of Jerusalem, compelled the said king Zedekiah to flee[m]; and in fleeing[n] took him prisoner, slew his sons before his face, and put out both his eyes; and, binding him with chains, led him prisoner miserably into Babylon. Thus doth God shew plainly how much he abhorreth breakers of honest promises, bound by an oath made in his name.

[2 Sam. xxi.]

2 Kings xxiv. & xxv.

Unlawful oaths and promises are not to be kept.

Matt. xiv. [7—11.]

And of them that make wicked promises by an oath, and will perform the same, we have example in the scriptures[o]; chiefly of Herod, of the wicked Jews, and of Jephthah. Herod promised by an oath unto the damsel which danced before him, to give unto her whatsoever she would[p] ask; when she was instructed before of her wicked mother, to ask the head of St. John Baptist. Herod, as he took a wicked oath, so he more wickedly performed the same, and cruelly slew the

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d lawful] unlawful 1582.
e bound] confirmed 1547.
f break] breaketh 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587.
g afterwards] afterward 1582, 1587.
h so] *wanting* 1582.
i hunger] famine 1547.
k And] Also 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595.
l and sufferance] *wanting* 1547.
m flee] fly 1563.
n fleeing] flying 1563.
o scriptures] scripture 1547, 1563, 1587.
p would] should 1587.

most holy prophet. Likewise did the malicious Jews make an oath, *cursing themselves if they did either eat or drink, until they had slain St. Paul.* And Jephthah, when God had given to him victory of the children of Ammon, promised, of a foolish devotion unto God, to offer for a sacrifice unto him that person which of his own house should first meet with him after his return home. By force of which fond and unadvised oath, he did slay his own and only daughter, which came out of his house with mirth and joy to welcome him home. Thus the promise which he made most foolishly to God, against God's everlasting[q] will and the law of nature, most cruelly he performed; so committing against God a[r] double offence. Therefore, whosoever maketh any promise binding himself thereunto by an oath, let him foresee that the thing which he promiseth be good, honest[s], and not against the commandment of God; and that it be in[t] his own power to perform it justly: and such good promises must all men keep evermore assuredly. But if a man at any time shall, either of ignorance or of malice, promise and swear to do anything which is either against the law of Almighty God, or not in his power to perform, let him take it for an unlawful and ungodly oath.

Acts xxiii. [14.]

Judg. xi. [30, &c.]

Now something to speak of perjury. To the intent you should know how great and grievous an offence against God this wilful perjury is, I will shew you what it is to take an oath before a judge upon a book. First, when they, laying their hands upon the gospel book, do swear truly to inquire, and to make a true presentment of things wherewith they be charged, and not to let from saying the truth and doing truly, for favour, love, dread, or[u] malice of any person, as God may help them and the holy contents of that book; they must consider, that in that book is contained God's everlasting truth, his most holy and eternal word, whereby we have forgiveness of our sins, and be made inheritors of heaven, to live for ever with God's angels and saints[x] in joy and gladness. In the gospel book is contained also God's terrible threats to obstinate sinners, that will not amend their lives, nor believe the truth of God, his holy word; and the

Against perjury.

An oath before a judge.

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[q] everlasting] eternal 1547.
[r] a] *wanting* 1582, 1587.
[s] good, honest] good and honest 1623.
[t] in] to 1563.
[u] or] nor 1547.
[x] saints] his saints 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587.

everlasting pain prepared in hell for idolaters, hypocrites, for false and vain swearers, for perjured men, for false witness bearers, for false condemners of innocent and guiltless men, and for them which for favour hide[y] the crimes of evil-doers, that they should not be punished. So that whosoever wilfully forswear themselves[z] upon Christ's holy evangely, they utterly forsake God's mercy, goodness, and truth, the merits of our Saviour Christ's nativity, life, passion, death, resurrection, and ascension; they refuse the forgiveness of sins, promised to all penitent sinners, the joys of heaven, the company with angels and saints for ever: all which benefits and comforts are promised unto true christian persons in the gospel. And they, so being forsworn upon the gospel, do betake themselves to the devil's service—the master of all lies, falsehood, deceit, and perjury—provoking the great indignation and curse of God against them in this life, and the terrible wrath and judgment of our Saviour Christ at the great day of the last judgment, when he shall justly judge both the quick and the dead according to their works. For whosoever forsaketh the truth, for love or displeasure of any man or for lucre and profit to himself, doth forsake Christ, and with Judas betray[a] him. And although such perjured men's falsehood be now kept secret, yet it shall be opened at the last day, when the secrets of all men's hearts shall be manifest to all the world; and then the truth shall appear, and accuse them; and their own conscience, with all the blessed company of heaven, shall bear witness truly against them; and Christ, the righteous[b] Judge, shall then justly condemn them to everlasting shame and death. This sin of perjury Almighty God, by the prophet Malachi, doth threaten to punish sore; saying unto the Jews, *I will come to you in*[c] *judgment, and I will be a swift witness and a sharp judge upon sorcerers, adulterers, and perjured persons.* Which thing to the prophet Zachariah God declareth in a vision, wherein the prophet saw a book flying, which was twenty cubits long, and ten cubits broad; God saying then unto him, *This is the curse that shall go forth upon the face of the earth, for falsehood, false swearing, and perjury: and this*

Though perjury do escape here unspied and unpunished, it shall not do so ever.

Mal. iii. [5.]

Zech. v. [1—4.]

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[y] hide] hideth 1547.

[z] forswear themselves] forsweareth himself 1547, 1563.

[a] betray] betrayeth 1547.

[b] righteous] rightwise 1547.

[c] you in] *wanting* 1587.

curse shall enter into the house of the false man, and into the house of the perjured man, and it shall remain in the midst of his house, and[d] *consume him*[e], *the timber and stones of his house.* Thus you see, how much God doth hate perjury, and what punishment God hath prepared for false swearers and perjured persons.

Thus you have heard how and in what causes it is lawful for a christian man to swear: ye have heard what properties and conditions a lawful oath must have; and also how such lawful oaths are both godly and necessary to be observed: ye have heard, that it is not lawful to swear vainly, that is, other ways than in such causes, and after such sort as is declared. And finally, ye have heard how damnable a thing it is, either to forswear ourselves, or to keep an unlawful and an[f] unadvised oath. Wherefore let us earnestly call for grace, that, all vain swearing and perjury set apart, we may only use such oaths as be lawful and godly; and that we may truly without all fraud keep[g] the same, according to God's will and pleasure. To whom, with the Son, and the[h] Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory. *Amen.*

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[d] and] *wanting* 1547, 1582, 1587.
[e] him] consume him and 1582, 1587.
[f] an] *wanting* 1547.
[g] keep] observe 1547.
[h] the] *wanting* 1547, 1563.

A SERMON,

HOW DANGEROUS A THING IT IS TO FALL[a] FROM GOD.

OF our going from God, the Wise Man saith that pride was the first beginning: for by it man's heart was turned from God his Maker. *For pride,* saith he, *is the fountain of all sin: he that hath it shall be full of cursings, and at the end it shall overthrow him.* And as by pride and sin we go from God, so shall God, and all goodness with him, go from us. And the prophet Hosea doth plainly affirm, that they which go away still from God by vicious living, and yet would go about to pacify him otherwise by sacrifice, and entertain him thereby, they labour in vain. For notwithstanding all their sacrifice, yet he goeth still away from them. Forsomuch, saith the prophet, as they do not apply their minds to return to God; *although they go about with whole flocks and herds to seek the Lord, yet they shall not find him; for he is gone away from them.*

[Ecclus. x. 13.]

[Hos. vi. [6, 7.]

[Hos. v. 6.]

But as touching our turning to God, or from God, you shall understand that it may be done divers ways. Sometimes directly by idolatry, as Israel and Judah then did: sometimes men go from God by lack of faith, and mistrusting of God; whereof Isaiah speaketh on[b] this wise, *Woe to them that go down into Egypt to seek for help; trusting in horses, and having confidence in the number of chariots, and puissance or power*[c] *of horsemen. They have no confidence in the holy God of Israel, nor seek for the Lord.* But what followeth? *The Lord shall let his hand fall upon them, and down shall come both the helper and he that is holpen; they shall be destroyed all together.* Sometime[d] men go from God by the neglecting of his commandments concerning their neighbours; which command[e] them to express hearty love towards every man: as Zachariah said unto the people in God's behalf, *Give true judgment, shew mercy and compassion every one to his brother, imagine no deceit towards widows, or children fatherless and motherless, towards*

Isai. xxxi. [1—3.]

Zech. vii. [9, 10.]

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[a] fall] decline 1547.
[b] on] in 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587.
[c] or power] *wanting* 1547.
[d] sometime] sometimes 1582, 1587, 1595.
[e] command] commandeth 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587.

stranger[f], *or the poor; let no man forge evil in his heart against his brother.* But these things they passed not of; they turned their backs, and went their way; they stopped their ears, that they might not hear; they hardened their hearts as an adamant stone, that they might not listen to the law, and the words that the Lord had sent through his Holy Spirit by his ancient prophets. Wherefore the Lord shewed his great indignation upon them. *It came to pass,* saith the prophet, *even as I told them: as they would not hear, so when they cried they were not heard, but were scattered*[g] *into all kingdoms which they never knew; and their land was made desolate.* And, to be short, all they that may not abide the word of God, but, following the persuasions and stubbornness of their own hearts, go backward and not forward; as it is said in Jeremiah, *They go and turn away from God.* Insomuch that Origen saith[1], "He that with mind, with study, with deeds, with thought and care, applieth and giveth[h] himself to God's word, and thinketh upon his laws day and night, giveth himself wholly to God, and in his precepts and commandments is exercised, this is he that is turned to God." And on the other part he saith, "Whosoever is occupied with fables and tales, when the word of God is rehearsed, he is turned from God. Whosoever in time of reading God's word is careful in his mind of worldly business, of money, or of lucre, he is turned from God. Whosoever is entangled with the cares of possessions, filled with covetousness of riches;

Zech. vii. [13, 14.]

Jer. vii. [24.]

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[f] stranger] strangers 1582, 1587, 1595.
[g] scattered] dispersed 1547.
[h] and giveth] *wanting* 1547.

[1 Sed et hoc ipsum converti ad Dominum quale sit videamur. Et ut evidentius scire possimus quod sit conversus, dicendum nobis prius est quid sit aversus. Omnis qui cum recitantur verba legis communibus fabulis occupatur, aversus est. Omnis qui cum legitur Moyses de negotiis sæculi, de pecunia, de lucris, sollicitudinem gerit, aversus est. Omnis qui possessionum curis stringitur et divitiarum cupiditate distenditur; qui gloriæ sæculi et mundi honoribus studet, aversus est. Sed et qui ab his quidem videtur alienus, assistit autem et audit verba legis, et vultu atque oculis intentus, corde tamen et cogitationibus evagatur, aversus est. Quid est converti? Si his omnibus terga vertamus, et studio, actibus, mente, sollicitudine, verbo Dei operam damus, et in lege ejus die ac nocte meditemur, omissis omnibus, Deo vacemus, exerceamur in testimoniis ejus, hoc est conversum esse ad Dominum. Origen. in Exod. Homil. XII.; Opp. Tom. II., p. 172: ed. Paris. 1733.]

whosoever studieth for the glory and honour of this world; he is turned from God." So that after his mind, whosoever hath not a special mind to that[i] thing that is commanded or taught of God; he that doth not listen unto it, embrace, and print it in his heart, to the intent that he may duly fashion his life thereafter; he is plainly turned from God, although he do other things of his own devotion and mind, which to him seem[k] better, and more to God's honour.

[1 Sam. xv. 3.] Which thing to be true, we be taught and admonished in the holy scripture, by the[l] example of king Saul: who being commanded of God by Samuel, that he should kill all the Amalekites and destroy them clearly, with their goods and cattle[m]; yet he, being moved partly with pity, and partly, as he thought, with devotion unto God, saved Agag the[n] king, and all the chief of their cattle, therewith to make sacrifice unto God. Wherewithal God being displeased highly, said [1 Sam. xv. 11.] unto the prophet Samuel, *I repent that ever I made Saul king*[o]; for he hath forsaken me, and not followed my words: and so he commanded Samuel to shew him. And, when Samuel asked, wherefore contrary to God's word he had saved the cattle; he excused the matter partly by fear, saying he durst do none other, for that the people would have it so; partly, for that they were goodly beasts, he thought God would be content, seeing it was done of a good intent and devotion to honour God with the sacrifice of them. But Samuel, reproving all such intents and devotions, (seem they never so much to God's honour, if they stand not with his word, whereby we may be assured of his pleasure) said in [1 Sam. xv. 22—26.] this wise, *Would God have sacrifices and offerings, or rather that his word should be obeyed? To obey him is better than offerings, and to listen to him is better than to offer the fat of rams: yea, to repugn against his voice is as evil as the sin of soothsaying*[p]*; and not to agree to it is like abominable idolatry. And now, forasmuch as thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, he hath cast away thee, that thou shouldest not be king.*

The turning of God from man. By all these examples of holy scripture we may know, that as we forsake God, so shall he ever forsake us. And

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[i] that] the 1547.
[k] seem] seemeth 1547.
[l] the] *wanting* 1547.
[m] cattle] cattals 1547.
[n] the] their 1547.
[o] king] a king 1547, 1563.
[p] soothsaying] divination 1547.

what miserable state doth consequently and necessarily follow thereupon, a man may easily consider by the terrible threatenings of God. And although he consider not all the said misery to the uttermost, being so great that it passeth any man's capacity in this life sufficiently to consider the same, yet he shall soon perceive so much thereof, that if his heart be not more than stony, or harder than the adamant, he shall fear, tremble, and quake, to call the same to his remembrance.

First, the displeasure of God towards us is commonly expressed in the Scripture by these two things; by shewing his fearful countenance upon us, and by turning his face or hiding it from us. By shewing his dreadful countenance is signified his great wrath: but by turning his face or hiding thereof is, many times, more signified; that is to say, that he clearly forsaketh us, and giveth us over. The which significations be taken of the properties of men's manners. For men towards them whom they favour commonly bear a good, a cheerful, and a loving countenance: so that by the face or countenance of a man, it doth commonly appear what will or mind he beareth towards other. So when God doth shew his dreadful countenance towards us, that is to say, doth send dreadful plagues of sword, famine, or pestilence upon us, it appeareth that he is greatly wroth with us: but when he withdraweth from us his word[q], the right doctrine of Christ, his gracious assistance and aid, which is ever joined to his word, and leaveth us to our own wit, our own will and strength, he declareth then that he beginneth to forsake us. For whereas God hath shewed to all them that truly believe his gospel, his face of mercy in Jesus Christ, which doth so lighten their hearts, that they, if they behold it as they ought to do, be transformed to his image, be made partakers of the[r] heavenly light and of his Holy Spirit, and be fashioned to him in all goodness requisite to the children of God; so, if they after do neglect the same, if they be unthankful unto him, if they order not their lives according to his example and doctrine, and to the setting forth of his glory; he will take away from them his kingdom, his holy word, whereby he should reign in them, because they bring not forth the fruit thereof that he looketh for. Nevertheless, he is so mer-

[q] word] sword 1582, 1587. [r] the] that 1547.

ciful, and of so long sufferance, that he doth not shew upon us that great wrath suddenly. But when we begin to shrink from his word, not believing it, or not expressing it in our livings, first he doth send his messengers, the true preachers of his word, to admonish and warn[s] us of our duty: that as he for his part, for the great love he bare unto us, delivered his own Son to suffer death, that we by his death might be delivered from death, and be restored to the life everlasting[t], evermore to dwell with him, and to be partakers and inheritors with him of his everlasting glory and kingdom of heaven; so again, that we for our parts should walk in a godly life, as becometh his children to do. And if this will not serve, but still we remain disobedient to his word and will, not knowing him, nor[u] loving him; not fearing him; not putting our whole trust and confidence in him; and on the other side, to our neighbours behaving ourselves[x] uncharitably, by disdain, envy, malice, or by committing murder, robbery, adultery, gluttony, deceit, lying, swearing, or other like detestable works, and ungodly behaviour; then he threateneth us by terrible comminations, swearing in great anger, that *whosoever doth these works, shall never enter into his rest*, which is the kingdom of heaven.

Heb. iii. [11.]
1 Cor. vi. [9.]
Psal. xcv. [11.]

THE SECOND PART[a] OF THE SERMON OF FALLING FROM GOD.

IN[b] the former part of this Sermon ye have learned how many manner of ways men fall from God: some by idolatry; some for lack of faith; some by the neglecting of their neighbours; some by not hearing of God's word; some by the pleasure they take in the vanities of worldly things. Ye have also learned in what misery that man is which is gone from God: and how that God yet of his infinite goodness, to call again man from that his misery, useth first gentle admonitions by his preachers; after he layeth on terrible threatenings. Now if this gentle monition and threatening[c] together do not serve, then God will shew his terrible coun-

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[s] and warn] *wanting* 1547.
[t] everlasting] eternal 1547.
[u] nor] not 1547, 1563.
[x] ourselves] us 1547.

[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.
[b] In the...threatenings] *wanting* 1547.
[c] threatening] commination 1547.

tenance upon us; he will pour intolerable plagues upon our heads; and after he will take away from us all his aid and assistance, wherewith before he did defend us from all such manner of calamity. As the evangelical prophet Isaiah, agreeing with Christ's parable, doth teach us, saying that *God had made a goodly*[d] *vineyard for his beloved children; he hedged it, he walled it round about, he planted it with chosen vines, and made a turret in the midst thereof, and therein also a wine-press. And when he looked that it should bring forth*[e] *good grapes, it brought forth wild grapes.* And after it followeth, *Now shall I shew you,* saith God, *what I will do with my vineyard: I will pluck down the hedges, that it may perish: I will break down the walls, that it may be trodden under foot: I will let it lie waste; it shall not be cut, it shall not be digged, but briers and thorns shall overgrow it: and I shall command the clouds, that they shall no more rain upon it.*

Isai. v. [1, 2.] Matt. xxi. [33.]

By these threatenings we are monished and warned[f], that if we, which are the chosen vineyard of God, bring not forth good grapes, that is to say, good works, that may be delectable and pleasant in his sight, when he looketh for them, when he sendeth his messengers to call upon us for them; but rather bring forth wild grapes, that is to say, sour works, unsweet[g], unsavoury, and unfruitful; then will he pluck away all defence, and suffer grievous plagues of famine, and[h] battle, dearth, and death, to light upon us. Finally, if these do not yet serve[i], he will let us lie waste; he will give us over; he will turn away from us; he will dig and delve no more about us; he will let us alone, and suffer us to bring forth even such fruit as we will; to bring forth brambles, briers, and thorns, all naughtiness, all vice; and that so abundantly, that they shall clean overgrow us, choke, strangle, and utterly destroy us.

But they that in this world live not after God, but after their own carnal liberty, perceive not this great wrath of God towards them, that he will not dig nor delve any more about them, that he doth let them alone even to themselves.

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[d] goodly] godly 1563.

[e] bring forth] bring him forth 1547, 1563.

[f] and warned] *wanting* 1547.

[g] unsweet] *wanting* 1582, 1587.

[h] and] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.

[i] do not yet serve] serve not 1582, 1587.

But they take this for a great benefit of God, to have all their[k] own liberty; and so they live, as carnal liberty were the true liberty of the Gospel.

But God forbid, good people, that ever we should desire such liberty. For although God suffer sometimes the wicked to have their pleasure in this world, yet the end of ungodly living is at length endless[l] destruction. The murmuring Israelites had that they longed for; they had quails enough, yea till they were weary of them. But what was the end thereof? Their sweet meat had sour sauce: even while the meat was in their mouths, the plague of God lighted upon them, and suddenly they died. So, if we live ungodlily[m], and God suffereth us to follow our own wills, to have our own delights and pleasures, and correcteth us not with some plague; it is no doubt but he is almost utterly displeased with us. And although he[n] be long or he strike, yet many times, when he striketh such persons, he striketh them at once for ever. So that when he doth not strike us, when he ceaseth to afflict us, to punish or beat us; and suffereth us to run headlongs[o] into all ungodliness and pleasures of this world that we delight in, without punishment and adversity; it is a dreadful token that he loveth us no longer, that he careth no longer for us, but hath given us over to our own selves. As long as a man doth prune his vines, doth dig at the roots, and doth lay fresh earth to them, he hath a mind to them; he perceiveth some token of fruitfulness, that may be recovered in them: but when he will bestow no more such cost and labour about them, then it is a sign that he thinketh they will never be good. And the father, as long as he loveth his child, he looketh angerly, he correcteth him when he doth amiss: but when that serveth not, and upon that he ceaseth from correction of him, and suffereth him to do what he list himself, it is a sign that he intendeth to disinherit him, and to cast him away for ever. So surely nothing should pierce our heart so sore, and put us in such horrible fear, as when we know in our conscience that we have grievously offended God, and do so continue; and that yet he striketh

Numb. xi. [31.]

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[k] all their] all at their 1547.

[l] endless] eternal 1547.

[m] ungodlily] ungodly 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587.

[n] he] it 1547, 1563: he...ere 1582, 1587, 1595.

[o] headlongs] headlong 1582, 1587, 1595.

not, but quietly suffereth us in the naughtiness that we have delight in. Then specially it is time to cry, and to cry again, as David did, *Cast me not away from thy face, and take not away thy Holy Spirit from me. Lord, turn not away thy face from me; cast not thy servant away in displeasure. Hide not thy face from me; lest I be like unto*[p] *them that go down to hell.* The which lamentable prayers of him, as they do certify us what horrible danger they be in from whom God turneth his face, for the time, and as long as he so doth: so should they move and stir us to cry upon God with all our heart, that we may not be brought into that state; which doubtless is so sorrowful, so miserable, and so dreadful, as no tongue can sufficiently express, nor any heart can think. For what deadly grief may a man suppose it is to be under the wrath of God; to be forsaken of him; to have his Holy Spirit, the author of all goodness, to be taken from him; to be brought to so vile a condition, that he shall be left meet for no better purpose, than to be for ever condemned to[q] hell! For not only such places of David do[r] shew that, upon the turning of God's face from any persons, they shall be left bare from all goodness, and far from hope of remedy; but also the place rehearsed[s] last before of Isaiah doth mean the same: which sheweth that God at length doth so forsake his unfruitful vineyard, that he will not only suffer it to bring forth weeds, briers, and thorns; but also, further to punish the unfruitfulness of it, he saith he will not cut it, he will not delve it; and he will command the clouds, that they shall not rain upon it: whereby is signified the teaching of his holy word, which St Paul, after a like manner, expressed by planting and watering; meaning that he will take that away from them, so that they shall be no longer of his kingdom; they shall be no longer governed by his Holy Spirit; they shall be put from[t] the grace and benefits that they had, and ever might have enjoyed through Christ; they shall be deprived of the heavenly light and life, which they had in Christ, whilst they abode in him; they shall be as they were once, as men without God in this world, or rather in worse taking. And, to be short, they shall be given into

Psal. li. [11.] Psal. xxvii. [9.] Psal. cxliii [7.]

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[p] unto] to 1547.
[q] to] in 1595.
[r] do] doth 1547.
[s] rehearsed] recited 1547.
[t] put from] frustrated of 1547.

the power of the devil; which beareth the rule in all them that be cast away from God, as he did in Saul and Judas, and generally in all such as work after their own wills, the children of mistrust and unbelief[u].

1 Sam. xv. [23.] [John xiii. 27.]

Let us beware therefore, good christian people, lest that we, rejecting or casting away[x] God's word, by the which we obtain and retain true faith in God, be not at length cast off so far, that we become as the children of unbelief[y]; which be of two sorts, far diverse, yea almost clean contrary, and yet both be very far from returning to God. The one sort, only weighing their sinful and detestable living with the right judgment and straightness of God's righteousness, be so without[z] counsel, and be so comfortless, as they all[a] must needs be, from whom the Spirit of counsel and comfort is gone, that they will not be persuaded in their hearts, but that either God cannot, or else that he will not, take them again to his favour and mercy. The other, hearing the loving and large promises of God's mercy, and so not conceiving a right faith thereof, make those promises larger than ever God did; trusting that although they continue in their sinful and detestable living never so long, yet that God, at the end of their life, will shew his mercy upon them, and that then they will return. And both these two sorts of men be in a damnable state: and yet nevertheless God, *who willeth not the death of the wicked,* hath shewed means whereby both the same, if they take heed in season, may escape.

Ezek. xviii. [32.] & xxxiii. [11.]

Against desperation.

The first, as they do dread God's rightful justice in punishing sinners; whereby they should be dismayed, and should despair indeed, as touching any hope that may be in themselves; so if they would constantly or stedfastly[b] believe, that God's mercy is the remedy appointed against such despair and distrust, not only for them, but generally for all that be sorry and truly repentant, and will therewithal stick to God's mercy; they may be sure they shall obtain mercy, and enter into the port or haven of safeguard; into the which whosoever doth come, be they beforetime never so wicked, they shall be out of danger of everlasting damnation: as God

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[u] mistrust and unbelief] diffidence and infidelity 1547.

[x] or casting away] *wanting* 1547.

[y] unbelief] infidelity 1547.

[z] without] destitute of 1547.

[a] they all] all they 1547, 1563.

[b] or stedfastly] *wanting* 1547.

by Ezekiel saith, *What*[c] *time soever the sinner doth return*[d], *and take earnest and true repentance, I will forget all his wickedness.* Ezek. xxxiii. [19.]

The other, as they be ready to believe God's promises, so they should be as ready to believe the threatenings of God. As well they should believe the Law, as the Gospel. As well that there is an hell and everlasting fire, as that there is an heaven and everlasting joy. As well they should believe damnation to be threatened to the wicked and evil-doers, as salvation to be promised to the faithful in word and works. As well they should believe God to be true in the one, as in the other. And the sinners, that continue in their wicked living, ought to think that the promises of God's mercy, and the Gospel, pertain[e] not unto them, being in that state; but only the law, and those scriptures which contain the wrath and indignation of God, and his threatenings; which should certify them that, as they do over-boldly presume of God's mercy, and live dissolutely, so doth God still more and more withdraw his mercy from them: and he is so provoked thereby to wrath at length, that he destroyeth such presumers many times suddenly. For of such St Paul said thus, *When they shall say, It is peace, there is no danger; then shall sudden destruction come upon them.* Against presumption. 1 Thess. v. [3.]

Let us beware therefore of such naughty boldness to sin. For God, which hath promised his mercy to them that be truly repentant, although it be at the latter end, hath not promised to the presumptuous sinner, either that he shall have long life, or that he shall have true repentance at the[f] last end. But for that purpose hath he made every man's death uncertain, that he should not put his hope in the end; and in the mean season, to God's high displeasure, live ungodly. Wherefore, let us[g] follow the counsel of the Wise Man; *let us make no tarrying to turn unto the Lord; let us not put off from day to day: for suddenly shall his wrath come, and in time of vengeance he will*[h] *destroy the wicked.* Let us therefore turn betimes; and when we turn let us pray to God, as Hosea teacheth, saying, *Forgive all*[i] *our sins, re-* [Ecclus. v. 7.] Hosea xiv. [2.]

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[c] what] which 1563.
[d] sinner doth return] wicked doth repent 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[e] pertain] pertaineth 1547.
[f] the] his 1547.
[g] us] us all 1547.
[h] will] shall 1547.
[i] forgive all] forgive us all 1547, 1563.

ceive us graciously. And if we turn to him with an humble and a very penitent heart, he will receive us to his favour and grace for his holy name's sake, for his promise sake, for his truth and mercies' sake, promised to all faithful believers in Jesus Christ, his only natural Son. To whom, the only Saviour of the world, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour, glory, and power, world without end. Amen.

AN EXHORTATION

AGAINST THE FEAR OF DEATH.

IT is not to be marvelled that worldly men do fear to die. For death depriveth them of all worldly honours, riches, and possessions, in the fruition whereof the worldly man counteth himself happy, so long as he may enjoy them at his own pleasure: and otherwise, if he be dispossessed of the same without hope of recovery, then he can none otherwise[a] think of himself, but that he is unhappy; because he hath lost his worldly joy and pleasure. Alas, thinketh this carnal man, shall I now depart for ever from all my honours, all my treasure; from my country, friends, riches, possessions, and worldly pleasures, which are my joy and heart's delight? Alas, that ever that day shall shall come, when all these I must bid farewell at once, and never to enjoy any of them after! Wherefore it is not without great cause spoken of the Wise Man, *O death, how bitter and sour is the remembrance of thee to a man that liveth in peace and prosperity in his substance; to a man living at ease, leading his life after his own mind without trouble, and is therewithal well pampered and fed!* There be other men, whom this world doth not so greatly laugh upon, but rather vex and oppress with poverty, sickness, or some other adversity; yet they do fear death, partly because the flesh abhorreth naturally his own sorrowful dissolution, which death doth threaten unto them; and partly by reason of sicknesses and painful diseases, which be most strong pangs and agonies in the flesh, and use commonly to come to sick men before death, or at the least accompany death, whensoever it cometh. Eccles. xli. [1.]

Although these two causes seem great and weighty to a worldly man, whereupon he is moved to fear death; yet there is another cause much greater than any of these afore rehearsed[b], for which indeed he hath just cause to fear death; and that is, the state and condition whereunto, at the last end, death bringeth all them that have their hearts fixed upon this world, without repentance and amendment. This state and condition is called the second death; which unto all such shall ensue after this bodily death. And this is that

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[a] otherwise] other 1547, 1563. [b] afore rehearsed] rehearsed 1587.

death, which indeed ought to be dread and feared: for it is an[c] everlasting loss, without remedy, of the grace and favour of God, and of everlasting joy, pleasure, and felicity. And it is not only the loss for ever of all these eternal pleasures; but also it is the condemnation both of body and soul, without either appellation or hope of redemption, unto everlasting pains in hell. Unto this state death sent the unmerciful and

Luke xvi. the[d] ungodly rich man, that Luke speaketh of in his Gospel; who, living in all wealth and pleasure in this world, and cherishing himself daily with dainty fare and gorgeous apparel, despised poor Lazarus, that lay pitifully at his gate, miserably plagued and full of sores, and also grievously pained with hunger. Both these two were arrested of death; which sent Lazarus, the[e] poor miserable man, by angels anon unto Abraham's bosom; a place of rest, pleasure, and consolation: but the unmerciful rich man descended down into hell, and being in torments, he cried for comfort, complaining of the intolerable pain that he suffered in that flame of fire: but it was too late. So unto this place bodily death sendeth all them that in this world have their joy and felicity; all them that in this world be unfaithful unto God, and uncharitable unto their[f] neighbours, so dying without repentance and hope of God's mercy. Wherefore it is no marvel, that the worldly man feareth death: for he hath much more cause so to do, than he himself doth consider.

The first. Thus we see three causes why worldly men fear death. One, because they shall lose thereby their worldly honours,

Second. riches, possessions, and all their heart's desires: another, because of the painful diseases and bitter pangs, which commonly men suffer, either before or at the time of death: but

Third. the chief cause above all other is, the dread of the miserable state of eternal damnation both of body and soul, which they fear shall follow, after their departing from[g] the worldly pleasures of this present life. For these causes be all mortal men, which be given to the love of this world, both in fear

Heb. ii. [15.] and state of death through sin, as the holy Apostle saith, so long as they live here in this world.

But everlasting thanks be to Almighty God for ever,

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[c] an] the 1547.
[d] the] *wanting* 1547, 1587, 1595.
[e] the] that 1582.
[f] their] our 1587.
[g] from] out of 1547, 1563.

there is never a one of all these causes, no, nor yet they[h] all together, that can make a true Christian man afraid to die, which is the very member of Christ, the temple of the Holy Ghost, the son of God, and the very inheritor of the everlasting kingdom of heaven; but plainly contrary, he conceiveth great and many causes, undoubtedly grounded upon the infallible and everlasting truth of the Word of God, which moveth[i] him, not only to put away the fear of bodily death, but also, for the manifold benefits and singular commodities, which ensue unto every faithful person by reason of the same, to wish, desire, and long heartily for it. For death shall be to him no death at all; but a very deliverance from death, from all pains, cares, and sorrows, miseries, and wretchedness of this world; and the very entry into rest; and a beginning of everlasting joy; a tasting of heavenly pleasures, so great, that neither tongue is able to express, neither eye to see, nor ear to hear them, no, nor any[k] earthly man's heart to conceive them. So exceeding great benefits they be, which God our heavenly Father, by his mere mercy, and for the love of his Son Jesus Christ, hath laid up in store, and prepared for them that humbly submit themselves to God's will, and evermore unfeignedly love him from the bottom of their hearts. And we ought to believe, that death, being slain by Christ, cannot keep any man that stedfastly trusteth in Christ, under his perpetual tyranny and subjection; but that he shall rise from death again unto glory at the last day, appointed by Almighty God, like as Christ our head did rise[l] again, according to God's appointment, the third day. For St Augustine saith[1], "the head going before, the members trust to follow and come after." And St Paul saith, *If Christ be risen from the dead, we shall rise also from the same.* And to comfort all Christian persons herein, holy Scripture calleth this bodily death a sleep; wherein man's senses be, as it were, taken from him for a season, and yet, when he awaketh, he is more fresh than he was when he went to bed. So, although we have our souls separated

1 Cor. iii. [16.]

[1 Cor. ii. 9.]

[1 Cor. xv. 20.]

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[h] they] them 1587.
[i] moveth] move 1547, 1563.
[k] nor any] nor for any 1587, 1563.
[l] rise] arise 1547.

[1 Resurrectionem enim Christiani novimus in capite nostro jam factam et in membris futuram. Quod præcessit in capite sequetur in corpore. S. Augustin. in Psalm. LXV.: Opp. Tom. IV., 478, E.]

from our bodies for a season; yet at the general resurrection we shall be more fresh, beautiful, and perfect than we be now. For now we be mortal; then we shall[m] be immortal: now infected[n] with divers infirmities; then clearly void of all [mortal[o]] infirmities: now we be subject to all carnal desires; then we shall be all spiritual, desiring nothing but God's glory, and things eternal.

Thus is this[p] bodily death a door or entering unto life; and therefore not so much dreadful, if it be rightly considered, as it is comfortable: not a mischief, but a remedy for[q] all mischief: no enemy, but a friend: not a cruel tyrant, but a gentle guide; leading us not to mortality but to immortality, not to sorrow and pain but to joy and pleasure, and that to endure for ever; if it be thankfully taken and accepted as God's messenger, and patiently borne of us for Christ's love, that suffered most painful death for our love, to redeem us from death eternal. According here-

Col. iii. [3, 4.] unto St Paul saith, *Our life is hid with Christ in God; but when our life shall appear, then shall we also appear with him in glory.* Why then shall we fear to die, considering the manifold and comfortable promises of the Gospel,

1 John v. [11.] and of Holy Scriptures? *God the Father hath given us everlasting life,* saith St John, *and this life is in his Son. He that hath the Son hath life; and he that hath not the*

1 John v. [12, 13.] *Son hath not life. And this I wrote*[r], saith St John, *to you that believe in the name of the Son of God, that you may know that you have everlasting life, and that you do believe upon the name of the Son of God.* And our Saviour Christ

John vi. [40.] saith, *He that believeth in me hath life everlasting, and I will raise him from death to life at the last day.* St Paul

1 Cor. i. [30, 31.] also saith, *that Christ is ordained and made of God our righteousness, our holiness and redemption, to the intent that he which will glory should glory in the Lord.* St Paul did

[Phil. iii. 8, 9.] contemn and set little by all other things, *esteeming them as dung,* which before he had in very great price, that he might be found in Christ, to have everlasting life, true holiness, righteousness, and redemption. Finally, St Paul maketh a

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[m] we shall] shall we 1582, 1587, 1595.

[n] infected] infect 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587.

[o] mortal] immortal 1574, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[p] this] the 1547.

[q] for] of 1547, 1563.

[r] wrote] write 1582-1623.

plain argument in this wise, *If our heavenly Father would not spare his own natural Son, but did give him to death for us; how can it be, that with him he should not give us all things?* Therefore if we have Christ, then have we, with him and by him, all good things whatsoever we can in our hearts wish or desire; as victory over death, sin, and hell; we have the favour of God, peace with him, holiness, wisdom, justice, power, life, and redemption; we have by him perpetual health, wealth, joy, and bliss everlasting. Rom. viii. [32.]

THE SECOND PART[a] OF THE SERMON OF THE FEAR OF DEATH.

IT[a] hath been heretofore shewed you, that there be three causes, wherefore men do commonly fear death. First, the sorrowful departing from worldly goods and pleasures. The second, the fear of the pangs and pains that come with death. The last and principal cause is, the horrible fear of extreme misery and perpetual damnation in time to come. And yet none of these three causes troubleth good men; because they stay themselves by true faith, perfect charity, and sure hope of the endless joy and bliss everlasting.

All those therefore have great cause to be full of joy, that be joined to Christ with true faith, stedfast hope, and perfect charity; and not to fear death, nor everlasting damnation. For death cannot deprive them of Jesus Christ; nor any sin can[b] condemn them that are grafted surely in him, which is their only joy, treasure, and life. Let us repent our[c] sins, amend our lives, trust in his mercy, and satisfaction; and death can neither take him from us, nor us from him. For then, as St Paul saith, *whether we live or die, we be the Lord's own.* And again he saith, *Christ did die, and rose again, because he should be Lord both of the dead and quick.* Then, if we be the Lord's own when we be dead, it must needs follow that such temporal death not only cannot harm us, but also that it shall much be[d] to our profit, and join us unto God more perfectly. And thereof the christian Rom. xiv. [8, 9.]

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[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.
[a] It hath...everlasting] *wanting* 1547.
[b] can] *wanting* 1595.
[c] repent our] repent us of our 1547.
[d] much be] be much 1582, 1623.

heart may surely be certified by the infallible or undeceivable[e] truth of Holy Scripture. *It is God*, saith St Paul, *which hath prepared us unto immortality: and the same is he which hath given us an earnest of the Spirit.* Therefore let us be always of good comfort; for we know that so long as we be in the body, we be as it were far from God in a strange country, subject to many perils, walking without perfect sight and knowledge of Almighty God, only seeing him by faith in Holy Scriptures. But we have a courage and desire[f] rather to be at home with God and our Saviour Christ, far from the body; where we may behold his Godhead, as he is, face to face, to our everlasting comfort. These be St Paul's words in effect: whereby we may perceive, that the life in this world is resembled and likened to a pilgrimage in a strange country, far from God; and that death, delivering us from our bodies, doth send us straight home into our own country, and maketh us to dwell presently with God for ever, in everlasting[g] rest and quietness: so that to die is no loss, but profit and winning to all true christian people. What lost the thief, that hanged on the cross with Christ, by his bodily death? Yea, how much did he gain by it! Did not our Saviour say unto him, *This day thou shalt be with me in paradise?* And Lazarus, that pitiful person, that lay before the rich man's gate, pained with sores, and pined with hunger; did not death highly profit and promote him, which by the ministry of angels sent him unto Abraham's bosom, a place of rest, joy, and heavenly consolation? Let us think none other, good christian people, but Christ hath prepared, and made ready before[h], the same joy and felicity for us, that he prepared for Lazarus and the thief. Wherefore, let us stick unto his salvation and gracious redemption; and believe his word, serve him from our hearts, love and obey him: and whatsoever we have done heretofore contrary to his most holy will, now let us repent in time, and hereafter study to correct our life; and doubt not, but[i] we shall find him as merciful unto us, as he was either to Lazarus, or to the thief: whose examples are written in Holy Scripture for the comfort of them that be sinners, and subject

2 Cor. v. [5.]

Luke xxiii. [43.]

Luke xvi. [22.]

[e] or undeceivable] *wanting* 1547.
[f] desire] delight 1547.
[g] everlasting] perpetual 1547.
[h] and made ready before] *wanting* 1547.
[i] but] *wanting* 1547.

to sorrows, miseries, and calamities in this world; that they should not despair in[k] God's mercy, but ever trust thereby to have forgiveness of their sins, and life everlasting, as Lazarus and the thief had. Thus I trust every christian man perceiveth by the infallible or undeceivable[l] word of God, that bodily death cannot harm nor hinder them that truly believe in Christ; but contrariwise[m] shall profit and promote the christian souls, which being truly penitent for their offences, depart hence in perfect charity, and in sure trust that God is merciful to them, forgiving their sins, for the merits of Jesus Christ his only natural Son.

The second cause why some do fear death.

The second cause why some do fear death, is sore sickness and grievous pains, which partly come before death, and partly accompanieth[n] or cometh with[o] death, whensoever it cometh. This fear is the fear of the frail flesh, and a natural passion belonging unto the nature of a mortal man. But true faith in[p] God's promises, and regard[q] of the pains and pangs which Christ upon the cross suffered for us miserable sinners, with consideration of the joy and everlasting life to come in heaven, will mitigate and assuage less[r] those pains, and moderate or bring into a mean[s] this fear, that it shall never be able to overthrow the hearty desire and gladness that the christian soul hath to be separated from this corrupt body, that it may come to the gracious presence of our Saviour Jesus Christ. If we believe stedfastly the word of God, we shall perceive that such bodily sickness, pangs of death, or whatsoever dolorous pangs we suffer either before or with death, be nothing else in christian men but the rod of our heavenly and loving Father; wherewith he mercifully correcteth us, either to try and declare the faith of his patient children that they may be found laudable, glorious, and honourable in his sight, when Jesus Christ shall be openly shewed to be the Judge of all the world, or else to chastise[t] and amend in them whatsoever offendeth his fatherly and gracious goodness, lest they should perish everlastingly. And this his correcting rod is common to all them[u] that

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[k] in] of 1595.

[l] or undeceivable] *wanting* 1547.

[m] contrariwise] contrary 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595, contrarily 1623.

[n] accompanieth] accompany 1623.

[o] or cometh with] *wanting* 1547, or come with 1623.

[p] in] by 1587, 1595.

[q] regard] in regard 1587, 1595.

[r] and assuage less] *wanting* 1547.

[s] or bring into a mean] *wanting* 1547.

[t] chastise] chasten 1547.

[u] them] men 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

be truly his. Therefore let us cast away the burden of sin that lieth too[x] heavy in our necks, and return unto God by true penance[y] and amendment of our lives. Let us with patience run this course that is appointed; suffering, for his sake that died for our salvation, all sorrows and pangs of death, and death itself joyfully, when God sendeth it to us; having our eyes fixed and set fast[z] ever upon the Head and Captain of our faith, Jesus Christ; who, considering the joy that he should come unto, cared neither for the shame nor pain of death, but willingly conforming and framing[a] his will to his Father's will, most patiently suffered the most shameful and painful death of the cross, being innocent and harmless[b]. And now therefore he is exalted in heaven, and everlastingly sitteth on the right hand of the throne of God the Father. Let us call to our remembrance therefore the life and joys of heaven, that are kept for all them that patiently do suffer here with Christ; and consider that Christ suffered all his painful passion by sinners, and for sinners; and then we shall with patience, and the more easily, suffer such sorrows and pains when they come. Let us not set at light the chastising of the Lord; nor grudge at him, nor fall from him, when of him we be corrected: for the Lord loveth them whom he doth correct, and beateth every one whom he taketh to be[c] his child. *What child is that,* saith St Paul, *whom the Father loveth, and doth not chastise? If ye be without God's correction, which all his well-beloved and true children have, then be you but bastards, smally regarded of God, and not his true children. Therefore seeing that, when we have on*[d] *earth our carnal fathers to be our correctors, we do fear them, and reverently take their correction; shall we not much more be in subjection to God our spiritual Father, by whom we shall have everlasting*[e] *life? And our carnal fathers sometime correct us, even as pleaseth*[f] *them, without cause: but this Father justly correcteth us; either for our sin, to the intent we should amend; or for our commodity and wealth, to make us thereby partakers of his holiness.* Furthermore all correc-

[Heb. xii. 1, 2.] [Phil. ii. [8].] [Prov. iii. 11, 12.] [Heb. xii. [2].] [Heb. xii. 9—11.]

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x too] so 1547.
y penance] repentance 1595.
z and set fast] *wanting* 1547.
a and framing] *wanting* 1547.
b and harmless] *wanting* 1547.
c to be] *wanting* 1582, 1623.
d on] in 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
e everlasting] eternal 1547.
f pleaseth] it pleaseth 1582, 1623.

tion, which God sendeth us in this present time, seemeth to have no joy and comfort, but sorrow and pain: yet it bringeth with it a taste[i] of God's mercy and goodness towards them that be so corrected, and a sure hope of God's everlasting consolation in heaven. If then these sorrows, diseases, and sicknesses, and also death itself, be nothing else but our heavenly Father's rod, whereby he certifieth us of his love and gracious favour; whereby he trieth and purifieth us; whereby he giveth unto us holiness, and certifieth us that we be his children, and he our merciful Father; shall not we then with all humility, as obedient and loving children, joyfully kiss our heavenly Father's rod; and ever say in our heart, with our Saviour Jesus Christ, 'Father, if this anguish and sorrow which I feel, and death which I see approach, may not pass, but that thy will is that I must suffer them, *Thy will be done?*' Matt. xxvi. [39.]

THE THIRD PART OF THE SERMON OF THE FEAR OF DEATH[a].

IN this Sermon against the Fear of Death, two causes were declared, which commonly move worldly men to be in much fear to die: and yet the same do nothing trouble the faithful and good livers, when death cometh; but rather giveth them occasion greatly to rejoice, considering that they shall be delivered from the sorrow and misery of this world, and be brought to the great joy and felicity of the life to come[b].

Now the third and special cause, why death indeed is to be feared, is the miserable state of the worldly and ungodly people after their death. But this is no cause at all, why the godly and faithful people should fear death: but rather contrariwise, their godly conversation in this life, and belief in Christ, cleaving continually to his merits[c], should make them to long sore after that life that remaineth for them undoubtedly after this bodily death. Of this immortal state, after this transitory life, where we shall live evermore in the The third cause why death is to be feared.

[i] taste] state 1547, taste 1547 (*earlier ed.*)

[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.

[b] In this Sermon...life to come, *wanting* 1547.

[c] merits] mercies 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

presence of God, in joy and rest, after victory over all sickness, sorrows, sin, and death, there be many both[d] plain places of Holy Scripture, which confirm the weak conscience against the fear of all such dolors, sicknesses, sin, and bodily death[e]; to assuage such trembling and ungodly fear; and to encourage us with comfort and hope of a blessed state after this life. St Paul wisheth unto the Ephesians, *That God the Father of glory would give unto them the spirit of wisdom and revelation; that the eyes of their hearts might give light*[f] *to know him, and to perceive how great things he had called them unto, and how rich inheritance he hath prepared after this life for them that pertain unto him.* And St Paul himself declareth the desire of his heart, which was *to be dissolved and loosed from his body, and to be with Christ; which,* as he said, *was much better for him, although to them it was more necessary that he should live;* which he refused not for their sakes. Even like as St Martin said, "Good Lord, if I be necessary for thy people to do good unto them, I will refuse no labour: but else for mine own self, I beseech thee to take my soul[1]."

Ephes. i. [17, 18.]

Phil. i. [23, 24.]

Now the holy fathers of the old Law, and all faithful and righteous men which departed before our Saviour Christ's ascension into heaven, did by death depart from troubles unto rest; from the hands of their enemies into the hands of God; from sorrows and sicknesses unto joyful refreshing in[g] Abraham's bosom, a place of all comfort and consolation, as the Scriptures do plainly by manifest words testify. The Book of Wisdom saith, *That the righteous men's souls be in the hand of God, and no torment shall touch them. They seemed to the eyes of foolish men to die, and their death was counted miserable, and their departing out of this world wretched; but they be in rest.* And another place saith, *That the righteous shall live for ever, and their reward is with the Lord, and their minds be with God, who is above all; therefore they shall receive a glorious king-*

Wisd. iii. [1, 3.]

Wisd. v. [15, 16.]

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[d] both] *wanting* 1623.
[e] bodily death] death corporal 1547.
[f] give light] have light 1547, give life 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[g] in] into 1547, 1563.

[1 'Domine, si adhuc populo tuo sum necessarius, non recuso laborem; fiat voluntas tua.' In vita D. Mart. a Sulpic. Sever. p. 19. edit. Basil. 1551.]

dom, and a beautiful crown at the Lord's hand. And in another place the same book saith, *The righteous, though he be prevented with sudden death, nevertheless he shall be there where he shall be refreshed.* Of Abraham's bosom, Christ's words be so plain that a christian man needeth no more proof of it. Now then if this were the state of the holy fathers and righteous men, before the coming of our Saviour, and before he was glorified; how much more then ought all we to have a stedfast faith, and a sure hope of this blessed state and condition, after our death; seeing that our Saviour now hath performed the whole work of our redemption, and is gloriously ascended into heaven, to prepare our dwelling-places with him, and said unto his Father, *Father, I will that where I am, my servants shall be with me.* And we know, that whatsoever Christ will, his Father will the same: wherefore it cannot be, but, if we be his faithful servants, our souls shall be with him after our departing[h] out of this present life. St Stephen, when he was stoned to death, even in the midst of his torments, what was his mind most upon? When he was *full of the Holy Ghost*, saith Holy Scripture, *having his eyes lifted up into heaven, he saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing on the right hand of God.* The which truth after he had confessed boldly before the enemies of Christ, they drew him out of the city, and there they stoned him; who cried unto God, saying, *Lord Jesu Christ, take my spirit.* And doth not our Saviour say plainly in St John's Gospel, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, He that heareth my word, and believeth on*[i] *him that sent me, hath everlasting life, and cometh not into judgment, but shall pass from death to life?* Shall we not then think that death to be precious, by the which we pass unto life?

[Wisd. iv. 7.] [John xvii. [24.]] [Acts vii. [55.]] [Acts vii. 59.] [John v. [24.]]

Therefore it is a true saying of the Prophet, *The death of the holy and righteous men is precious in the Lord's sight.* Holy Simeon, after that he had his heart's desire in seeing our Saviour, that he ever longed for all his life[k], he embraced or took him in his arms[l], and said: *Now, Lord, let me depart in peace, for mine eyes have beholden that Saviour which thou hast prepared for all nations.*

[Psal. cxvi. [15.]] [Luke ii. [29.]]

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[h] departing] departure 1623.
[i] on] *wanting* 1547.
[k] all his life] his life 1582, 1587, 1595.
[l] embraced or took him in his arms] embraced him 1547... and took &c. 1582, 1587, 1595.

It is truth therefore, that the death of the righteous is called peace, and the benefit of the Lord, as the church saith, in the name of the righteous departed out of this world, *My soul, turn thee to thy rest, for the Lord hath been good to thee, and rewarded thee.* And we see by holy Scripture, and other ancient histories of martyrs, that the holy, faithful, and righteous, ever since Christ's ascension or going up[m], in their death did not doubt but that they went to Christ[n] in spirit, which is our life, health, wealth, and salvation. John in his holy Revelation saw an hundred and forty-four thousand Virgins and Innocents, of whom he said, *These follow the Lamb Jesu Christ wheresoever he goeth.* And shortly after in the same place he saith, *I heard a voice from heaven saying unto me, Write, Happy and blessed are the dead which die in the Lord: from henceforth surely, saith the Spirit, they shall rest from their pains and labours; for their works do follow them:* so that then they shall reap, with joy and comfort, that which they sowed with labours and pains. *They that sow in the Spirit, of the Spirit shall reap everlasting life. Let us therefore never be weary of well-doing: for when the time of reaping or reward cometh, we shall reap, without any weariness, everlasting joy. Therefore while we have time,* as St. Paul exhorteth us, *let us do good to all men;* and not *lay up our treasures in earth, where rust and moths corrupt it: which rust,* as St. James saith, *shall bear witness against us at the great day,* condemn us, and shall like most burning[o] fire torment our flesh. Let us beware therefore, as we tender our own wealth, that we be not in the number of those miserable, covetous, and wretched[p] men, which St. James biddeth *mourn and lament for their greedy gathering and ungodly keeping of goods.* Let us be wise in time, and learn to follow the wise example of the wicked Steward. Let us so wisely order our goods and possessions, committed unto us here by God for a season, that we may truly hear and obey this commandment of our Saviour Christ, *I say unto you,* saith he, *make you friends of the wicked mammon, that they may receive you into everlasting tabernacles or dwellings*[q]. Riches be called

Psal. cxvi. [17.]
Rev. xiv. [4.]
[Rev. xiv. 13.]
Gal. vi. [8, 9, 10.]
Matt. vi. [19.]
James v. [3.]
James v. [3.]
Luke xvi. [9.]

[m] or going up] *wanting* 1547.
[n] to Christ] to be with Christ 1547.
[o] burning] brenning 1547, 1563.
[p] and wretched] *wanting* 1547.
[q] or dwellings] *wanting* 1547.

wicked, because the world abuseth them unto all wickedness, which are otherwise the good gifts[r] of God, and the instruments whereby God's servants do truly serve him in using of the same. He commandeth them not to make them rich friends, to get high dignities and worldly promotions[s], to give great gifts to rich men that have no need thereof; but to make them friends of poor and miserable men, unto whom whatsoever they give, Christ taketh[t] it as given to himself. And to these friends Christ in the Gospel giveth so great honour and pre-eminence, that he saith, they shall receive them that do good unto them[u] into everlasting houses: not that men shall be our rewarders[x] for our well-doing, but that Christ will reward us, and take it to be done unto himself, whatsoever is done to such friends.

Thus making poor wretches our friends, we make our Saviour Christ our friend, whose members they are: whose misery as he taketh for his own misery, so their relief, succour, and help, he taketh for his succour, relief, and help; and will as much thank us and reward us for our goodness shewed to them, as if he[y] himself had received like benefit at our hands: as he witnesseth in the Gospel, saying, *Whatsoever ye have done to any of these simple persons, which do believe in me, that have ye done to myself.* Matt. xxv. [40.]

Therefore let us diligently foresee, that our faith and hope, which we have conceived in Almighty God and in our Saviour Christ, wax not faint; nor that the love, which we bear in hand[z] to bear to him, wax not cold: but let us study daily and diligently to shew ourselves to be the true honourers and lovers of God, by keeping of his commandments, by doing of good deeds unto our needy neighbours, relieving by all means that we can their poverty with our abundance and plenty[a], their ignorance with our wisdom and learning, and comfort their weakness with our strength and authority; calling all men back from evil-doing by godly counsel and good example, persevering still in well-doing, so long as we live. So shall we not need to fear death from any of those three causes aforementioned, nor yet for any other cause that can be imagined.

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[r] gifts] gift 1547.
[s] promotions] possessions 1547.
[t] taketh] accepteth 1547.
[u] them that do good unto them] their benefactors 1547.
[x] our rewarders] our reward 1547, our rewards 1563, rewarders 1595.
[y] he] *wanting* 1547.
[z] bear in hand] pretend 1547.
[a] and plenty] *wanting* 1547.

But contrary[b], considering the manifold sicknesses, troubles, and sorrows of this present life, the dangers of this perilous pilgrimage, and the great encumbrance which our spirit hath by his[c] sinful flesh and frail body, subject to death; considering also the manifold sorrows and dangerous deceits of this world on every side; the intolerable pride, covetousness, and lechery, in time of prosperity; the impatient murmuring of them that be worldly, in time of adversity, which cease not to withdraw and pluck us from God, our Saviour Christ, from our life, wealth, or everlasting[d] joy and salvation; considering also the innumerable assaults of our ghostly enemy the devil, with all his fiery darts of ambition, pride, lechery, vain-glory, envy, malice, detraction, or backbiting[e], with other his innumerable deceits, engines, and snares, whereby *he goeth* 1 Pet. v. [8.] *busily about* to catch all men under his dominion, *ever like a roaring lion, by all means searching whom he may devour*:— the faithful christian man which considereth all these miseries, perils, and incommodities, whereunto he is subject so long as he here liveth upon earth[f]; and on the other part considereth that blessed and comfortable state of the heavenly life to come, and the sweet condition of them that depart in the Lord; how they are delivered from the continual encumbrances of their mortal and sinful body; from all the malice, crafts, and deceits of this world; from all the assaults of their ghostly enemy the devil; to live in peace, rest, and endless[g] quietness; to live in the fellowship of innumerable Angels, and with the congregation of perfect just men, as Patriarchs, Prophets, Martyrs, and Confessors; and finally unto the presence of Almighty God and our Saviour Jesus Christ:— he that doth consider all these things; and believeth them assuredly as they are to be believed, even from the bottom of his heart; being established[h] in God in this true faith, having a quiet conscience in Christ, a firm hope and assured trust in God's mercy, through the merits of Jesu Christ, to obtain this quietness, rest, and everlasting joy; shall not only be without fear of bodily death when it cometh, but certainly, as St Paul did, so shall he gladly, according to God's will, and when it pleaseth[i] God to call him out of this life,

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[b] contrary] contrarily 1623.
[c] his] this 1547.
[d] everlasting] eternal 1547.
[e] or backbiting] *wanting* 1547.
[f] earth] the earth 1595.
[g] endless] perpetual 1547.
[h] established] stablished 1547.
[i] pleaseth] please 1547.

greatly desire in his heart, that he may be rid from all these occasions of evil, and live ever to God's pleasure, in perfect obedience of his will, with our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whose gracious presence the Lord of his infinite mercy and grace bring us, to reign with him in life everlasting: to whom, with our heavenly Father and the Holy Ghost, be glory in worlds without end. *Amen.* Phil. i. [23.]

AN EXHORTATION

CONCERNING GOOD ORDER, AND OBEDIENCE TO RULERS AND MAGISTRATES.

ALMIGHTY God hath created and appointed all things in heaven, earth, and waters, in a most excellent and perfect order. In heaven he hath appointed distinct and several[a] orders and states of archangels and angels. In earth he hath assigned and appointed[b] kings, princes[c], with other governors under them, in all[d] good and necessary order. The water above is kept, and raineth down in due time and season. The sun, moon, stars, rainbow, thunder, lightning, clouds, and all birds of the air, do keep their order. The earth, trees, seeds, plants, herbs, corn, grass, and all manner of beasts, keep themselves[e] in their[f] order. All the parts of the whole year, as winter, summer, months, nights, and days, continue in their order. All kinds of fishes in the sea, rivers, and waters; with all fountains, springs[g]; yea, the seas themselves, keep their comely course and order. And man himself also hath all his parts both within and without; as soul, heart, mind, memory, understanding, reason, speech, with all and singular corporal members of his body, in a profitable, necessary, and pleasant order. Every degree of people in their vocation, calling, and office, hath appointed to them their duty and order: some are in high degree, some in low; some kings and princes, some inferiors and subjects; priests and laymen, masters and servants, fathers and children, husbands and wives, rich and poor; and every one have need of other: so that in all things is to be lauded and praised the goodly order of God; without the which no house, no city, no commonwealth, can continue and endure, or last[h]. For, where there is no right order, there reigneth all abuse, carnal liberty, enormity, sin, and Babylonical confusion. Take away kings, princes, rulers, magistrates, judges, and such estates[i] of God's order; no man shall ride or go by the highway unrobbed; no man shall sleep in his own house or bed unkilled; no man

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[a] and several] *wanting* 1547, or several 1563.
[b] and appointed] *wanting* 1547.
[c] princes] and princes 1547.
[d] in all] all in 1547, 1563.
[e] themselves] them 1547.
[f] their] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[g] springs] and springs 1547.
[h] or last] *wanting* 1547.
[i] estates] states 1547.

shall keep his wife, children, and possessions in quietness: all things shall be common: and there must needs follow all mischief and utter destruction both of souls, bodies, goods, and[k] commonwealths.

But blessed be God that we in this realm of England feel not the horrible calamities, miseries, and wretchedness, which all they undoubtedly feel and suffer, that lack this godly order: and praised be God that we know the great excellent benefit of God shewed towards us in this behalf. God hath sent us his high gift, our most dear sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth[l], with a[m] godly, wise, and honourable council, with other superiors and inferiors, in a beautiful order, and goodly[n]. Wherefore, let us subjects do our bounden duties; giving hearty thanks to God, and praying for the preservation of this godly order. Let us all obey, even from the bottom of our hearts, all their godly proceedings, laws, statutes, proclamations, and injunctions, with all other godly[o] orders[p]. Let us consider the Scriptures of the Holy Ghost, which persuade and command us all obediently to be subject, first and chiefly to the Queen's[q] majesty, supreme governor[r] over all; and next, to her[s] honourable council, and to all other noblemen, magistrates, and officers, which by God's goodness be placed and ordered. For Almighty God is the only author and provider of[t] this forenamed state and order: as it is written of God in the book of Proverbs[u], *Through me kings do reign; through me counsellors make just laws; through me do princes bear rule, and all judges of the earth execute judgment: I am loving to them that love me.* Prov. viii. [15—17.]

Here let us mark well and remember, that the high power and authority of kings, with their making of laws, judgments, and offices[x], are the ordinances, not of man, but of God: and therefore is[y] this word, *Through me*, so many times repeated. Here is also well to be considered and remembered, that this good order is appointed of[z] God's wisdom,

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[k] and] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[l] lady Queen Elizabeth] lord King Edward the Sixth 1547, lord King James 1623.

[m] a] *wanting* 1547.

[n] and goodly] *wanting* 1547, and godly 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[o] godly] their godly 1547.

[p] orders] order 1587, 1595.

[q] Queen's] King's 1547, 1623.

[r] governor] head 1547, governess 1595.

[s] her] his 1547, 1623.

[t] of] for 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[u] Proverbs] the Proverbs 1547, 1623.

[x] offices] officers 1547.

[y] is] in 1563.

[z] of] by 1623.

favour, and love, specially for them that love God; and therefore he saith, *I love them that love me.* Also in the Book of Wisdom we may evidently learn, that a king's power, authority, and strength, is a great benefit of God; given of his great mercy, to the comfort of our great misery. For thus we read there spoken to kings, *Hear, O ye kings, and understand; learn, ye that be judges of the ends of the earth; give ear, ye that rule the multitudes; for the power is*[a] *given you of the Lord, and the strength from the Highest.* Let us learn also here by the infallible and undeceivable[b] word of God, that kings, and other supreme and higher officers, are ordained of God, who is most highest: and therefore they are here diligently taught[c] to apply and give[d] themselves to knowledge and wisdom, necessary for the ordering of God's people to their governance committed, or whom to govern they are charged of God[e]. And they be here also taught by almighty God, that they should reknowledge[f] themselves to have all their power and strength, not from Rome, but immediately of God most highest. We read in the book of Deuteronomy, that all punishment pertaineth to God, by this sentence, *Vengeance is mine, and I will reward.* But this sentence we must understand to pertain also unto[g] the magistrates, which do exercise God's room in judgment, and punishing by good and godly laws, here in earth. And the places of Scripture, which seem to remove from among all Christian men, judgment, punishment, or killing, ought to be understand[h], That no man, of his own private authority, may be judge over other, may punish, or may kill. But we must refer all judgment to God, to kings and rulers, judges[i] under them; which be God's officers to execute justice, and by plain words of Scripture have their authority and use of the sword granted from God; as we are taught by St Paul, that dear and chosen[k] apostle of our Saviour Christ, whom we ought diligently to obey, even as we would obey our Saviour Christ, if he were present. Thus St Paul writeth to the Romans, *Let every soul submit himself unto*

Wisd. vi. [1—3.]

Deut. xxxii. [35.]

Rom. xiii. [1—6.]

[a] is] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[b] and undeceivable] *wanting* 1547.
[c] diligently taught] taught diligently 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[d] and give] *wanting* 1547.
[e] or.....of God] *wanting* 1547.
[f] reknowledge] acknowledge 1623.
[g] unto] to 1547.
[h] understand] understood 1623.
[i] judges] and judges 1547.
[k] chosen] elect 1547.

the authority of the higher powers: for there is no power but of God: the powers that be, be ordained of God. Whosoever therefore withstandeth[1] *the power, withstandeth*[1] *the ordinance of God: but they that resist, or are against*[m], *shall receive to*[n] *themselves damnation. For rulers are not fearful to them that do good, but to them that do evil. Wilt thou be without fear of that*[o] *power? Do well then, and so shalt thou be praised of the same; for he is the minister of God for thy wealth. But and if thou do that which is evil, then fear: for he beareth not the sword for naught; for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on him that doth evil. Wherefore ye must needs obey, not only for fear of vengeance, but also because of conscience: and even for this cause pay ye tribute; for they are God's ministers, serving for the same purpose.*

Here let us all[p] learn of St Paul, the chosen[q] vessel of God, that all persons having souls—"he excepteth none, nor exempteth none, neither priest, apostle, nor prophet," saith St Chrysostom[1]—do owe of bounden duty, and even in conscience, obedience, submission, and subjection to the high[r] powers which be set[s] in authority by God; forasmuch as they be God's lieutenants, God's presidents, God's officers, God's commissioners, God's judges, ordained of God himself, of whom only they have all their power, and all their authority. And the same St Paul threateneth no less pain than everlasting damnation to all disobedient persons, to all resisters against this general and common authority, forasmuch as they resist not man, but God; not man's device and invention, but God's wisdom, God's order, power, and authority.

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[1] withstandeth] resisteth 1547.
[m] or are against] *wanting* 1547..... against it 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[n] to] *wanting* 1563.
[o] that] the 1547, 1563.
[p] all] *wanting* 1623.
[q] chosen] elect 1547.
[r] high] higher 1547.
[s] set] constituted 1547.

[1 Πᾶσι ταῦτα διατάττεται καὶ ἱερεῦσι καὶ μοναχοῖς, οὐχὶ τοῖς βιωτικοῖς μόνον, κ. τ. λ. S. Chrys. in loc. Opp. Tom. IX. p. 686, B. Paris. 1731.]

THE SECOND PART OF THE SERMON OF OBEDIENCE[a].

FORASMUCH as God hath created and disposed all things in a comely order, we have been taught, in the first part of the Sermon concerning good Order and Obedience, that we also ought in all commonwealths to observe and keep a due order, and to be obedient to the powers, their ordinances and laws; and that all rulers are appointed of God, for a goodly order to be kept in the world: and also how the magistrates ought to learn how to rule and govern according to God's laws: and that all subjects are bound to obey them as God's ministers, yea, although they be evil, not only for fear, but also for conscience sake[b].

And here, good people, let us all mark diligently, that it is not lawful for inferiors and subjects in any case, to resist or stand against[c] the superior powers: for St Paul's words be plain, *that whosoever withstandeth*[d] *shall get*[e] *to themselves damnation; for whosoever withstandeth*[d], *withstandeth*[d] *the ordinance of God.* Our Saviour Christ himself and his apostles received many and divers injuries of the unfaithful and wicked men in authority: yet we never read that they, or any of them, caused any sedition or rebellion against authority. We read oft, that they patiently suffered all troubles, vexations, slanders, pangs, and pains, and death itself, obediently, without tumult or resistance. They committed their cause to him that judgeth righteously; and prayed for their enemies heartily and earnestly. They knew that the authority of the[f] powers was God's ordinance; and therefore, both in their words and deeds, they taught ever obedience to it, and never taught nor did the contrary. The wicked judge Pilate said to Christ, *Knowest thou not, that I have power to crucify thee, and have power also to loose thee? Jesus answered, Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above.* Whereby Christ taught us plainly, that even the wicked rulers have their power and authority from God. And therefore it is not lawful for their

[Rom. xiii. 2.]

[John xix. 10, 11.]

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[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.

[b] Forasmuch ... for conscience sake] *wanting* 1547.

[c] or stand against] *wanting* 1547, and stand against 1587, 1595, 1623.

[d] withstandeth] resisteth 1547.

[e] get] shette 1563 (*misprint*).

[f] the] that 1563.

subjects by force[g] to withstand[h] them, although they abuse their power: much less then is it lawful for subjects to withstand[h] their godly and christian princes, which do not abuse their authority, but use the same to God's glory, and to the profit and commodity of God's people. The holy apostle St[i] Peter commandeth *servants to be obedient to their masters, not only if they be good and gentle, but also if they be evil and froward;* affirming that the vocation and calling of God's people is to be patient, and of the suffering sides[k]. And there he bringeth in the patience of our Saviour Christ, to persuade obedience to governors, yea, although they be wicked and wrong-doers. But let us now hear St Peter himself speak, for his words[l] certify best our conscience. Thus he uttereth them in his first Epistle, *Servants, obey your masters with fear, not only if they be good and gentle, but also if they be froward. For it is thankworthy*[m], *if a man for conscience toward God endureth*[n] *grief, and suffer*[o] *wrong undeserved: for what praise is it, when ye be beaten for your faults, if ye take it patiently? But when ye do well, if you then suffer wrong, and take it patiently, then is there cause to have thank*[p] *of God; for hereunto verily were ye called: for so did Christ suffer for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps.* All these be the very words of St Peter. St[q] David also teacheth us a good lesson in this behalf; who was many times most cruelly and wrongfully persecuted of king Saul, and many times also put in jeopardy and danger of his life by king Saul and his people; yet he neither withstood[r], neither used any force or violence against king Saul, his mortal and deadly[s] enemy; but did ever to his liege lord and master, king Saul, most true, most diligent, and most faithful service. Insomuch that, when the Lord God had given king Saul into David's hands in his own cave, he would not hurt him, when he might, without all bodily peril, easily have slain him: no[t],

1 Pet. ii. [18.]

1 Pet. ii. [18—21.]

1 Sam. xviii. xix. xx.

[1 Sam. xix. 10, 11.]

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[g] by force] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[h] withstand] resist 1547.

[i] St] *wanting* 1623.

[k] sides] side 1547.

[l] words] own words 1547, 1587, 1595.

[m] thankworthy] thanksworthy 1595.

[n] endureth] suffereth 1547, 1563.

[o] suffer] suffereth 1547, 1563.

[p] thank] thanks 1595.

[q] St] *wanting* 1587, 1595, Holy 1623.

[r] neither withstood] never resisted 1547.

[s] and deadly] *wanting* 1547, or deadly 1563.

[t] no] nor 1563.

he would not suffer any of his servants once to lay their hand upon king Saul, but prayed to God on this wise, *Lord, keep me from doing that thing unto my master the Lord's anointed; keep me that I lay not my hand upon him, seeing he is the anointed of the Lord: for as truly as the Lord liveth, except the Lord smite him, or except his day come, or that he go down to war, and perish in battle*[u], *the Lord be merciful unto me, that I lay not my hand upon the Lord's anointed.* And that David might have killed his enemy king Saul, it is evidently proved in the first Book of the Kings, both by the cutting off the lap of Saul's garment, and also by plain confession of king Saul. Also another time, as is mentioned in the same Book, when the most unmerciful and most unkind king Saul did persecute poor David, God did again give king Saul into David's hands, by casting of[x] king Saul and his whole army into a dead sleep; so that David and one Abishai with him came in the night into[y] Saul's host, where Saul lay sleeping, and his spear stuck in the ground at his head. *Then said Abishai unto David, God hath delivered thine enemy into thine hands at this time: now therefore let me smite him once with my spear to the earth, and I will not smite him again the second time;* meaning thereby to have killed him with one stroke, and to have made him sure for ever. And David answered and said to Abishai, *Destroy him not: for who can lay his hands on the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless? And David said furthermore, As sure as the Lord liveth, the Lord shall smite him, or his day shall come to die, or he shall descend or go down*[z] *into battle, and there perish: the Lord keep me from laying my hands upon the Lord's anointed. But take thou now the spear that is at his head, and the cruse of water, and let us go:* and so he did. Here is evidently proved, that we may not withstand[a] nor in any wise hurt an anointed king; which is God's lieutenant, vicegerent, and highest minister in that country where he is king. But peradventure some here would say, that David in his own defence might have killed king Saul lawfully, and with a safe conscience. But holy David did know that he might in no wise withstand[a], hurt,

[1 Sam. xxiv. 2—7.]

[1 Sam. xxvi. 8—11.]

An objection.

An answer.

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[u] perish in battle] in battle perish 1547.

[x] of] off 1587, 1595.

[y] into] in 1547.

[z] or go down] *wanting* 1547.

[a] withstand] resist 1547.

or kill his sovereign lord and king; he did know that he was but king Saul's subject, though he were in great favour with God, and his enemy king Saul out of God's favour. Therefore, though he were never so much provoked, yet he refused utterly to hurt the Lord's anointed. He durst not, for offending God and his own conscience, (although he had occasion and opportunity,) once lay his hands upon God's high officer the king, whom he did know to be a person reserved and kept[b], for his office sake, only to God's punishment and judgment; therefore he prayeth so oft and so earnestly, that he lay not his hands upon the Lord's anointed. And by these two examples, St[c] David, being named in scripture a man after God's own heart, giveth a general rule and lesson to all subjects in the world, not to withstand[d] their liege lord and king; not to take a sword by their private authority against their king, God's anointed: who only beareth the sword by God's authority, for the maintenance of the good, and for the punishment of the evil; who only, by God's law, hath the use of the sword at his commandment; and also hath all power, jurisdiction, regiment, correction[e], and punishment[f], as supreme governor of all his realms and dominions, and that even by the authority of God, and by God's ordinance[g].

Yet another notable story and doctrine is in the second Book of the Kings, that maketh also for this purpose. When an Amalekite, by king Saul's own consent and commandment, had killed king Saul, he went to David, supposing to have had great thank[h] for his message, that he had killed David's deadly[i] enemy; and therefore he made great haste to tell to David the chance, bringing with him king Saul's crown that was upon his head, and his bracelet that was upon his arm, to persuade his tidings to be true. But godly David was so far from rejoicing at these[k] news, that immediately and forthwith[l] he rent his clothes off his back, he mourned and wept, and said to the messenger, *How is it that thou wast not afraid to lay thy hands*[m] *on the Lord's anointed* [2 Sam. i. 8—10.] [2 Sam. i. 14—16.]

[b] and kept] *wanting* 1547.
[c] St] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[d] withstand] resist 1547.
[e] correction] and coercion 1547.
[f] and punishment] *wanting* 1547.
[g] ordinance] ordinances 1582, 1587, 1595.
[h] thank] thanks 1587, 1595.
[i] deadly] mortal 1547.
[k] these] this 1623.
[l] and forthwith] *wanting* 1547.
[m] hands] hand 1547.

to destroy him? And by and by David made one of his servants to kill the messenger; saying, *Thy blood be on thine own head; for thy*[n] *own mouth hath testified and witnessed against thee, granting that thou hast slain the Lord's anointed.*

These examples being so manifest and evident, it is an intolerable ignorance, madness, and wickedness, for subjects to make any murmuring, rebellion, resistance, or withstanding[o], commotion, or insurrection, against their most dear and most dread sovereign lord and king, ordained and appointed of God's goodness for their commodity, peace, and quietness. Yet let us believe undoubtedly, good christian people, that we may not obey kings, magistrates, or any other, though they be our own fathers, if they would command us to do any thing contrary to God's commandments. In such a case we ought to say with the Apostles, *We must rather obey God than man.* But nevertheless, in that case we may not in any wise withstand[p] violently, or rebel against rulers, or make any insurrection, sedition, or tumults, either by force of arms, or otherwise[q], against the anointed of the Lord or any of his appointed[r] officers: but we must in such case patiently suffer all wrongs and injuries; referring the judgment of our cause only to God. Let us fear the terrible punishment of Almighty God against traitors and[s] rebellious persons, by the example of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; who repugned[t] and grudged against God's magistrates and officers, and therefore the earth opened, and swallowed them up alive. Other, for their wicked murmuring and rebellion, were by a sudden fire, sent of God, utterly consumed: other, for their froward behaviour to their rulers and governors, God's ministers, were suddenly stricken with a foul leprosy: other were stinged to death with wonderful strange fiery serpents: other were sore plagued, so that there was killed in one day the number of fourteen thousand and seven hundred, for rebellion against them whom God had appointed to be in authority. Absalom also, rebelling against his father king David, was punished with a strange and notable death.

Acts v. [29.]

[Numb. xvi.]

2 Sam. xviii. [9, 10.]

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[n] thy] thine 1547, 1623.
[o] or withstanding] *wanting* 1547.
[p] withstand] resist 1547.
[q] otherwise] otherways 1563.
[r] appointed] *wanting* 1623.
[s] and] or 1547, 1563.
[t] who repugned] which repined 1547, which repugned 1563.

THE THIRD PART OF THE SERMON OF OBEDIENCE[a].

Ye have heard before, in this Sermon of good Order and Obedience, manifestly proved both by scriptures[b] and examples, that all subjects are bound to obey their Magistrates, and for no cause to resist, or withstand, rebel[c], or make any sedition against them, yea, although they be wicked men[d]. And let no man think that he can escape unpunished that committeth treason, conspiracy, or rebellion against his sovereign lord the king; though he commit the same never so secretly, either in thought, word, or deed; never so privily in his privy chamber by himself, or openly communicating and consulting with other[e]. For treason will not be hid; treason will out at the[f] length: God will have that most detestable vice both opened and punished; for that it is so directly against his ordinance, and against his high principal judge and anointed in earth. The violence and injury that is committed against authority is committed against God, the commonweal[g], and the whole realm; which God will have known, and condignly or worthily[h] punished one way or other: for it is notably written of the wise man in scripture, in the book called Ecclesiastes, *Wish the king no evil in thy thought, nor speak no hurt of him in thy privy*[i] *chamber; for the*[k] *bird of the air shall betray thy voice, and with her feathers shall bewray*[l] *thy words.* Eccles. x. [20.]

These lessons and examples are written for our learning: therefore let us all[m] fear the most detestable vice of rebellion; ever knowing and remembering, that he that resisteth or withstandeth[n] common authority, resisteth or withstandeth[n] God and his ordinance; as it may be proved by many other more[o] places of holy scripture.

And here let us take heed, that we understand not these or such other like places—which so straitly command obedi-

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[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.

[b] Scriptures] the Scriptures 1587, 1595, 1623.

[c] rebel] or rebel 1582.

[d] Ye have ... wicked men] *wanting* 1547.

[e] other] others 1623.

[f] the] *wanting* 1547, 1623.

[g] commonweal] commonwealth 1547.

[h] or worthily] *wanting* 1547.

[i] thy privy] privy thy 1595.

[k] the] a 1547, 1563.

[l] bewray] she bewray 1547.

[m] Therefore let us all] let us all therefore 1547.

[n] or withstandeth] *wanting* 1547.

[o] many other more] other many moe 1547, 1563.

ence to superiors, and so straitly punished[p] rebellion and disobedience to the same—to be meant, in any condition, of [the][q] pretenced or coloured[r] power of the bishop of Rome. For truly the scripture of God alloweth no such usurped power, full of enormities, abusions, and blasphemies: but the true meaning of these and such places be, to extol and set forth God's true ordinance, and the authority of God's anointed kings, and of their officers appointed under them. And concerning the usurped power of the bishop of Rome, which he most wrongfully challengeth as the successor of Christ and Peter; we may easily perceive how false, feigned, and forged it is, not only in that it hath no sufficient ground in holy scripture, but also by the fruits and doctrine thereof. For our Saviour Christ and St Peter teacheth[s], most earnestly and agreeably, obedience to kings, as[t] to the chief and supreme rulers in this world, next under God: but the bishop of Rome teacheth, that they that are under him are free from all burdens and charges of the commonwealth, and obedience towards[u] their prince, most clearly against Christ's doctrine and St Peter's. He ought therefore rather to be called antichrist, and the successor of the scribes and Pharisees, than Christ's vicar, or St Peter's successor; seeing that not only in this point, but also in other weighty matters of Christian religion—in matters of remission and forgiveness of sins, and of salvation—he teacheth so directly against both St Peter, and against our Saviour Christ; who not only taught obedience to kings, but also practised obedience in their conversation and living: for we read that they both paid tribute to the king. And also we read that the holy virgin Mary, mother to our Saviour Christ, and Joseph who was taken for his father, at the emperor's commandment, went to the city of David, named Bethlehem, to be taxed among other, and to declare their obedience to the magistrates, for God's ordinance's sake. And here let us not forget the blessed Virgin Mary's obedience: for—although she was highly[x] in God's favour, and Christ's natural mother, and was also great with child at the same time, and so nigh her travail that she was delivered in her journey—yet she,

Matt. xvii. [27.]

Luke ii. [4, 5.]

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p punished] punisheth 1547, 1563.
q the] be 1574.
r or coloured] *wanting* 1547.
s teacheth] teach 1547.
t as] and as 1587, 1595.
u towards] toward 1582, 1623.
x highly] so highly 1547.

gladly without any excuse or grudging, for conscience sake, did take that cold and foul winter journey; being in the mean season so poor that she lay in a[y] stable; and there she was delivered of Christ[z]. And according to the same, lo, how St Peter agreeth, writing by express words in his first Epistle, *Submit yourselves, and*[a] *be subject,* saith he, *unto kings, as unto the chief heads, and*[a] *unto rulers, as unto them that are sent of him for the punishment of evil doers, and for the praise*[b] *of them that do well; for so is the will of God.* I need not to expound these words, they be so plain of themselves. St Peter doth not say, "Submit yourselves unto me as supreme head of the Church:" neither he saith[c], "Submit yourselves from time to time to my successors in Rome:" but he saith, "Submit yourselves unto your king, your supreme head, and unto those that he appointeth in authority under him: for that you shall so shew your obedience, it is the will of God: God will that you be in subjection to your head and king." This[d] is God's ordinance, God's commandment, and God's holy will, that the whole body of every realm, and all the members and parts of the same, shall be subject to their head, their king; and that, as St Peter writeth, *For the Lord's sake;* and as St Paul[e] writeth, *For conscience sake, and not for fear only.*

1 Pet. ii. [13—15.]

1 Pet. ii. [13.] Rom. xiii [5.]

Thus we learn by the word of God to yield to our king that is due to our king; that is, honour, obedience, payment

Matt. xxii. [21.]

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[y] a] the 1547.

[z] Our saviour Christ refused the office of a worldly judge, and so he did the office of a worldly king: commanding his disciples, and all that believe in him, that they should not contend for superiority, neither for worldly dominion in this world. For ambition and pride is detestable in all Christian persons of every degree. And the apostles in that place do not represent the persons of bishops and priests only, but also (as ancient authors do write) they represent the persons of kings and princes, whose worldly rule and governance they then ambitiously desired. So that in that place Christ teacheth also Christian emperors, kings, and princes, that they should not rule their subjects by will, and to their own commodity and pleasure only; but that they should govern their subjects by good and godly laws. They should not make themselves so to be lords over the people, to do with them and their goods what they list, and to make what laws they list, without dread of God and his laws, without consideration of their honour and office, whereunto God hath called them, (as heathen kings and princes do,) but to think themselves to be God's officers, ordained by God to be his ministers unto the people, for their salvation, common quietness and wealth, to punish malefactors, to defend innocence, and to cherish well doers. 1547 *earlier ed.*

[a] and] or 1563.

[b] praise] laud 1547.

[c] he saith] saith he 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[d] this] that 1563.

[e] St] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

of due taxes, customs, tributes, subsidies, love, and fear. Thus we know partly our bounden duties[f] to common authority; now let us learn to accomplish the same. And let us most instantly and heartily pray to God, the only author of all authority, for all them that be in authority; according as St Paul willeth, writing thus to Timothy in his first Epistle,

Rom. xiii. [7.]

1 Tim. ii. [1–3.] *I exhort therefore, that, above all things, prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks be done for all men; for kings, and for all that be in authority; that we may live a quiet and a peaceable life, with all godliness and honesty; for that is good and accepted or allowable*[g] *in the sight of God our Saviour.* Here St Paul maketh an earnest and an especial exhortation, concerning giving of thanks and prayer for kings and rulers, saying, *Above all things*—as he might say, in any wise principally and chiefly—let prayer be made for kings. Let us heartily thank God for his great and excellent benefit and providence concerning the state of kings. Let us pray for them, that they may have God's favour and God's protection. Let us pray that they may ever in all things have God before their eyes. Let us pray that they may have wisdom, strength, justice, clemency, and[h] zeal to God's glory, to God's verity, to christian souls, and to the commonwealth. Let us pray that they may rightly use their sword and authority, for the maintenance and defence of the catholic faith contained in holy scripture, and of their good and honest subjects, for[i] the fear and punishment of the evil and vicious people. Let us pray that they may faithfully[k] follow the most faithful[l] kings and captains in the Bible, David, Ezekiah, Josiah, and[m] Moses, with such other. And let us pray for ourselves, that we may live godly in holy and Christian conversation: so shall we[n] have God on our side; and then let us not fear what man can do against us. So we shall live in true obedience, both to our most merciful king in heaven, and to our most Christian queen[o] in earth: so shall we please God, and have the exceeding benefit, peace of conscience, rest and

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[f] bounden duties] bound duty 1547.
[g] or allowable] *wanting* 1547.
[h] and] *wanting* 1547, 1563.
[i] for] and for 1547.
[k] faithfully] most faithfully 1623.
[l] most faithful] *wanting* 1587, 1595, 1623.
[m] and] *wanting* 1547.
[n] shall we] we shall 1547.
[o] queen] king 1547, 1623.

quietness, here in the[p] world; and after this life we shall enjoy a better life, rest, peace, and the everlasting[q] bliss of heaven: which he grant us all, that was obedient for us all even to the death of the cross, Jesus Christ: to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, both now and ever. *Amen.*

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[p] the] this 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623. | [q] everlasting] eternal 1547.

A SERMON

AGAINST[a]

WHOREDOM AND UNCLEANNESS.

ALTHOUGH there want not, good Christian people, great swarms of vices worthy to be rebuked—unto such decay is true godliness and virtuous living now come—yet above other vices, the outrageous seas of adultery, or breaking of wedlock[b], whoredom, fornication, and uncleanness, have not only brast[c] in, but also overflowed almost the whole world; unto the great dishonour of God, the exceeding infamy of the name of Christ, the notable decay of true religion, and the utter destruction of the public wealth; and that so abundantly, that, through the customable use thereof, this vice is grown unto such an height, that in a manner among many it is counted no sin at all, but rather a pastime, a dalliance, and but a touch of youth: not rebuked, but winked at; not punished, but laughed at. Wherefore it is necessary at this present to intreat of the sin of whoredom and fornication; declaring unto you the greatness of this sin, and how odious, hateful, and abominable it is, and hath alway[d] been reputed, before God and all good men; and how grievously it hath been punished both by the law of God, and the laws of divers princes. Again, to shew you certain remedies whereby ye may, through the grace of God, eschew this most detestable sin of whoredom and fornication, and lead your lives in all honesty and cleanness; and that ye may perceive that fornication and whoredom are, in the sight of God, most abominable sins; ye shall call to remembrance this commandment of God, *Thou shalt not commit adultery.* By the which word 'adultery,' although it be properly understand[e] of the unlawful commixtion, or joining together[f] of a married man with any[g] woman beside his wife, or of a[h] wife with any man beside her husband, yet thereby is signified also all unlawful use of those parts which be ordained for generation. And this one commandment forbidding adultery, doth suffi-

Exod. xx. [14.]

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[a] An Homily of, 1547.

[b] or breaking of wedlock] *wanting* 1547.

[c] brast] burst 1623.

[d] alway] always 1595.

[e] understand] understood 1587, 1595, 1623.

[f] or joining together] *wanting* 1547.

[g] any] a 1547.

[h] a] any 1563.

ciently paint and set out before our eyes the greatness of this sin of whoredom; and manifestly declareth how greatly it ought to be abhorred of all honest and faithful persons. And that none of us all shall think himself excepted from this commandment, whether we be old or young, married or unmarried, man or woman, hear what God the Father saith by his most excellent Prophet Moses, *There shall be no whore among the daughters of Israel, nor no whoremonger*[i] *among the sons of Israel.* Deut. xxiii. [17.]

Here is whoredom, fornication, and all uncleanness[k] forbidden to all kinds of people, all degrees, and all ages, without exception. And that we shall not doubt, but that this precept or commandment[l] pertaineth to us indeed, hear what Christ, the perfect Teacher of all truth, saith in the New Testament, *Ye have heard,* saith Christ, *that it was said to them of the old*[m] *time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: but I say unto you, Whosoever seeth a woman, to have his lust of her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart.* Here our Saviour Christ doth not only confirm and establish[n] the law against adultery, given in the Old Testament of God the Father by his servant Moses, and make it full of[o] strength, continually to remain among the professors of his name in the new law; but he also—condemning the gross interpretation of the scribes and Pharisees, which taught that the foresaid[p] commandment only required to abstain from the outward adultery, and not from the filthy desires and impure lusts—teacheth us an exact and full perfection of purity and cleanness of life; both to keep our bodies undefiled, and our hearts pure and free from all evil thoughts, carnal desires, and fleshly consents. How can we then be free from this commandment, where so great charge is laid upon us? May a servant do what he will in any thing, having[q] commandment of his master to the contrary? Is not Christ our master? Are not we his servants? How then may we neglect our master's will and pleasure, and follow our own[r] will and fantasy? *Ye are my friends,* saith Christ, *if you keep those things that I command you.* Matt. v. [27, 28.] John xv. [14.]

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[i] whoremonger] whoremongers 1547.
[k] all uncleanness] all other uncleanness 1623.
[l] or commandment] *wanting* 1547.
[m] the old] old 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[n] establish] stablish 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[o] make it full of] maketh it of full 1547, and all.
[p] foresaid] aforesaid 1547.
[q] a] *wanting* 1623.
[r] own] *wanting* 1547.

Now hath Christ our Master commanded us, that we should forsake all uncleanness and lechery[s] both in body and spirit: this therefore must we do, if we look to please God.

Matt. xv. In the Gospel of St Matthew we read, that the scribes and Pharisees were grievously offended with Christ, because his disciples did not keep the tradition of the forefathers; for they washed not their hands when they went to dinner or supper. And among other things, Christ answered and said, *Hear and understand. Not that thing which entereth into the mouth defileth the man, but that which cometh out of*

Matt. xv. [11, 18—20.] *the mouth defileth the man. For those things which proceed out of the mouth come forth from the heart, and they defile the man. For out of the heart proceed evil thoughts, murders, breaking of wedlock, whoredom, thefts, false witness, blasphemies: these are the things which defile a man.* Here may we see, that not only murder, theft, false witness, and blasphemy defile men, but also evil thoughts, breaking of wedlock, fornication, and whoredom. Who is now of so little wit, that he will esteem whoredom and fornication to be things of small importance, and of no weight before God?

Mark vii. [21, 23.] Christ, which[t] is the[u] Truth and cannot lie, saith, that *evil thoughts, breaking of wedlock, whoredom, and fornication defile a man;* that is to say, corrupt both the body and soul of man, and make them, of the temples of the Holy Ghost, the filthy dunghill, or dungeon of all unclean spirits; of the house[x] of God, the dwelling-place of Satan.

John viii. [11.] Again, in the Gospel of St John, when the woman taken in adultery was brought unto Christ, said not he unto her, *Go thy way, and sin no more?* Doth not he here call

Rom. vi. [23.] whoredom sin? And what is the reward of sin, but everlasting death? If whoredom be sin, then it is[y] not lawful for

1 John iii. [8.] us to commit it: for St John saith, *He that committeth sin*

John viii. [34.] *is of the devil.* And our Saviour saith, *Every one that committeth sin is the servant of sin.* If whoredom had not been sin, surely St John Baptist would never have rebuked

Mark vi. [18.] king Herod for taking his brother's wife: but he told him plainly, that it was not lawful for him to take his brother's wife. He winked not at the[z] whoredom of Herod, although

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[s] lechery] filthiness 1623.
[t] which] who 1623.
[u] the] *wanting* 1547.
[x] house] mansion 1547.
[y] it is] is it 1547, 1563.
[z] the] that 1547.

he were a king of great[a] power; but boldly reproved him for his wicked and abominable living, although for the same he lost his head. But he would rather suffer death, than see God so dishonoured, by the breaking of his holy precept and commandment[b]; than to suffer whoredom to be unrebuked, even in a king. If whoredom had been but a pastime, a dalliance, and not[c] to be passed of—as many count it now-a-days—truly John[d] had been more than twice mad, if he would have had the displeasure of a king, if he would have been cast in[e] prison, and lost his head, for a trifle. But John knew right well how filthy, stinking, and abominable the sin of whoredom is in the sight of God: therefore would not he leave it unrebuked, no, not in a king. If whoredom be not lawful in a king, neither is it lawful in a subject. If whoredom be not lawful in a public or common[f] officer, neither is it lawful in a private person. If it be not lawful neither in king nor subject, neither in[g] common officer nor private person, truly then it is lawful in no man nor woman, of whatsoever degree or age they be. Furthermore, in the Acts of the Apostles we read, that when the apostles and elders, with the whole congregation, were gathered together to pacify the hearts of the faithful dwelling at Antioch—which were disquieted through the false doctrine of certain Jewish preachers—they sent word to the brethren, that it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to them, to charge them with no more than with necessary things; among others[h], they willed them to abstain from idolatry and fornication; *from which*, said they, *if you*[i] *keep yourselves, ye shall do well.* Note here, how these holy and blessed fathers of Christ's church would charge the congregation with no more things than were necessary. Mark also, how, among those things, from the which they commanded the brethren of Antioch to abstain, fornication and whoredom is numbered. It is therefore necessary, by the determination and consent of the Holy Ghost, and the apostles and elders with the whole congregation, that, as from idolatry and

[Acts xv. 28, 29.]

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[a] great] *wanting* 1623.

[b] and commandment] *wanting* 1547, or commandment 1563.

[c] and not] and a thing not 1547, 1563.

[d] John] St John 1547.

[e] in] into 1547, 1563, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[f] or common] *wanting* 1547.

[g] in] in a 1547.

[h] others] other 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[i] you] ye 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

superstition, so likewise we must abstain from fornication and whoredom. It is[k] necessary unto salvation to abstain from idolatry; so is it to abstain from whoredom. Is there any nigher way to lead unto damnation, than to be an idolater? No: even so, neither is there any nearer way to damnation, than to be a fornicator and a[l] whoremonger. Now where are those people, which so lightly esteem breaking of wedlock, whoredom, fornication, and adultery? *It is necessary*, saith the Holy Ghost, the blessed apostles, the elders, with the whole congregation of Christ; it is necessary to salvation, say they, to *abstain from whoredom.* If it be necessary unto salvation, then woe be to them which, neglecting their salvation, give their minds to so[m] filthy and stinking sin, to so wicked vice, to such detestable abomination.

THE SECOND PART OF THE SERMON AGAINST ADULTERY[a].

YOU have been taught in the first part of the sermon against adultery, how that vice at this day reigneth most above all other vices; and what is meant by this word adultery; and how holy scripture dissuadeth or discounselleth from doing that filthy sin; and, finally, what corruption cometh to man's soul through the sin of adultery.

Now to proceed further[b], let us hear what the blessed Apostle St Paul saith to this matter. Writing to the Romans he hath these words, *Let us cast away the works of darkness, and put on the armour*[c] *of light. Let us walk honestly, as it were in the day time; not in eating and drinking, neither in chambering*[d] *and wantonness, neither in strife and envying: but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts of it.* Here the holy Apostle exhorteth us to cast away the works of darkness; which among other, he calleth gluttonous eating, drinking, chambering, and wantonness; which are all[e] ministers unto that vice, and preparations to induce and bring in

Rom. xiii. [13, 14.]

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[k] It is] Is it 1547, 1563, 1623.
[l] a] an 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[m] minds to so] mind to 1547.
[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.
[b] You have been taught...further] *wanting* 1547.
[c] armour] armours 1547, 1563.
[d] chambering] chamberings 1547, 1563.
[e] are all] all are 1547.

the filthy sin of the flesh. He calleth them the deeds and works of darkness; not only because they are customably done[f] in darkness, or in the night time—*for every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh he to the light, lest his works should be reproved*—but that they lead the right way unto that *utter darkness, where weeping and gnashing of teeth* shall be. And he saith in another place of the same Epistle, *They that are in the flesh cannot please God. We are debtors, not to the flesh, that*[g] *we should live after the flesh; for if ye*[h] *live after the flesh, ye*[h] *shall die.* Again he saith, *Flee*[i] *from whoredom: for every sin that a man committeth is without his body; but whosoever committeth whoredom, sinneth against his own body. Do ye not know, that your members are the temples*[k] *of the Holy Ghost which is in you, whom also ye have of God, and ye are not your own? for ye are dearly bought: Glorify God in your bodies*[l], *&c.* And a little before[m] he saith, *Do ye not know, that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ and make them the members of an whore? God forbid. Do ye not know, that he which cleaveth to an whore is made one body with her? There shall be two in one flesh,* saith he: *but he that cleaveth to the Lord is one spirit.* What godly words[n] doth the blessed apostle St Paul bring forth here, to dissuade and discounsel[o] us from whoredom and all uncleanness! *Your members,* saith he, *are the temples*[p] *of the Holy Ghost: which whosoever doth defile, God will destroy him,* as saith St Paul. If we be the temple[q] of the Holy Ghost, how unfitting then is it to drive that Holy Spirit from us through whoredom, and in his place to set the wicked spirits of uncleanness and fornication, and to be joined and do service to them? *Ye are dearly bought,* saith he, *therefore glorify God in your bodies.* Christ, that innocent Lamb of God, hath bought us from the servitude of the devil, not with corruptible gold and silver, but with his most precious and dear heart-blood. To

John iii. [20.]
Matt. xxv. [30.]
Rom. viii. [8, 12, 13.]
1 Cor. vi. [18, 19.]
1 Cor. vi. [15–17.]
1 Cor. iii. [17.]
1 Pet. i. [18, 19.]

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[f] done] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.

[g] not to the flesh, that] to the flesh not that 1547.

[h] ye] we 1587, 1595.

[i] Flee] Fly 1547, 1563.

[k] temples] temple 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1563.

[l] bodies] body 1547.

[m] before] afore 1547.

[n] words] reasons 1547, works 1582, 1587.

[o] and discounsel] *wanting* 1547, or discounsel 1563.

[p] temples] temple 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1563.

[q] temple] temples 1547.

what intent? That we should fall again into[r] our old uncleanness and abominable living? Nay verily: but *that we should serve him all the days of our life in holiness and righteousness;* that we should glorify him in our bodies, by purity and cleanness of life. He declareth also, that our bodies are the members of Christ: how unseemly a thing is it then to cease to be incorporate or embodied[s] and one[t] with Christ, and through whoredom to be enjoined[u] and made all one with an whore! What greater dishonour or injury can we do to Christ, than to take away from him the members of his body, and to join them to whores, devils, and wicked spirits? And what more dishonour can we do to ourselves, than through uncleanness to lose so excellent a dignity and freedom, and to become bond-slaves and miserable captives to the spirits of darkness? Let us therefore consider, first the glory of Christ; and[x] then our estate[y], our dignity, and freedom, wherein God hath set us by giving us his Holy Spirit: and let us valiantly defend the same against Satan, and all his crafty assaults, that Christ may be honoured, and that we lose not our liberty or freedom[z], but still remain in one spirit with him.

Isai. xxxviii. [20.] Luke i. [75.]

Ephes. v. [3, 4.]

Moreover, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, the blessed Apostle willeth us to be so pure and free from adultery, *fornication, and all uncleanness, that we not once name them among us, as it becometh saints: nor filthiness, nor foolish talking, nor jesting, which are not comely; but rather giving of thanks. For this ye know,* saith he, *that no whoremonger, neither*[a] *unclean person, or covetous person, which is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of*[b] *God.* And that we should remember to be holy, pure, and free from all uncleanness, the holy Apostle calleth us saints, because we are sanctified and made holy by[c] the blood of Christ, through the Holy Ghost. Now if we be saints, what have we to do with the manners of the heathen? St Peter saith, *As he which called you is holy, even so be ye holy also in all*[d] *your conversation; because it is written, Be ye holy, for I am holy.*

1 Cor. vi. [11.]

1 Pet. i. [15.] Lev. xix. [2.]

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[r] into] unto 1563.
[s] or embodied] *wanting* 1547.
[t] and one] and made one 1582, 1587, 1595.
[u] enjoined] joined 1547.
[x] and] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
[y] estate] state 1547.
[z] or freedom] *wanting* 1547.
[a] neither] either 1547,1587,1595,1563.
[b] of] *wanting* 1547, 1587, 1595, 1563.
[c] by] in 1547,1563.
[d] all] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.

Hitherto have we heard how grievous a sin fornication and whoredom is, and how greatly God doth abhor it throughout the whole scripture. How can it otherwise be than a sin of most abomination, seeing it may not once[e] be named among the christians; much less may it[f] in any point be committed? And surely, if we would weigh the greatness of this sin, and consider it in the right kind, we should find the sin of whoredom to be that most filthy lake, foul puddle, and stinking sink, whereunto all kinds of sins and evils flow, where also they have their resting place and abiding.

For hath not the adulterer a pride in his whoredom? As the wise man saith, *They are glad when they have done evil*, and rejoice in things that are stark naught. [Prov. ii. 14.] Is not the adulterer also idle, and delighteth in no godly exercise, but only in that his most filthy and beastly pleasure? Is not his mind plucked[g] and utterly drawn away from all virtuous studies, and fruitful labours, and only given to carnal and fleshly[h] imagination? Doth not the whoremonger give his mind to gluttony, that he may be the more apt to serve his lusts and carnal pleasures? Doth not the adulterer give his mind to covetousness, and to polling and pilling of others[i] that he may be the more able to maintain his harlots and whores, and to continue in his filthy and unlawful love? Swelleth he not also with envy against others[i], fearing that his prey should be allured and taken away from him? Again, is he not ireful, and replenished with wrath and displeasure, even against his best beloved, if at any time his beastly and devilish request be letted? What sin or kind of sin is it, that is not joined with fornication and whoredom? It is a monster of many heads. It receiveth all kinds of vices, and refuseth all kinds of virtues. If one several sin bringeth damnation, what is to be thought of that sin, which is accompanied with all evils, and hath waiting on it whatsoever is hateful to God, damnable[k] to man, and pleasant to Satan?

Great is the damnation that hangeth over the heads of fornicators and adulterers. What shall I speak of other incommodities, which issue and flow out of this stinking pud-

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[e] it may not once] it once may not 1547, 1563.

[f] may it] it may 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1563.

[g] plucked] abstracte, 1547.

[h] and fleshly] *wanting* 1547.

[i] others] other 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1563.

[k] damnable] damnation 1563.

dle of whoredom? Is not that treasure, which before all other is most regarded of honest persons, the good fame and name of man or woman, lost through whoredom? What patrimony or livelihood[l], what substance, what goods, what riches, doth whoredom shortly consume and bring to nought! What valiantness and strength is many times made weak, and destroyed with whoredom! What wit is so fine, that is not doted[m] and defaced through whoredom! What beauty, although it were never so excellent, is not disfigured[n] through whoredom! Is not whoredom an enemy to the pleasant flower of youth, and bringeth it not grey hairs and old age before the time? What gift of nature, although it were never so precious, is not corrupted with whoredom! Come not the French pox with other divers[o] diseases of whoredom? From whence come so many bastards and misbegotten children, to the high displeasure of God, and dishonour of holy wedlock, but of whoredom? How many consume all their substance and goods, and at the last fall into such extreme poverty, that afterwards[p] they steal, and so are hanged, through whoredom! What contention and manslaughter cometh of whoredom! How many maidens[q] be deflowered, how many wives corrupted, how many widows defiled, through whoredom! How much is the public and common[r] weal impoverished and troubled through whoredom! How much is God's word contemned and depraved by[s] whoredom and whoremongers! Of this vice cometh a great part of the divorces, which now-a-days be so commonly accustomed and used by men's private authority, to the great displeasure of God and the breach of the most holy knot and bond of matrimony. For when this most detestable sin is once crept into the breast of the adulterer, so that he is entangled with unlawful and unchaste love, straightways his true and lawful wife is despised; her presence is abhorred, her company stinketh and is loathsome; whatsoever she doth is dispraised; there is no quietness in the house so long as she is in sight: therefore, to make short tale[t], she must[u] away, for her husband

[l] or livelihood] *wanting* 1547.
[m] doted] besotted 1623.
[n] disfigured] obscured 1547.
[o] the French...divers] many foul and most loathsome 1623, divers other 1587, 1595.
[p] afterwards] afterward 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1563.
[q] maidens] maydes 1547.
[r] and common] *wanting* 1547.
[s] by] through 1582, 1587, 1595.
[t] tale] work 1523.
[u] she must] must she 1547.

can brook her no longer. Thus, through whoredom, is the honest and harmless[x] wife put away, and an harlot received in her stead: and in like sort, it happeneth many times in the wife towards her husband. O abomination! Christ our Saviour, very God and man, coming to restore the law of his heavenly Father unto the right sense, understanding, and meaning, among other things, reformed the abuse of this law of God. For, whereas the Jews used, of[y] a long sufferance, by custom, to put away their wives at their pleasure, for every cause; Christ, correcting that evil custom, did teach, *that if any man put away his wife*[z], *and marrieth another, for any cause, except only for adultery*—which then was death by the law—*he was an adulterer;* and forced also his wife, so divorced, to commit adultery, if she were joined to any other man; and the man also, so joined with her, to commit adultery. Matt. xix. [9.]

In what case then are those[a] adulterers, which for the love of an whore put away their true and lawful wife, against all law, right reason, and conscience! O how[b] damnable is the state[c] wherein they stand! Swift destruction shall fall on them, if they repent not and amend not: for God will not ever suffer holy wedlock thus to be dishonoured, hated, and despised. He will once punish this fleshly[d] and licentious manner of living, and cause that this[e] holy ordinance shall be had in reverence and honour. For surely *wedlock*, as the Apostle saith, *is honourable among all men, and the bed undefiled: but whoremongers and fornicators God will judge*, that is to say, punish and condemn. But to what purpose is this labour taken to describe and set forth the greatness of the sin of whoredom, and the incommodities[f] that issue and flow out of it, seeing that breath and tongue shall sooner fail any man, than he shall or may be able to set it out according to the abomination and heinousness thereof? Notwithstanding, this is spoken to the intent that[g] all men should flee whoredom, and live in the fear of God. God grant that it may not be spoken in vain! Heb. xiii. [4.]

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[x] harmless] innocent 1547.
[y] of] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
[z] wife] *wanting* 1547.
[a] those] these 1582, 1587, 1595.
[b] how] *wanting* 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1563.
[c] state] estate 1582.
[d] fleshly] carnal 1547.
[e] this] his 1547, 1563.
[f] incommodities] commodities 1582, 1587, 1595.
[g] that] *wanting* 1547.

THE THIRD PART OF THE SERMON AGAINST ADULTERY[a].

IN[b] the second part of this Sermon against Adultery that was last read, you have learned how earnestly the scripture warneth us to avoid the sin of adultery, and to embrace cleanness of life; and that through adultery we fall into all kinds of sins[c], and are made bond slaves to the devil; through cleanness of life we are made members of Christ; and finally, how far adultery bringeth a man from all goodness[d], and driveth him headlong into all vices, mischief, and misery. Now will I declare unto you in order, with what grievous punishments God in times past plagued adultery, and how certain worldly princes also did punish it, that ye may perceive that whoredom and fornication be sins no less detestable in the sight of God and to all[e] good men, than I have hitherto uttered.

Gen. vi. In the first book of Moses we read, that when mankind began to be multiplied upon the earth, the men and women gave their minds so greatly to fleshly delight[f] and filthy pleasure, that they lived without all fear of God. God, seeing[g] this their beastly and abominable living, and perceiving that they amended not, but rather increased daily more and more in their sinful and unclean manners, repented that ever he had[h] made man: and to shew how greatly he abhorreth[i] adultery, whoredom, fornication, and all uncleanness, he made all the fountains of the deep earth to burst out, and the sluices of heaven to be opened, so that the rain came down upon the earth by the space of forty days and forty nights, and by this means destroyed the whole world, and all mankind, eight persons only excepted; that is to say, Noah, the [2 Pet. ii. 5.] *preacher of righteousness*, as St Peter calleth him, and his wife, his three sons and their wives. O what a grievous plague did God cast here upon all living creatures for the sin of whoredom; for the which God took vengeance, not only

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[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.

[b] In the second part...and misery] *wanting* 1547.

[c] sins] sin 1623.

[d] goodness] godliness 1587, 1595.

[e] to] *wanting* 1547, 1595, 1623, of 1563, and] *wanting* 1582, 1587.

[f] fleshly delight] carnal delectation 1547.

[g] seeing] seeth 1563.

[h] ever he had] that he ever made 1547.

[i] abhorreth] abhorred 1547.

of man, but also of[k] beasts, fowls, and all living creatures. Manslaughter was committed before; yet was not the world destroyed for that: but for whoredom all the[l] world, few only except, was overflowed with waters, and so perished. An example worthy to be remembered, that ye may learn to fear God. Gen. iv.

We read again that, for the filthy sin of uncleanness, Sodom and Gomorrah, and the other cities nigh unto them, were destroyed with[m] fire and brimstone from heaven, so that there was neither man, woman, child, nor beast, nor yet any thing that grew upon the earth there, left undestroyed. Whose heart trembleth not at the hearing of this history? Who is so drowned in whoredom and uncleanness that will not, now for ever after, leave this abominable living; seeing that God so grievously punisheth uncleanness, to rain fire and brimstone from heaven, to destroy whole cities, to kill man, woman, and child, and all other living creatures there abiding, to consume with fire all that ever grew? What can be more manifest tokens of God's wrath and vengeance against uncleanness and impurity of life? Mark this history, good people, and fear the vengeance of God. Do you[n] not read also, that God did smite Pharaoh and his house with great plagues, because that [he][o] ungodly desired Sarah, the wife of Abraham? Likewise we read[p] of Abimelech, king of Gerar; although he touched her not by carnal knowledge. These plagues and punishments did God cast upon filthy and unclean persons, before the law was given—the law of nature only reigning in the hearts of men—to declare how great love he had to matrimony and wedlock[q]; and again, how much he abhorreth[r] adultery, fornication, and all uncleanness. And when the law that forbade whoredom was given by Moses to the Jews, did not God command that the breakers thereof should be put to death? The words of the law be[s] these, *Whoso committeth adultery with any man's wife, shall die the death; both the man and the woman: because he hath broken wedlock with his neighbour's wife.* In the Law also it Gen. xix. Gen. xli. Gen. xx. Lev. xx. [10.]

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[k] but also of] but of all 1582, 1587, 1595.
[l] all the] all for the 1582, 1587.
[m] with] by 1582, 1587, 1595.
[n] you] we 1547, 1563.
[o] he] the 1574.
[p] we read] read we 1547, 1563.
[q] and wedlock] *wanting* 1547.
[r] abhorreth] abhorred 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1563.
[s] be] are 1547.

was commanded, that a damsel and a man taken together in whoredom, should both be stoned to death. In another place we also read, that God commanded Moses to take all the head rulers and princes of the people, and to hang them upon gibbets openly, that every man might see them, because they either committed, or did not punish whoredom. Again, did not God send such a plague among the people for fornication and uncleanness, that they[t] died in one day three and twenty thousand? I pass over, for lack of time, many other histories of the holy Bible, which declare the grievous vengeance and heavy displeasure of God against whoremongers and adulterers. Certes, this extreme punishment appointed of God sheweth evidently how greatly God hateth whoredom. And let us not doubt, but that God at this present abhorreth all manner of uncleanness, no less than he did in the old law; and will undoubtedly punish it, both in this world and in the world to come. For he is a God that can abide no[u] wickedness: therefore ought it to be eschewed of all that tender the glory of God, and the salvation[x] of their own souls.

Numb. xxv. [4.]

Psalm v. [4.]

St Paul saith, *All these things are written for our example*, and to teach us the fear of God, and the obedience to his holy law. For *if God spared not the natural branches, neither will he spare us* that be but grafts, if we commit like offence. If God destroyed many thousands of people, many cities, yea the whole world, for whoredom, let us not flatter ourselves, and think we shall escape free and without punishment. For he hath promised in his holy law, to send most grievous plagues upon them that transgress or break[y] his holy commandments. Thus have we heard how God punisheth the sin of adultery.

1 Cor. x. [6.]

Laws devised for the punishment of whoredom.

Let us now hear certain laws, which the civil magistrates devised in divers countries for the punishment thereof[1]; that we may learn how uncleanness hath ever been detested in all well-ordered cities and commonwealths, and among all honest persons. The law among the Lepreians was this, that when any were taken in adultery, they were bound and carried

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[t] they] there 1587, 1595.
[u] no] none 1563.
[x] salvation] salvations 1547.
[y] or break] *wanting* 1547.

[1] For an account of all these penalties incurred by adultery, see Disney's 'Ancient Laws against Immorality, &c.' Tit. I. chap. vii.; Camb. 1729.]

three days through the city, and afterwards as long as they lived, were they despised, and with shame and confusion counted as persons void[z] of all honesty. Among the Locrensians, the adulterers had[a] both their eyes thrust out. The Romans in times past punished whoredom, sometime by fire, sometime by sword. If any[b] man among the Egyptians had been taken in adultery, the law was, that he should openly, in the presence of all the people, be scourged naked with whips, unto the number of a thousand stripes: the woman that was taken with him had her nose cut off, whereby she was known ever after to be an[c] whore, and therefore to be abhorred of all men. Among the Arabians, they that were taken in adultery had their heads stricken from their bodies. The Athenians punished whoredom by death in like manner. So likewise did the barbarous Tartarians. Among the Turks even at this day, they that be taken in adultery, both man and woman, are stoned straightways[d] to death, without mercy.

Thus we see[e] what godly acts were devised in times past of the high powers, for the putting away of whoredom, and for the maintaining of holy matrimony or wedlock[f], and pure conversation: and the authors of these acts were no[g] Christians, but heathen[h]: yet were they so inflamed with the love of honesty and pureness of life, that for the maintenance and conservation or keeping up[i] of that, they made godly statutes, suffering neither fornication nor[k] adultery to reign in their realms unpunished.

Christ said to the people, *The Ninevites shall rise at the judgment with this nation*—meaning the unfaithful Jews—*and shall condemn them: for they repented at the preaching of Jonas, but behold,* saith he, *a greater than Jonas is here*—meaning himself—and yet they repent[l] not. Shall not, think you, likewise the Locrensians, Arabians, Athenians, with such other, rise up in[m] the judgment and condemn us; forasmuch as they ceased from their[n] whoredom at the commandment of Matt.xii.[41.]

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[z] void] desolate 1547.
[a] had] have 1582, 1587, 1595, 1563.
[b] any] a 1547, 1563.
[c] an] a 1582, 1587, 1595.
[d] straightways] straightway, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[e] we see] see we 1547, 1563.
[f] or wedlock] *wanting* 1547.
[g] no] not 1547.
[h] heathen] the heathen, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[i] or keeping up] *wanting* 1547.
[k] nor] or 1582, 1587, 1595.
[l] repent] repented 1547.
[m] in] at 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[n] their] the 1623.

man; and we have the law and manifest precepts and commandments of God, and yet forsake we not our filthy conversation? Truly, truly, it shall be easier at the day of judgment to these[o] heathen than to us, except we repent and amend. For though[p] death of body[q] seemeth to us a grievous punishment in this world for whoredom, yet is that pain nothing in comparison of the grievous torments which adulterers, fornicators, and all unclean persons shall suffer after this life: for all such shall[r] be excluded and shut out of the kingdom of heaven. As St Paul saith, *Be not deceived; for neither whoremongers, nor worshippers of images, nor adulterers, nor weaklings*[s], *nor sodomites, nor thieves, nor covetous persons, nor drunkards, nor cursed speakers, nor pillers, shall inherit the kingdom of God.* And St John in his Revelation saith, *That whoremongers shall have their part with murderers, sorcerers, enchanters, liars, idolaters, and such other, in the lake which burneth with fire and brimstone; which is the second death.* The punishment of the body, although it be death, hath an end: but the punishment of the soul, which St John calleth *the second death*, is everlasting: there shall be fire and brimstone, there *shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth: the worm*, that shall there[t] gnaw the conscience of the damned, *shall never die.*

1 Cor. vi. [9, 10.] Gal. v. [21.] Eph. v. [6.] Rev. xxi. [8.] Matt. xiii. [42.] Mark ix. [46, 48.]

O! whose heart distilleth not even drops of blood, to hear and consider these things! If we tremble and shake at the hearing and naming of these pains, O what shall they do that shall feel them, that shall suffer them, yea, and ever shall suffer, worlds without end! God have mercy upon[u] us! Who is now so drowned in sin, and past all godliness, that he will set more by[x] filthy and stinking pleasure, which soon passeth away, than by the loss of everlasting glory? Again, who will so give himself to the lusts of the flesh, that he feareth nothing at all the pains of hell-fire?

But let us hear how we may eschew the sin of whoredom and adultery, that we may walk in the fear of God, and be free from those most grievous and intolerable torments, which abide all unclean persons.

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[o] these] those 1547.
[p] though] although 1547, 1563.
[q] of body] of the body 1547.
[r] shall] *wanting* 1547.
[s] weaklings] softlings, 1547, 1563, effeminate persons 1623.
[t] shall there] there shall 1582, 1587 1595.
[u] upon] on 1547.
[x] by] by a 1547, 1563.

Remedies whereby to avoid fornication and adultery.

Now[y] to avoid fornication, adultery, and all uncleanness, let us provide that above all things we may keep our hearts pure and clear from all evil thoughts and carnal lusts: for if that be once infected and corrupt, we fall headlong into all kind of ungodliness. This shall we easily do, if when we feel inwardly that Satan our old enemy tempteth us unto whoredom, we by no means consent to his crafty suggestions, but valiantly resist and withstand him by strong faith in the word of God; alleging against him always in our heart this commandment of God—*Scriptum est, Non mœchaberis.* It is written, *Thou shalt not commit whoredom.* It shall be good also[z] for us ever to live in the fear of God; and to set before our eyes the grievous threatenings of God against all ungodly sinners; and to consider in our mind how filthy, beastly, and short that pleasure is, whereunto Satan moveth[a] us; and again, how the pain appointed for that sin is intolerable and everlasting. Moreover, to use a temperance and sobriety in eating and drinking; to eschew unclean communication; to avoid[b] all filthy company; to flee idleness; to delight in reading[c] holy scriptures; to watch in godly prayers and virtuous meditation; and at all times to exercise some godly travails, shall help greatly to[d] the eschewing of whoredom.

And here are all degrees to be monished, whether they be married or unmarried, to love chastity and cleanness of life. For the married are bound by the law of God so purely to love one another, that neither of them seek any strange love. The man must only cleave to his wife, and the wife again only to her husband. They must so delight one in another's company, that none of them covet any other. And as they are bound thus to live together in all godliness and honesty, so likewise it[e] is their duty virtuously to bring up their children; and to provide that they fall not into Satan's snare, nor into any uncleanness, but that they come pure and honest unto holy wedlock, when time requireth. So likewise ought all masters and rulers to provide that no whoredom,

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[y] Now] *wanting* 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[z] also] *wanting* 1547.

[a] Satan moveth] Satan continually stirreth and moveth 1582, 1584, 1595, 1623.

[b] to avoid] and to avoid 1547.

[c] reading] reading of 1547, 1582, 1587, 1595, the 1623.

[d] to] unto 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[e] it] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

nor any point of uncleanness, be used among their servants. And again, they that are single, and feel in themselves that they cannot live without the company of a woman, let them get wives of their own, and so live godly together: *for it is better to marry than to burn.* And, *to avoid fornication,* saith the apostle, *let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband.*

1 Cor. vii. [2, 9.]

Finally, all such as feel in themselves a sufficiency and ability, through the working[f] of God's Spirit, to lead a sole and continent life, let them praise God for his gift, and seek all means possible to maintain the same; as by reading of holy Scriptures, by godly meditations, by continual prayers, and such other virtuous exercises. If we all on this wise will endeavour ourselves to eschew fornication, adultery, and all uncleanness, and lead our lives[g] in all godliness and honesty, serving God with a pure and clean heart, and glorifying him in our bodies by leading an innocent and harmless[h] life, we may be sure to be in the number of those of[i] whom our Saviour Christ speaketh in the gospel on[k] this manner, *Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God:* to whom alone be all glory, honour, rule, and power, worlds without end. Amen.

Matt. v. [8.]

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[f] working] operation 1547.
[g] lives] life 1547.
[h] and harmless] *wanting* 1547.
[i] of] on 1547.
[k] on] in 1547.

A SERMON[a]

AGAINST

CONTENTION AND BRAWLING.

THIS day, good Christian people, shall be declared unto you, the unprofitableness and shameful unhonesty of contention, strife, and debate; to the intent that, when you shall see, as it were, in a table painted before your[b] eyes, the evil-favouredness and deformity of this most detestable vice, your stomachs may be moved to rise against it, and to detest and abhor that sin, which is so much to be hated, and pernicious[c] and hurtful to all men.

But among all kinds of contention, none is more hurtful than is contention in matters of religion. *Eschew*, saith St Paul, *foolish and unlearned questions, knowing, that they breed strife. It becometh not the servant of God to fight or*[d] *strive, but to be meek toward all men.* This contention and strife was in St Paul's time among the Corinthians, and is at this time among us Englishmen. For too many there be, which, upon the ale-benches or other places, delight to set forth[e] certain questions, not so much pertaining to edification, as to vain-glory, and shewing forth of their cunning[f]; and so unsoberly to reason and dispute, that, when neither part[g] will give place to other, they fall to chiding and contention, and sometime from hot words to further inconvenience. St Paul could not abide to hear among the Corinthians these words of discord or[h] dissension, *I hold of Paul, I of Cephas, and I of Apollo:* what would he then say, if he heard these words of contention, which be now almost in every man's mouth, 'He is a Pharisee, he is a gospeller, he is of the new sort, he is of the old faith, he is a new-broached brother, he is a good catholic father, he is a papist, he is an heretic?' O how the church is divided! O how the cities be cut and mangled! O how the coat of Christ, that was without seam, is all-to-rent and torn! O body mystical of Christ, where is that holy and happy unity, out of the which whosoever is,

2 Tim. ii. [23, 24.]

1 Cor. iii. [4.]

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[a] A Sermon] An Homily 1547.

[b] your] our 1595.

[c] and pernicious] and so pernicious 1547.

[d] or] and 1595.

[e] set forth] propound 1547.

[f] shewing forth of their cunning] ostentation 1547.

[g] part] party 1547.

[h] or] and 1587, 1595.

he[i] is not in Christ? If one member be pulled from another, where is the body? If the body be drawn from the head, where is the life of the body? We cannot be joined[k] to Christ our Head, except we be glued with concord and charity one to another. For he that is not in[l] this unity, is not of the church of Christ; which is a congregation or unity toge-

1 Cor. iii. [3.] ther, and not a division. St Paul saith, *That as long as emulation or envying*[m], *contention, and factions or sects*[n], *be among us, we be carnal, and walk according to the fleshly*

James iii. [14, 16.] *man.* And St James saith, *If ye*[o] *have bitter emulation or envying*[p], *and contention, in your hearts, glory not of*[q] *it: for whereas contention is, there is unstedfastness*[r], *and all evil deeds.* And why do we not hear St Paul, which prayeth

1 Cor. i. [10.] us, whereas he might command us, saying, *I beseech you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will speak all one thing, and that there be no dissension among you; but that you will be one whole body, of one mind, and of one opinion in the truth.* If his desire be reasonable and honest, why do we not grant it? If his request be for our profit, why do we refuse it? And if we list not to hear his petition or[s] prayer, yet let us hear his exhortation, where

Eph. iv. [1—5.] he saith, *I exhort you that you walk as it becometh the vocation in which*[t] *you be called, with all submission and meekness, with lenity and softness of mind, bearing one another by charity, studying to keep the unity of the Spirit by the bond of peace: for there is one body, one Spirit, one faith, one baptism.* There is, saith he, but *one body;* of the which he can be no lively member, that is at variance with the other members. There is *one Spirit,* which joineth and knitteth all things in one[u]. And how can this one[x] Spirit reign in us, when we among ourselves be divided? There is but *one faith:* and how can we then say, He is of the old faith, and he is of the new faith? There is but *one baptism:* and then shall not all they which be baptized be one? Contention causeth division: wherefore it ought not to be among

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[i] he] *wanting* 1595.
[k] joined] jointed 1547.
[l] in] of 1582, 1587, 1595.
[m] or envying] *wanting* 1547.
[n] or sects] *wanting* 1547.
[o] ye] you 1547, 1563.
[p] or envying] *wanting* 1547.
[q] of] for 1547.
[r] unstedfastness] inconstancy 1547.
[s] or] of 1582, 1587, 1595.
[t] in which] in the which 1547, 1563.
[u] in one] *wanting* 1547.
[x] one] *wanting* 1547.

Christians, whom one faith and baptism joineth in an[y] unity. But if we contemn St Paul's request and exhortation, yet at the least let us regard his earnest entreating[z]; in the which he doth very earnestly charge us, and, as I may so speak, conjure us, in this form and manner: *If there be any consolation in Christ, if there be any comfort of love, if you have any fellowship*[a] *of the Spirit, if you have any bowels of pity and compassion, fulfil my joy; being all like affected, having one charity, being of one mind, of one opinion; that nothing be done by contention, or vain glory.* Phil. ii. [1—3.]

Who is he, that hath any bowels of pity, that will not be moved with these words so pithy? Whose heart is so stony, that[b] the sword of these words[c], which be more sharp than any two-edged[d] sword, may not cut and break asunder? Wherefore, let us endeavour ourselves[e] to fulfil St Paul's joy here in this place; which shall be at length to our great joy in another place. Let us so read the Scripture, that by reading thereof we may be made the better livers, rather than the more contentious disputers. If any thing be[f] necessary to be taught, reasoned, or disputed, let us do it with all meekness, softness, and lenity. If any thing shall chance to be spoken uncomely, let one bear another's frailty. He that is faulty, let him rather amend, than defend that which he hath spoken amiss; lest he fall by contention from a foolish error into an obstinate heresy. For it is better to give place meekly, than to win the victory with the breach of charity; which chanceth where[g] every man will defend his opinion obstinately. If we be Christian men, why do we not follow Christ, who[h] saith, *Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart?* A disciple must learn the lesson of his schoolmaster, and a servant must obey the commandment of his master. *He that is wise and learned,* saith St James, *let him shew his goodness by his good conversation, and soberness of his wisdom. For where there is envy and contention, that wisdom cometh not from God, but is worldly*

How we should read the Scripture.

Matt. xi. [29.]

James iii. [13—17.]

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[y] an] a 1547.

[z] earnest entreating] obtestation 1547.

[a] fellowship] communion 1547.

[b] that] but that 1547, *wanting* 1563.

[c] so pithy.....these words] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[d] edged] handed 1547.

[e] ourselves] ourself 1547.

[f] be] is 1547, 1563.

[g] where] when 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[h] who] which 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

wisdom, man's wisdom, and devilish wisdom. For the wisdom that cometh from above, from the Spirit of God, is chaste and pure, corrupted with no evil affections; it is quiet, meek, and peaceable, abhorring all desire of contention; it is tractable, obedient, not grudging to learn, and to give place to them that teach better for their reformation. For there shall never be an end of striving and contention, if we contend who in contention shall be master, and have the overhand: we shall[i] heap error upon error, if we continue to defend that obstinately, which was spoken unadvisedly. For truth it is that stiffness in maintaining an opinion breedeth contention, brawling, and chiding; which is a vice among all other most pernicious and pestilent to common peace and quietness. And as it standeth betwixt two persons and parties—for no man commonly doth chide with himself—so it comprehendeth two most detestable vices: the one is, picking of quarrels, with sharp and contentious words; the other standeth in froward answering, and multiplying evil words again. The first is so abominable, that St Paul saith, *If any that is called a brother be a worshipper of idols, a brawler, a picker of quarrels, a thief, or an extortioner, with him that is such a man see that ye eat not.* Now here consider that St Paul numbereth a scolder, a brawler, or a picker of quarrels, among thieves and idolaters: and many times cometh[k] less hurt of a thief, than of a railing tongue: for the one taketh away a man's good name; the other taketh but his riches, which is of much less value and estimation than is his good name. And a thief hurteth but him from whom he stealeth; but he that hath an evil tongue troubleth all the town where he dwelleth, and sometime the whole country. And a railing tongue is a pestilence so full of contagiousness[l], that St Paul willeth Christian men to forbear the company of such, and neither to eat nor drink with them. And whereas he will not that a Christian woman should forsake her husband, although he be an infidel, or[m] that a Christian servant should depart from his master, which is an infidel and heathen, and so suffereth[n] a Christian man to keep company with an infidel; yet he forbiddeth us to eat

1Cor. v. [11.]

Against quarrel-picking.

1 Cor. vii. [13, 21.]

[i] we shall] if we shall 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[k] cometh] there cometh, 1623.

[l] contagiousness] contagion 1547.

[m] or] nor 1547.

[n] suffereth] suffer 1582, 1587, 1595.

or drink with a scolder or[o] quarrel-picker. And also in the sixth chapter to the Corinthians he saith thus, *Be not deceived; for neither fornicators, neither worshippers of idols, neither thieves, nor drunkards, nor*[p] *cursed speakers, shall dwell in the kingdom of heaven.* It must needs be a great fault, that doth move and cause the father to disinherit[q] his natural son. And how can it otherwise be, but that this cursed speaking must needs be a most damnable sin; the which doth cause God, our most merciful and loving Father, to deprive us of his most blessed kingdom of heaven? 1 Cor. vi. [9, 10.]

Against froward answering.

Against the other sin, that standeth in requiting taunt for taunt, speaketh Christ himself, *I*[r] *say unto you,* saith our Saviour Christ[s], *resist not evil; but love your enemies, and say well by them that say evil by you, do well unto them that do evil unto*[t] *you, and pray for them that do hurt and persecute*[u] *you; that you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven; who suffereth his sun to rise both upon good and evil, and sendeth his rain both upon*[x] *the just and unjust.* To this doctrine of Christ agreeth very well the teaching of St Paul, that chosen[y] vessel of God, who ceaseth not to exhort and call upon us, saying, *Bless them that curse you; bless, I say, and curse not; recompense to no man evil for evil; if it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.* Matt. v. [44, 45.] Rom. xii. [14, 17, 18.]

THE SECOND PART OF THE SERMON AGAINST CONTENTION[a].

IT hath been declared unto you, in this sermon against strife and brawling, what great inconvenience cometh thereby, specially of such contention as groweth in matters of religion: and how, when-as no man will give place to another, there is none end of contention and discord; and that unity, which God requireth of Christians, is utterly thereby neglected and broken; and that this contention standeth chiefly

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[o] or] or a 1547, 1563.
[p] nor] neither 1547, 1563.
[q] disinherit] disherit 1547, 1563.
[r] himself I] himself saying I 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[s] saith our Saviour Christ] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[t] unto] to 1547.
[u] persecute] pursue 1547.
[x] upon] to 1547, 1563.
[y] chosen] elect 1547.
[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.

in two points, as in picking of quarrels, and making of froward answers.

Rom. xii. [19—21.] Now ye shall hear St Paul's words, saying[b], *Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves; but rather give place unto* Deut. xxxii. [41.] *wrath: for it is written, Vengeance is mine; I*[c] *will revenge, saith the Lord. Therefore, if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink. Be not overcome with evil, but overcome evil with goodness.* All these be the words of St Paul.

But they that be full[d] of stomach, and set so much by themselves, that they may not abide so much as one evil An objection. word to be spoken of them, peradventure will say; If I be reviled[e], shall I stand still, like a goose, or a fool, with my finger in my mouth? Shall I be such an idiot and dizzard, to suffer every man to speak upon me what they list, to rail what they list, to spew out all their venom against me at their pleasures? Is it not convenient that he that speaketh evil should be answered accordingly? If I shall use this lenity and softness, I[f] shall both increase my[g] enemies' frowardness, and provoke other to do like. Such reasons make they that can suffer nothing, for the defence of their im- An answer. patience. And yet, if by froward answering to a froward person, there were hope to remedy his frowardness, he should less offend that so[h] should[i] answer, doing the same not of ire or malice, but only of that intent that he that is so froward or malicious may be reformed. But he that cannot amend another man's fault, or cannot amend it without his own fault, better it were that one should perish than two. Then if he cannot quiet him with gentle words, at the least[k] let him not follow him in wicked and uncharitable words. If he can pacify him with suffering, let him suffer: and if not, it is better to suffer evil than to do evil, to say well than to say evil. For to speak well against evil, cometh of the Spirit of God: but to render evil for evil cometh of the contrary spirit. And he that cannot temper ne[l] rule his own anger is but

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[b] It hath been declared.....saying] *wanting* 1547.

[c] mine I] mine and I 1582, 1587, 1595.

[d] be full] be so full 1547, 1563.

[e] be reviled] be evil reviled 1547, 1563.

[f] I] and 1563.

[g] my] mine 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[h] so] he 1595.

[i] that so should] that should 1547, that should so 1563.

[k] least] last 1574.

[l] ne] nor 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

weak and feeble, and rather more like a woman or a child, than a strong man. For the true strength and manliness is to overcome wrath, and to despise injuries[m] and other men's foolishness. And, besides this, he that shall despise the wrong done unto him by his enemy, every man shall perceive that it was spoken or done without cause: whereas contrarily[n], he that doth fume and chafe at it shall help the cause of his adversary, giving suspicion that the thing is true. And in so[o] going about to revenge evil, we shew ourselves to be evil; and while we will punish and[p] revenge another man's folly, we double and augment our own folly.

But many pretences find they that be wilful to colour their impatience. Mine enemy, say they, is not worthy to have gentle words or deeds, being so full of malice or frowardness. The less he is worthy, the more art thou[q] allowed of God; the[r] more art thou commended of Christ, for whose sake thou shouldest render good for evil, because he hath[s] commanded thee, and also deserved that thou shouldest so do. Thy neighbour hath peradventure with a word offended thee: call thou to thy remembrance with how many words and deeds, how grievously thou hast offended thy Lord God. What was man, when Christ died for him? Was he not his enemy, and unworthy to have his favour and mercy? Even so with what gentleness and patience doth he forbear, and tolerate, and suffer[t] thee, although he is daily offended by thee! Forgive, therefore, a light trespass to thy neighbour, that Christ may forgive thee many thousands of trespasses, which art every day an offender. For if thou forgive thy brother, being to thee a trespasser, then hast thou a sure sign and token that God will forgive thee, to whom all men be debtors and[u] trespassers. How wouldest thou have God merciful to thee, if thou wilt be cruel unto thy brother? Canst thou not find in thine[x] heart to do that towards[y] another, that is thy fellow, which God hath done to thee, that art but his servant? Ought not one sinner to forgive another, seeing

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[m] injuries] injury 1547, 1563.
[n] contrarily] contrary 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[o] in so] so in 1547.
[p] and] or 1547.
[q] thou] thou therefore 1582, 1587, 1595.
[r] the] and the 1582, 1587, 1595.
[s] hath] hath so 1547.
[t] and suffer] *wanting* 1547.
[u] and] or 1547, 1563.
[x] thine] thy 1587, 1595.
[y] towards] toward 1547.

that Christ, which was no sinner, did pray his[z] Father for them that without mercy and despitefully put him to death?

1 Pet. ii. [23.] *Who, when he was reviled, did not use reviling words again; and when he suffered wrongfully, he did not threaten, but gave all vengeance to the judgment of his Father, which judgeth rightfully.* And what crackest thou of thy Head, if thou labour not to be in the body? Thou canst be no member of Christ, if thou follow not the steps of

Isai. liii. [7.] Christ, *Who,* as the prophet saith, *was led to death like a lamb, not opening his mouth to reviling;* but opening his

Luke xxiii. [34.] mouth to praying for them that crucified him, saying, *Father,*

Acts vii. [60.] *forgive them, for they cannot tell what they do.* The which example, anon after Christ, St Stephen did follow, and after[a]

1 Cor. iv. [12, 13.] St Paul: *We be evil*[b] *spoken of,* saith he, *and we speak well: we suffer persecution, and take it patiently: men curse us, and we gently*[c] *entreat.* Thus St Paul taught that he did, and he did that he taught. *Bless you,* saith he, *them*

[Rom. xii. 14.] *that persecute you: bless you, and curse not.* Is it a great thing to speak well of thine[d] adversary, to whom Christ doth command thee to do well? David, when Shimei did call him

[2 Sam. xvi. 11, 12.] all to naught, did not chide again, but said patiently, *Suffer him to speak evil, if perchance the Lord will have mercy on me.*

Histories be full of examples of heathen men, that took very meekly both opprobrious and reproachful[e] words, and injurious or wrongful[f] deeds. And shall those heathen[g] excel in patience us that profess Christ, the teacher and example of all patience? Lysander[1], when one did rage against him, in reviling of him, he was nothing moved; but said, "Go to, go to, speak against me as much and as oft as thou wilt, and leave out nothing; if perchance by this means thou mayest discharge thee of those naughty things, with the which it seemeth that thou art full laden." Many men speak evil of all men, because they can speak well of no man. After this

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[z] his] to his 1547, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[a] after] after him 1547.
[b] evil] ill 1547.
[c] gently] gentle 1587, 1595.
[d] thine] thy 1547.
[e] and reproachful] *wanting* 1547.
[f] or wrongful] *wanting* 1547.
[g] heathen] heathen men 1547.

[1 Vid. Plutarch. Laconica Apophthegmata, p. 229, D; ed. Paris. 1624.]

sort, this wise man avoided[h] from him the reproachful[i] words spoken unto him, imputing and laying them to the natural sickness of his adversary. Pericles[2], when a certain scolder or railing fellow did revile him, he answered not a word again, but went into a gallery; and after, toward[k] night, when he went home, this scolder followed him, raging still more and more, because he saw the other to set nothing by him; and after that he came to his gate, being dark night, Pericles commanded one of his servants to light a torch, and to bring the scolder home to his own house. He did not only with quietness suffer this brawler patiently, but also recompensed an evil turn with a good turn, and that to his enemy. Is it not a[l] shame for us that profess Christ, to be worse than a heathen people, in a thing chiefly pertaining to Christ's religion? Shall philosophy persuade them more than God's word shall persuade us? Shall natural reason prevail more with them, than religion shall with[m] us? Shall man's wisdom lead them to those things[n], whereunto the heavenly doctrine cannot lead us? What blindness, wilfulness, or rather madness is this! Pericles, being provoked to anger with many villanous[o] words, answered not a word. But we, stirred but with one little word, what foul work do we make[p]! How do we fume, rage, stamp, and stare like mad men! Many men of every trifle will make a great matter, and of the spark of a little word will kindle a great fire, taking all things in the worst part. But how much better is it, and more like to the example and doctrine of Christ, to make rather of a great fault in our neighbour a small fault, reasoning with ourselves after this sort: 'He spake these words; but it was in a sudden heat; or the drink spake them, and not he; or he spake them at the motion of some other; or he spake them being ignorant of the truth: he spake them not against me, but against him whom he thought me to be.'

Reasons to move men from quarrel-picking.

But as touching evil speaking, he that is ready to speak

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[h] avoided] avoideth 1582, 1587, 1595.
[i] reproachful] injurious 1547.
[k] toward] towards 1582, 1587, 1595.
[l] a] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[m] shall with] shall do with 1547, 1563.
[n] those things] that thing 1547, things 1563.
[o] villanous] contumelious 1547.
[p] foul work do we make] tragedies do we move 1563.

[2 Vid. Plutarch. Vit. in Pericl. p. 154, D.]

evil against other men, first let him examine himself, whether he be faultless and clear of the fault which he findeth in another. For it is a shame, when he that blameth another for any fault, is guilty himself, either in the same fault either[q] in a greater. It is a shame for him that is blind to call another man blind; and it is more shame for him that is whole blind to call him blinkard that is but purblind: for this is to see a straw in another man's eye, when a man hath a block in his own eye. Then let him consider, that he that useth to speak evil shall commonly be evil spoken of again. And he that speaketh what he will for his pleasure, shall be compelled to hear that he would not to his displeasure. Moreover, let him remember that saying, *That we shall give an account for every idle word.* How much more then shall we make a reckoning for our sharp, bitter, brawling, and chiding words, which provoke our brother to be angry, and so to the breach of his charity!

Matt. xii. [36.]

Reasons to move men from froward answering.

And as touching evil answering; although we be never so much provoked by other men's evil speaking, yet we shall not follow their frowardness by evil answering, if we consider that anger is a kind of madness, and that he which is angry is, as it were, for the time in a phrenzy. Wherefore let him beware, lest in his fury he speak any thing whereof afterward he may have just cause to be sorry. And he that will defend that anger[r] is not[s] fury, but that he hath reason even when he is most angry, then let him reason thus with himself when he is angry: 'Now I am so moved and chafed, that, within a little while after, I shall be otherwise[t] minded: wherefore then should I now speak any thing in mine anger, which hereafter, when I would fainest, cannot be changed? Wherefore shall I do any thing now—being, as it were, out of my wit—for the which, when I shall come to myself again, I shall be very sad? Why doth not reason, why doth not godliness, yea, why doth not Christ obtain that thing now of me, which hereafter time shall obtain of me?' If a man be called an adulterer, usurer, drunkard, or by any other shameful[u] name, let him consider earnestly, whether he be so called truly or falsely; if truly, let him amend his fault, that his

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[q] either] or 1623.
[r] that anger] anger that 1587, 1595.
[s] not] no 1547, 1563.
[t] otherwise] otherways 1547, 1563.
[u] shameful] contumelious 1547.

adversary may not after worthily charge him with such offences. If these things be laid against him falsely, yet let him consider whether he hath given any occasion to be suspected of such things; and so he may both cut off that suspicion, whereof this slander did arise, and in other things shall live more warily. And thus using ourselves we may take no hurt, but rather much good, by the rebukes and slanders of our enemy. For the reproach of an enemy may be to many men a quicker spur to the amendment of their life, than the gentle monition of a friend. Philip[1] the king of Macedonia, when he was evil spoken of by the chief rulers of the city of Athens, he did thank them heartily, because by them he was made better, both in his words and deeds: "for I study," saith he, "both by my sayings and doings to prove them liars."

THE THIRD PART OF THE SERMON AGAINST CONTENTION[a].

YE heard in the last lesson of the sermon against strife and brawling, how we may answer them which maintain their froward sayings in contention, and that will revenge with words such evil as other men do to[b] them: and finally how we may according to God's will order ourselves, and what to consider towards them when we are provoked to contention and strife with railing words.

Now to proceed in the same matter, you shall know the right way how to disprove and overcome your adversary and enemy[c]. This is the best way to improve[d] a man's adversary: so to live, that all which shall know his honesty may bear witness that he is slandered unworthily. If the fault whereof he is slandered be such that, for the defence of his honesty, he must needs make answer, let[e] him answer quietly and softly on this fashion, that those faults be laid against him falsely. For it is truth that the wise man saith, *A soft* Prov. xv. [1.]

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[a] *The Homily is not divided in* 1547.
[b] do to] do 1582, 1587, 1595.
[c] Ye heard in.....enemy] *wanting* 1547.
[d] improve] refel 1547.
[e] let] yet let 1547, 1563.

[1] Vid. Plutarch. Apophthegmata, p. 177, D. ed. Xyland.]

answer assuageth anger, and an[f] *hard and sharp answer doth stir up rage and fury.* The sharp answer of Nabal did provoke[g] David to cruel vengeance; but the gentle words of Abigail quenched the fire again, that was all in a flame. And a special remedy against malicious tongues is, to arm ourselves with patience, meekness, and silence; lest with multiplying words with the enemy we be made as evil as he.

1 Sam. xxv. [23—31.]

An objection.

But they that cannot bear one evil word, peradventure, for their own excuse[h] will allege that which is written: "He that despiseth his good name is cruel." Also we read: *Answer a fool according to his foolishness.* And our Lord Jesus did hold his peace at certain evil sayings; but to some he answered diligently. He heard men call him *a Samaritan, a carpenter's son, a wine drinker,* and he held his peace: but when he heard them say, *Thou hast the devil within thee,* he answered to that earnestly.

Prov. xxvi. [5.]
[John viii. 48.]
[Matt. xiii. 55.]
[Matt. xi. 19.]
[Matt. xii. 25.]

Answer.

Truth it is indeed, that there is a time, when it is convenient to *answer a fool according to his foolishness, lest he should seem in his own conceit to be wise.* And sometime it is not profitable to answer a fool according to his foolishness, lest the wise man be made like to the fool. When our infamy, or the reproach that is done unto us[i], is joined with the peril of many, then it is necessary in answering to be quick and ready. For we read, that many holy men of good zeals[k] have sharply and fiercely both spoken and answered tyrants and evil men: which sharp words came[l] not of anger, rancour, or malice, or desire[m] of vengeance, but of a fervent desire to bring them to the true knowledge of God, and from ungodly living, by an earnest and sharp rebuke[n] and chiding. In this zeal, St John Baptist called the Pharisees *adders' brood:* and St Paul called the Galatians *fools:* and the men of Crete he called *liars, evil beasts,* and *sluggish bellies:* and the false apostles he called *dogs,* and *crafty workmen.* And this[o] zeal is godly, and to be allowed, as it is plainly proved by the example of Christ; who, although

[Prov. xxvi. 4.]

Matt. iii. [7.]
Gal. iii. [1.]
Tit. i. [12.]
Phil. iii. [2.]

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[f] an] a *in the other editions.*
[g] did provoke] provoked 1582, 1587, 1595.
[h] excuse] excusation 1547.
[i] or the reproach that is done unto us] *wanting* 1547.
[k] zeals] zeal 1623.
[l] came] proceeded 1547.
[m] desire] appetite 1547.
[n] rebuke] objurgation 1547.
[o] this] his 1582, 1587, 1595.

he were the fountain and spring of all meekness, gentleness, and softness, yet he called the obstinate scribes and Pharisees, *blind guides, fools, painted graves, hypocrites, serpents, adders' brood, a corrupt and wicked generation.* Also he rebuketh Peter eagerly, saying, *Go behind me, Satan.* Likewise St Paul reproveth Elymas, saying, *O thou full of all craft and guile, enemy to all justice, thou ceasest not to destroy the right ways of God: and now, lo, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, and not see for a time.* And[p] St Peter reprehendeth Ananias very sharply, saying, *Ananias, how is it that Satan hath filled thy heart, that thou shouldest lie unto the Holy Ghost?* This zeal hath been so fervent in many good men, that it hath stirred them, not only to speak bitter and eager words, but also to do things, which might seem to some to be cruel; but indeed they be very just, charitable, and godly, because they were not done of ire, malice, or contentious mind, but of a fervent mind, to the glory of God, and the correction of sin, executed by men called to that office. For in this zeal our Lord Jesus Christ did drive with a whip the buyers and sellers out of the temple. In this zeal Moses brake the two tables, which he had received at God's hand, when he saw the Israelites dancing about a[q] calf, and caused to be killed three[r] thousand of his own people. In this zeal Phinees, the son of Eleazar, did thrust through with his sword Zimri and Cozbi, whom he found together joined in the act of lechery[s].

Matt. xxiii. [16—33.]
Matt. xvi. [23.]
Acts xiii. [10, 11.]
Acts v. [3.]
John ii. [15.]
Exod. xxxii. [19, 29.]
Numb. xxv. [8.]
But these examples are not to be followed of every body, but as men be called to office, and set in authority.

Wherefore now to return again to contentious words, and specially in matters of religion and God's word—which would be used with all modesty, soberness, and charity[t]—the words of St James ought to be well marked and borne in memory, where he saith, that *of contention riseth all evil.* And the wise king Solomon saith, *Honour is due to a man that keepeth himself from contention, and all that mingle themselves therewith be fools.* And because this vice is so much hurtful to the society of a commonwealth, in all well-ordered cities these common brawlers and scolders be punished with a notable kind of pain, as to be set on the cucking-stool; pillory,

[James iii. 16.]
Prov. xx. [3.]

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p And] Also 1547.
q a] the 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
r three] twenty-three, 1547, 1563, twenty-four, 1582, 1587, 1595.
s lechery] uncleanness, 1623.
t charity] chastity, 1582, 1587, 1595.

or such like; and they be unworthy to live in a commonwealth[u], the which do as much as lieth in them, with brawling and scolding, to disturb the quietness and peace of the same. And whereof cometh this contention, strife, and variance, but of pride and vain-glory? Let us *therefore humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God*, which hath promised to rest upon them that be *humble and low in spirit*. If we be good and quiet christian men, let it appear in our speech and tongues. If we have forsaken the devil, let us use no more devilish tongues. He that hath been a railing scolder, now let him be a sober counsellor. He that hath been a malicious slanderer, now let him be a loving comforter. He that hath been a vain railer, now let him be a ghostly teacher. He that hath abused his tongue in cursing, now let him use it in blessing. He that hath abused his tongue in evil-speaking, now let him use it in speaking well. All bitterness, anger, railing, and blasphemy, let it be avoided from you. If you may, and it be possible, in no wise be angry. But if you may not be clean void of this passion, then yet so temper and bridle it, that it stir you not to contention and brawling. If you be provoked with evil-speaking, arm yourself with patience, lenity, and silence; either speaking nothing, or else being very soft, meek, and gentle in answering. Overcome thine adversaries[x] with benefits and gentleness; and, above all things, keep peace and unity. Be no peace-breakers, but peace-makers: and then there is no doubt, but that God, the author of comfort and peace, will grant us peace of conscience, and such concord and agreement, that *with one mouth and mind we may glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ:* to whom be all glory, now and ever[y]. *Amen.*

1 Pet. v. [6.]

[Luke I. 52.]

[Rom. xv. 6.]

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[u] commonwealth] commonweal, 1547.

[x] adversaries] adversary, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[y] and ever] and for ever 1582, 1587, 1595.

HEREAFTER shall follow Sermons[a] *of Fasting, Praying, Alms-deeds: of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Saviour Christ: of the due receiving of his blessed body and blood, under the form of bread and wine: against Idleness, against Gluttony and Drunkenness, against Covetousness, against Envy, Ire, and Malice; with many other matters, as well fruitful as necessary to the edifying of christian people, and the increase of godly living*[b].

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN[c].

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[a] Sermons] Homilies 1547.
[b] living] living. Amen 1563.
[c] God save the Queen] *wanting* 1547.

THE

SECOND TOME

OF

HOMILIES,

OF

SUCH MATTERS AS WERE PROMISED AND ENTITLED IN THE FORMER PART OF HOMILIES.

Set out by the Authority of the Queen's Majesty, and to be read in every Parish-Church agreeably.

1574.

AN ADMONITION

TO ALL MINISTERS ECCLESIASTICAL.

FOR that the Lord doth require of his Servant, whom he hath set over his household, to shew both faithfulness and prudence in his office; it shall be necessary that ye, above all other, do behave yourself[a] *most faithfully and diligently in your so high a function: that is, aptly, plainly, and distinctly to read the sacred Scriptures; diligently to instruct the youth in their Catechism; gravely and reverently to minister his most holy Sacraments; prudently also to choose out such Homilies, as be most meet for the time and for the more agreeable instruction of the people committed to your charge, with such discretion, that where the Homily may appear too long for one reading, to divide the same to be read part in the forenoon, and part in the afternoon: and where it may so chance some one or other chapter of the Old Testament to fall in order to be read upon the Sundays or Holy-days, which were better to be changed with some other of the New Testament of more edification, it shall be well done to spend your time to consider well of such chapters beforehand. Whereby your prudence and diligence in your office may appear; so that your people may have cause to glorify God for you, and be*[b] *the readier to embrace your labours, to your better commendation, to the discharge of your consciences and their own.*

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[a] yourself] yourselves 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623. [b] be] *wanting* 1595.

THE TABLE OF THE HOMILIES ENSUING.

1. Of the right use of the Church.
2. Against peril of Idolatry. 3 Parts.
3. For repairing and keeping clean the Church.
4. Of Good Works.—And first of Fasting. 2 Parts.
5. Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.
6. Against excess of Apparel.
7. An Homily of Prayer. 3 Parts.
8. Of the place and time of Prayer. 2 Parts.
9. Of Common Prayer and Sacraments.
10. An Information for[a] them which take offence at certain places of holy Scripture. 2 Parts.
11. Of Alms-deeds. 3 Parts.
12. Of the Nativity.
13. Of the Passion; for Good Friday. 2 Homilies.
14. Of the Resurrection; for Easter-day.
15. Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament. 2 Parts.
16 An Homily concerning the coming down of the Holy Ghost; for Whitsunday. 2 Parts.
17. An Homily for Rogation Week. 3 Parts.
18. Of the state of Matrimony.
19. Against Idleness.
20. Of Repentance and true reconciliation unto God. 3 Parts.
21. An Homily against Disobedience and wilful Rebellion. 6 Parts.

[a] of] for, 1582.

AN HOMILY

OF THE

RIGHT USE OF THE CHURCH OR TEMPLE OF GOD, AND OF THE REVERENCE DUE UNTO THE SAME.

THE FIRST PART[a].

WHERE there appeareth in[b] these days great slackness and negligence of a great sort of people, in resorting to the church, there to serve God their heavenly Father, according to their most bounden duty; as also much uncomely and unreverent behaviour of many persons in the same[c], when they be there[d] assembled; and thereby may just fear arise of the wrath of God, and his dreadful plagues hanging over our heads for our grievous offences in this behalf, amongst other many and great sins which we daily and hourly commit before the Lord. Therefore, for the discharge of all our consciences, and the[e] avoiding of the common peril and plague hanging over us, let us consider what may be said out of God's holy book concerning this matter; whereunto I pray you give good audience[f], for that it is of great weight, and concerneth you all. Although the eternal and incomprehensible majesty of God, the Lord of heaven and earth, whose seat is heaven and the earth his footstool, cannot be inclosed in temples or houses made with man's hand, as in dwelling-places able to receive or contain his majesty; according as is evidently declared by[g] the prophet Isaiah, and by the doctrine of St Stephen and St Paul in the Acts of the Apostles. And where king Solomon who builded unto the Lord the most glorious temple that ever was made, saith, *Who shall be able to build a meet or worthy house for him? If heaven, and the heaven above all heavens, cannot contain him, how much less can that which I have builded?* And further confesseth, *What am I, that I should be able to build thee an house, O Lord? But yet for this purpose only it is made, that thou mayest regard the prayer of thy servant, and his humble supplication.* Much less then

Isai. lxvi. [1.] Acts vii. [48, 49.] xvii. [24.]

1 Kings viii. [27.]

2 Chron. ii. [6.] vi. [19.]

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[a] part] chapter *in all except* 1563.
[b] in] at *in all the other editions.*
[c] same] time 1587, 1595.
[d] be there] are 1587, 1595.
[e] and the] and for the *in all the other editions except* 1563.
[f] audience] advice 1587, 1595.
[g] by] of 1563.

be our churches meet dwelling-places to receive the incomprehensible majesty of God. And indeed the chief and special temples of God, wherein he hath greatest pleasure, and most delighteth to dwell and continue in, are the bodies and minds of true Christians, and the chosen people of God; according to the doctrine of the holy Scripture, declared in the first Epistle to the Corinthians: *Know ye not,* saith St Paul, *that ye be*[h] *the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the temple of God, him will God destroy. For the temple of God is holy, which ye are.* And again, in the same Epistle: *Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost dwelling in you, whom ye have given you of God, and that ye be not your own? For ye are dearly bought. Glorify ye now therefore God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's.* And therefore, as our Saviour Christ teacheth in the Gospel of St John, *They that worship God the Father in spirit and truth, in what place soever they do it, worship him aright; for such worshippers doth God the Father look for. For God is a Spirit; and those that*[i] *worship him must worship him in spirit and truth,* saith our Saviour Christ. Yet all this notwithstanding, the material church or temple is a place appointed, as well by the usage and continual examples expressed in the Old Testament, as in the New, for the people of God to resort together unto; there to hear God's holy word, to call upon his holy name, to give him[k] thanks for his innumerable and unspeakable benefits bestowed upon us, and duly and truly to celebrate his holy Sacraments—in the unfeigned doing and accomplishing of the which standeth that true and right worshipping of God aforementioned—and the same church or temple is by the holy[l] Scriptures, both of the Old Testament and the[m] New, called the house and[n] temple of the Lord, for the peculiar service there done to his majesty by his people, and for the effectuous presence of his heavenly grace, wherewith he, by his said holy word, endueth his people so there assembled. And to the said house or temple of God, at all times, by common order appointed, are all people that be godly indeed bound with all diligence to resort; unless by

1 Cor. iii. [16, 17.]

1 Cor. vi. [19, 20.]

John iv. [23, 24.]

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[h] be] are 1587, 1595.
[i] that] which 1563.
[k] give] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[l] holy] *wanting* in all the editions.
[m] the] *wanting* 1623.
[n] and] or 1587, 1595.

sickness, or other most urgent causes, they be letted therefro. And all the same so resorting thither ought with all quietness and reverence there to behave themselves, in doing their bounden duty and service to Almighty God, in the congregation of his saints. All which things are evident to be proved by God's holy word, as hereafter shall plainly appear.

And first of all, I will declare by the Scriptures, that it is called, as it is indeed, the house of God, and temple of the Lord. *He that sweareth by the temple,* saith our Saviour Christ, *sweareth by it, and him that dwelleth therein,* meaning God the Father: which he also expresseth plainly in the Gospel of St John, saying, *Do not make the house of my Father the house of merchandise.* And in the book of the[o] Psalms the prophet David saith, *I will enter into thine house; I will worship in thy holy temple, in thy fear.* And it is in almost[p] infinite places of the Scripture, specially in the Prophets and book of Psalms, called the house of God, or the[q] house of the Lord. Sometimes it is named the tabernacle of the Lord; and sometimes the sanctuary, that is to say, the holy house or place of the Lord. And it is in[r] like wise called the house of Prayer; as Solomon, who builded the temple of the Lord at Jerusalem, doth oft[s] call it the house of the Lord, in the which the Lord's name should be called upon: and Isaiah, in the fifty-sixth chapter, *My house shall be called the house of prayer amongst all nations.* Which text our Saviour Christ allegeth in the New Testament, as doth appear in three of the Evangelists, and in the parable of the Pharisee and the publican, which went to pray: in which parable our Saviour Christ saith, *They went up into the temple to pray.* And Anna, the holy widow and prophetess, *served the Lord in fasting and prayer in the temple night and day.* And in the story of the Acts it is mentioned, how that *Peter and John went up into the temple at the hour of prayer.* And St Paul, praying in the temple at Jerusalem, was wrapt in the[t] Spirit, and did see Jesus speaking unto him. And[u] as in all convenient places prayer may be used of the godly privately; so it is most certain, that the church, or

Matt. xxiii. [21.]
John ii. [16.]
Psal. v. [7.]
Exod. xxv. [8, 9.]
1 Kings viii. [43.]
2 Chron. vi. [10.]
Isai. lvi. [7.]
Matt. xxi. [13.]
Mark xi. [17.]
Luke xix. [46.]
Luke xviii. [10.]
Luke ii. [37.]
Acts iii. [1.]
Acts xxii. 17, 18.]

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[o] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[p] in almost] almost in 1582, 1587, 1595.
[q] the] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[r] in] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[s] oft] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[t] the] *wanting* 1563.
[u] and] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

temple, is the due and appointed place for common and public prayer. Now that it is likewise the place of thanksgiving unto the Lord for his innumerable and unspeakable benefits bestowed upon us, appeareth notably at[x] the latter end of the Gospel of St Luke, and the beginning of the story of the Acts; where it is written, that the apostles and disciples, after the ascension of the Lord, continued with one accord daily in the temple, always praising and blessing God. And it is likewise declared, in the first Epistle to the Corinthians, that the church is the due place appointed for the reverent[y] use of the Sacraments.

Luke xxiv. [53.]
Acts ii. [46.]
1 Cor. xi. [22.]

It remaineth now to be declared, that the church or temple, is the place where the lively word of God—and not man's inventions—ought to be read and taught; and that the people are bound thither with all diligence to resort: and this proof likewise to[z] be made by the Scriptures, as hereafter shall appear. In the story of the Acts of the Apostles we read, that Paul and Barnabas preached the word of God in the temples of the Jews at Salamis. And when they came to Antioch, they entered on the sabbath-day into the synagogue or church, and sat down: and after the lesson, or reading of the Law and the Prophets, the ruler of the temple sent unto them, saying, *Ye men and brethren, if any of you have any exhortation to make unto the people, say it.* And so Paul, standing up, and making silence with his hand, said, *Ye men that be Israelites, and ye that fear God, give ear,* and so forth; preaching to them a sermon out of the Scriptures, as there at large appeareth. And in the same story of the Acts, the seventeenth chapter, is testified, how Paul preached Christ out of the Scriptures at Thessalonica. And in the fifteenth chapter, James the apostle, in that holy council and assembly of his fellow-apostles, saith: *Moses of old time hath in every city certain that preach him in the synagogues or temples, where he is read every sabbath-day.*

Acts xiii. [5—41.]
Acts xvii. [1, 2.]
Acts xv. [21.]

By these places ye may see the usage of reading the Scriptures[a] of the Old Testament among the Jews in their synagogues every sabbath-day, and sermons usually made upon the same. How much more then is it convenient that

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[x] at] in *in all the other editions.*
[y] reverent] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
[z] to] is to 1595.
[a] the Scriptures] the holy Scriptures 1587, 1595.

the Scriptures of God, and specially the gospel of our Saviour Christ, should be read and expounded to us, that be Christians, in our churches; specially our Saviour Christ and his apostles allowing[b] this most godly and necessary usage, and by their examples confirming the same!

It is written in the stories of the Gospels, in divers places, that Jesus went round about all Galilee, teaching in their synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom: in which places is his great diligence in continual preaching and teaching of the people most evidently set forth. In Luke, ye read how Jesus, according to his accustomed use, *came into the temple, and how the book of Isaiah the prophet was delivered him*, how he read a text therein, and made a sermon upon the same. And in the nineteenth is expressed how he taught daily in the temple. And it is thus written in the eighth of John, *Jesus came again early in the morning into the temple, and all the people came unto him; and he sat down and taught them.* And in the eighteenth of John, our Saviour testifieth before Pilate, that he *spake openly unto the world, and that he always taught in the synagogue and in the temple, whither all the Jews resorted, and that secretly he spake nothing.* And in St Luke, *Jesus taught in the temple, and all the people came early in the morning unto him, that they might hear him in the temple.*

Matt. iv. [23.] Mark i. [14.] Luke iv. [15.] Matt. xiii. [54.] Mark vi. [1, 2.] Luke xiii. [10.] Luke iv. [16, 17.] Luke xix. [47.] John viii. [2.] John xviii. [20.] Luke xxi. [37, 38.]

Here ye see, as well the diligence of our Saviour in teaching the word of God in the temple daily, and specially on the sabbath-days, as also the readiness of the people resorting all together, and that early in the morning, into the temple to hear him. The same example of diligence in preaching the word of God in the temple, shall ye find in the apostles, and the people resorting unto them (Acts the 5th); how the apostles, although they had been whipped and scourged the day before, and by the high-priest commanded that they should preach no more in the name of Jesus, yet the day following they entered early in the morning into the temple, and did not cease to teach and declare Jesus Christ. And in sundry other places of the story of the Acts ye shall find like diligence, both in the apostles in teaching, and in the people in coming to the temple to hear God's word. And it is testified in the first of Luke, that *when Zacharias*, the *holy priest*,

[Acts v. 21, 42.] Acts xiii. xv. and xvii. Luke i. [9, 10.]

[b] allowing] allowed 1595.

and father to John Baptist, *did sacrifice within the temple, all the people stood without a long time praying:* such was their zeal and fervency at that time. And in the second of Luke appeareth what great journeys men, women, yea, and children, took, to come to the temple on the feast-day, there to serve the Lord; and specially the example of Joseph, the blessed virgin Mary, mother to our Saviour Jesus[c] Christ, and of our Saviour Christ himself, being yet but a child; whose examples are worthy for us to follow. So that if we would compare our negligence in resorting to the house of the Lord, there to serve him, to[d] the diligence of the Jews in coming daily very early, sometime great[e] journeys, to their temple—and when the multitude could not be received within the temple, the fervent zeal that they had was declared in standing long without and praying—we may justly in this[f] comparison condemn our slothfulness and negligence, yea, plain contempt, in coming to the Lord's house—standing so near unto us—so seldom, and scarcely at noon[g] time: so far is it from a great many of us to come early in the morning, or give attendance without, who disdain to come into the temple: and yet we abhor the very name of the Jews, when we hear it, as of a most wicked and ungodly people. But it is to be feared, that in this point we be far worse than the Jews; and that they shall rise at the day of judgment to our condemnation, who, in comparison to them, shew such slackness and contempt in resorting to the house of the Lord, there to serve him, according as we are of duty most bound. And besides this most horrible dread of God's just judgment in the great day, we shall not in this life escape his heavy hand and vengeance, for this contempt of the house of the Lord and his due service in the same; according as the Lord himself threateneth in the first chapter of his prophet Haggai, after this sort, *Because you have left my house desert and without company, saith the Lord, and ye have made haste every man to his own house; for this cause are the heavens stayed over you, that they should give no dew, and the earth is forbidden that it shall bring forth his*[h] *fruit; and I have called drought upon the earth, and upon the mount-*

Luke ii. [41, 46.]

Hag. i. [9–11.]

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c Jesus] *wanting* 1563.
d to] with 1623.
e sometime great] sometime by great 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
f this] his 1587, 1595.
g noon] any 1582, 1587, 1595.
h his] her 1623.

ains, and upon corn, and upon wine, and upon oil, and upon all things that the earth bringeth forth, and upon men, and upon beasts, and upon all things that men's hands labour for. Behold, if we be such worldlings that we care not for the eternal judgments of God—which yet of all other are most dreadful and horrible—we shall not escape the punishment of God in this world by drought and famine, and the taking away of all worldly commodities, which we as worldlings seem only to regard and care for. Whereas, on the contrary part, if we would amend this fault or negligence, slothfulness, and contempt of the house of the Lord, and his due service there, and with diligence resort thither together to serve the Lord with one accord and consent, in all holiness and righteousness before him, we have promises of benefits both heavenly and worldly. *Wheresoever two or three be gathered in my name,* saith our Saviour Christ, *there am I in the midst*[i] *of them.* And what can be more blessed, than to have our Saviour Christ amongst[k] us? Or what again can be more unhappy or mischievous than to drive our Saviour Christ from amongst us, and[l] to leave a place for his and our most ancient and mortal enemy, the old dragon and serpent, Satan the devil, in the midst[i] of us? Matt. xviii. [20.]

In the second of Luke it is written, how that the mother of Christ, and Joseph, when they had long sought Christ whom they had lost, and could find him no where, that at the last they found him in the temple, sitting in the midst[i] of the doctors. So if we lack Jesus Christ, that is to say, the Saviour of our souls and bodies, we shall not find him in the market-place, or in the Guildhall, much less in the alehouse or tavern amongst good fellows, as they call them, so soon as we shall find him in the temple, the Lord's house, amongst the teachers and preachers of his word, where indeed he is to be found. And as concerning worldly commodities, we have a sure promise of our Saviour Christ: *Seek ye first the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall withal be given unto you.* Luke ii. [46.] Matt. vi [33.]

And thus we have in the first part of this Homily declared by God's word, that the temple or church is the house of the Lord, for that the service of the Lord—as teaching

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[i] midst] middle 1563.
[k] amongst] among 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[l] and] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.

and hearing of his holy word, calling upon his holy name, giving thanks to him for his great and innumerable benefits, and due ministering of his Sacraments—is there used. And it is likewise declared already[m] by the Scriptures, how all godly and Christian men and women ought, at times appointed, with diligence to resort unto the house of the Lord, there to serve him and to glorify him, as he is most worthy, and we most bound: to whom be all glory and honour world without end. *Amen.*

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY OF THE RIGHT USE OF THE CHURCH, &c.[a]

IT was declared in the first part of this Homily, by God's word, that the temple, or church, is the house of the Lord, for that the service of the Lord—as teaching and hearing of his holy word, calling upon his holy name, giving thanks to him for his great and innumerable benefits, and due ministering of the[b] Sacraments—is there used. And it is likewise already declared by the Scriptures, how all godly and Christian men and women ought, at times appointed, with diligence to resort unto the house of the Lord, there to serve him and to glorify him, as he is most worthy, and we most bounden.

Now it remaineth, in this second part of the Homily concerning the right use of the temple of God, to be likewise declared by God's word, with what quietness, silence, and reverence, those that resort to the house of the Lord ought there to use and behave themselves.

It may teach us sufficiently, how well it doth become us Christian men reverently to use the church and holy house of our prayers, by considering in how great reverence and veneration the Jews in the old law had their temple: which appeareth by sundry places, whereof I will note unto you certain. In the twenty-sixth of Matthew it is[c] laid to our Saviour Christ's charge before a temporal judge, as a matter worthy of[d] death, by the two false witnesses, that he had said he could destroy the temple of God, and in three days build it again; not doubting, but if they might make men to

Matt. xxvi. [61.]

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[m] already] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
[a] &c.] *wanting* 1582, 1587.
[b] the] his 1563.
[c] is] was 1563.
[d] of] *wanting* 1563, 1582, 1587.

believe that he had said any thing against the honour and majesty of the temple, he should seem to all men most worthy of death. And in the twenty-first of the Acts, when the Jews found Paul in the temple, they laid hands upon him, crying, *Ye men Israelites, help: this is that man who teacheth all men every where against the people and the law, and against this place; besides that, he hath brought the Gentiles into the temple, and hath profaned this holy place.* Behold how they took it for a like offence to speak against the temple of God, as to speak against the law of God; and how they judged it convenient, that none but godly persons, and the[e] true worshippers of God, should enter into the temple of God. And the same fault is laid to Paul's charge by Tertullus, an eloquent man, and by the Jews, in the twenty-fourth of the Acts, before a temporal judge, as a matter worthy of[f] death, *That he went about to pollute the temple of God.* And in the twenty-seventh of Matthew, when the chief priests had received again the pieces of silver at Judas's hand, they said, *It is not lawful to put them into Corban*—which was the treasure-house of the temple—*because it is the price of blood.* So that they could not abide that not only any unclean person, but also any other dead thing that was judged unclean, should once come into the temple, or any place thereto belonging. And to this end is St Paul's saying in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter, to be applied: *What fellowship is there betwixt righteousness and unrighteousness? Or what communion between light and darkness? Or what concord between Christ and Belial? Or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? Or what agreement can there be between the temple of God and images?* Which sentence, although it be chiefly referred to the temple of the mind of the godly, yet seeing that the similitude and pith of the argument is taken from the material temple, it enforceth, that no ungodliness, specially of images or idols, may be suffered in the temple of God, which is the place of worshipping God; and therefore can no more be suffered to stand there than light can agree with darkness, or Christ with Belial; for that the true worshipping of God, and the worshipping of images, are most contrary; and the setting of them up in the place of worship-

Acts xxi. [28.]

Acts xxiv. [6.]

Matt. xxvii. [6.]

2 Cor. vi. [14—16.]

[e] the] *wanting* 1587.

[f] of] *wanting* 1563, 1582, 1587.

ping may give great occasion to the worshipping of them. But, to return[g] to the reverence that the Jews had to their temple: you will say, that[h] they honoured it superstitiously, and a great deal too much, crying out, *The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord,* being notwithstanding most wicked in life, and be therefore most justly reproved of Jeremiah, the prophet of the Lord. Truth it is, that they were superstitiously given to the honouring of their temple. But I would we were not as far too short from the due reverence of the Lord's house, as they overshot themselves therein. And if the prophet justly reprehended them, hearken also what the Lord requireth at our hands, that we may know whether we be blameworthy or no. It is written in Ecclesiastes, the fourth chapter, *When thou dost enter into the house of God,* saith he, *take heed to thy feet; draw near that thou mayest hear: for obedience is much more worth than the sacrifice of fools, which know not what evil they do. Speak nothing rashly there, neither let thine heart be swift to utter words before God: for God is in heaven, and thou art upon earth; therefore let thy words be few.* Note, well-beloved, what quietness in gesture and behaviour, what silence in talk and words, is required in the house of God; for so he calleth it. See whether they take heed to their feet, as they be here warned, which never cease from uncomely walking and jetting up and down and overthwart the church; shewing an evident signification of notable contempt, both of God and all good men there present: and what heed they take to their tongues and speech, which do not only speak words swiftly and rashly before the Lord—which they be here forbidden—but also oftentimes speak filthily, covetously, and ungodly, talking of matters scarce honest or fit for the alehouse or tavern, in the house of the Lord; little considering, that they speak before God, who dwelleth in heaven—as is here declared—when they be but vermins here creeping upon the earth, in comparison to his Eternal Majesty; and less regarding that they must *give an account* at the great day, *of every idle word,* wheresoever it be spoken, much more of filthy, unclean, or wicked words spoken in the Lord's house, to the great dishonour of his Majesty, and offence of all that hear them.

Jer. vii. [3, 4.]

Eccles. v. [1, 2.]

Matt. xii. [36.]

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[g] return] turn 1582, 1587. [h] that] *wanting* 1563.

And indeed, concerning the people and multitude, the temple is prepared for them to be hearers rather than speakers; considering that as well the word of God is there read or[i] taught, whereunto they are bound to give diligent ear with all reverence and silence; as also that common prayer and thanksgiving are rehearsed and said by the public Minister in the name of the people and the whole multitude present; whereunto they, giving their ready audience, should assent and say[k], Amen; as St Paul teacheth in the First Epistle to the Corinthians. And in another place, *Glorifying God with one spirit and mouth:* which cannot be when every man and woman, in several pretence of devotion, prayeth privately, one asking, another giving thanks, another reading doctrine, and forceth not[l] to hear the common prayer of the Minister. And peculiarly what due reverence is to be used in the ministering of the Sacraments in the temple, the same St Paul teacheth in his Epistle[m] to the Corinthians, rebuking such as did unreverently use themselves in that behalf. *Have ye not houses to eat and drink in?* saith he. *Do ye despise the Church or*[n] *congregation of God? What shall I say to you? Shall I praise you? In this I praise you not.* And God requireth not only this outward reverence of behaviour and silence in his house, but all inward reverence in cleansing of the thoughts of our hearts; threatening by his prophet Hosea, in the ninth chapter, that, for the malice of the inventions and devices of the people, he will cast them out of his house: whereby is also signified the eternal casting of them out of his heavenly house and kingdom; which is most horrible. And therefore, in the nineteenth of Leviticus, God saith, *Fear you with reverence my sanctuary, for I am the Lord.* And according to the same, the Prophet David saith, *I will enter into thine house; I will worship in thy holy temple, in thy fear:* shewing what inward reverence and humbleness of mind the godly man ought to have in the house of the Lord.

1 Cor. xiv. [16.] [Rom. xv. 6.]

1 Cor. xi. [22.]

Hosea ix. [15.]

Lev. xix. [30.]

Psal. v. [7.]

And, to allege somewhat concerning this matter out of the New Testament, in what honour God would have his house or temple kept, and that by the example of our

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[i] or] and 1587, 1595.
[k] say] should say 1563.
[l] forceth not] not regarding 1623.
[m] in his Epistle] *wanting* 1582, 1587.
[n] or] and 1587.

Saviour Christ, whose authority ought of good reason with all true Christians to be of most weight and estimation.

Matt. xxi. [12, 13.] Mark xi. [15—17.] Luke xix. [45, 46.] John ii. [13—16.] Isai. liii. [7.] Acts viii. [32.]

It is written of all the four Evangelists, as a notable act, and worthy to be testified by[o] many holy witnesses, how that our Saviour Jesus Christ—that merciful and mild Lord, compared for his meekness to a sheep suffering with silence his fleece to be shorn from[p] him, and to a lamb led without resistance to the slaughter; which gave his body to them that did smite him, answered not him that reviled, nor turned away his face from them that did reproach him and spit upon him; and, according to his own example, gave precepts of mildness and sufferance to his disciples,—yet when he seeth the temple and holy[q] house of his heavenly Father misordered, polluted, and profaned, useth great severity and sharpness; overturneth the tables of the exchangers; subverteth the seats of them that sold doves; maketh a whip of cords and scourgeth out those wicked abusers and profaners of the temple of God; saying, *My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.* And in the second of John, *Do not ye make the house of my Father the house of merchandise.* For, as it is the house of God, when God's service is duly done in it; so when we wickedly abuse it with wicked talk or covetous bargaining, we make it a den of thieves, or an[r] house of merchandise. Yea, and such reverence would Christ should be therein, that *he would not suffer any vessel to be carried through the temple.* And whereas our Saviour Christ, as is before mentioned out of St Luke, could be found no where when he was sought, but only in the temple amongst the doctors; and now again exerciseth his authority and jurisdiction, not in castles and princely palaces, amongst soldiers, but in the temple; ye may hereby understand in what place his spiritual kingdom—which he denieth to be of this world—is soonest to be found, and best to be known of all places in this world. And, according to this example of our Saviour Christ, in the primitive Church—which was most holy and godly, and in the which due discipline with severity was used against the wicked—open offenders were not suffered once to enter into the house of the Lord, nor admitted to common prayer and the use of

Isai. l. [6.]

Matt. v. [39—48.]

[Matt. xii. 13.]

John ii. [16.]

Mark xi. [16.]

[Luke ii. 46.]

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[o] by] of 1587.

[p] shorn from] shorn off from 1587.

[q] holy] the holy 1587.

[r] an] *wanting* 1563.

the holy Sacraments, with other true Christians, until they had done open penance before the whole church. And this was practised not only upon mean persons, but also upon the[s] rich, noble, and mighty persons: yea, upon Theodosius[1], that puissant and mighty Emperor, whom, for committing a grievous and wilful murder, St Ambrose, bishop of Milan, reproved sharply, and did also excommunicate the said Emperor, and brought him to open penance. And they *Chrysostom.* that were so justly exempted and banished, as it were, from the house of the Lord, were taken, as they be indeed, for men divided and separated from Christ's church, and in most dangerous estate, yea, as St Paul saith, *even given unto* 1 Cor. v. [5.] *Satan the devil for a time;* and their company was shunned and avoided of all godly men and women, until such time as they by repentance and public penance were reconciled. Such was the honour of the Lord's house in men's hearts, and outward reverence also, at that time; and so horrible a thing was it to be shut out of the church and house of the Lord in those days, when religion was most pure, and nothing so corrupt as it hath been of late days. And yet we willingly, either by absenting ourselves from the house of the Lord, do, as it were, excommunicate ourselves from the Church and fellowship of the saints of God; or else, coming thither, by uncomely and unreverent behaviour there, by hasty, rash, yea, unclean and wicked thoughts and words before the Lord our God, horribly dishonour his holy house, the church of God, and his holy name and majesty, to the great danger of our souls, yea, and certain damnation also, if we do not speedily and earnestly repent us of this wickedness.

Thus ye have heard, dearly beloved, out of God's word, what reverence is due to the holy house of the Lord; how all godly persons ought with diligence at times appointed thither to repair; how they ought to behave themselves there, with reverence and dread before the Lord; what plagues and

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[s] the] *wanting* 1587.

[1 See Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. c. 17: Opp. Tom. IV. p. 727. The following passages are added as side-notes upon this subject in the edition of 1623: "The people's fault was most grievous; the sentence executed otherwise and more cruel than it should. He was only dehorted from receiving the sacrament until by repentance he might be better prepared."]

punishments, as well temporal as eternal, the Lord in his holy word threateneth, as well to such as neglect to come to his holy house, as also to such who, coming thither, do unreverently by gesture or talk there behave themselves. Wherefore, if we desire to have seasonable weather, and thereby to enjoy the good fruits of the earth; if we will avoid draught and barrenness, thirst and hunger, which are plagues threatened unto such as make haste to go to their own houses, to alehouses and taverns[t], and leave the house of the Lord empty and desolate; if we abhor to be scourged, not with whips made of cords, out of the material temple only—as our Saviour Christ served the defilers of the house of God in Jerusalem—but also to be beaten and driven out of the eternal temple and house of the Lord, which is his heavenly kingdom, with the iron rod of everlasting damnation, and cast into utter[u] darkness, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth: if we fear, dread, and abhor this, I say—as we have most just cause to do—then let us amend this our negligence and contempt in coming to the house of the Lord, this our unreverent behaviour in the house of the Lord; and resorting thither diligently[x] together, let us there, with reverent hearing of the Lord's holy word, calling on the Lord's holy name, giving of hearty thanks unto the Lord for his manifold and inestimable benefits daily and hourly bestowed upon us, celebrating also reverently the Lord's holy sacraments, serve the Lord in his holy house, as becometh the servants of the Lord, in holiness and righteousness before him all the days of our life: and then we shall be assured after this life to rest in his holy hill, and to dwell in his tabernacle, there to praise and magnify his holy name in the congregation of his saints, in the holy house of his eternal kingdom of heaven, which he hath purchased for us by the death and shedding of the precious blood of his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ: To whom, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one immortal Majesty of God, be all honour, glory, praise, and thanksgiving, world without end. *Amen.*

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[t] taverns] to taverns 1563, 1582, 1587.
[u] utter] outward 1563.
[x] diligently] diligent 1587.

AN HOMILY

AGAINST

PERIL OF IDOLATRY, AND SUPERFLUOUS DECKING OF CHURCHES.

THE FIRST PART.

IN what points the true ornaments of the church or temple of God do consist and stand, hath been declared in the two last Homilies, intreating of the right use of the temple or house of God, and of[a] the due reverence that all true christian people are bound to give unto the same. The sum whereof is, that the church or house of God is a place[b] appointed by the holy Scriptures, where the lively word of God ought to be read, taught, and heard; the Lord's holy name called upon by public prayer; hearty thanks given to his Majesty for his infinite and unspeakable benefits bestowed upon us, his holy sacraments duly and reverently ministered; and that therefore all that be godly indeed ought both with diligence, at times appointed, to repair together to the said church, and there with all reverence to use and behave themselves before the Lord; and that the said church, thus godly used by the servants of the Lord, in the Lord's true service, for the effectuous[c] presence of God's grace—wherewith he doth by his holy word and promises endue his people, there present and assembled, to the attainment, as well of commodities worldly, necessary for us, as also of all heavenly gifts, and life everlasting—is called by the word of God, as it is indeed, the temple of the Lord, and the house of God; and that therefore the due reverence thereof is stirred up in the hearts of the godly, by the consideration of these true ornaments of the said house of God, and not by any outward ceremonies or costly and glorious decking of the said house or temple of the Lord. Contrary to the which most manifest doctrine of the Scriptures; and contrary to the usage of the primitive church, which was most pure and uncorrupt; and contrary to the sentences and judgments of the most[d] ancient, learned, and godly doctors of the church—as hereafter shall appear—the corruption of these latter days hath brought into the church infinite multitudes of images; and the same

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[a] of] *wanting* 1587.
[b] a place] *wanting* 1587.
[c] effectuous] effectual 1563.
[d] most] *wanting* 1587.

with other parts of the temple also, have decked with gold and silver, painted with colours, set them with stone and pearl, clothed them with silks and precious vestures, phantasing[e] untruly that to be the chief decking and adorning of the temple or house of God, and that all people should be the more moved to the due reverence of the same, if all corners thereof were glorious, and glistering with gold and precious stones. Whereas indeed they by the said images, and such glorious decking of the temple, have nothing [at[f]] all profited such as were wise and of understanding; but have thereby greatly hurt the simple and unwise, occasioning them thereby to commit most horrible idolatry; and the covetous persons, by the same occasion, seeming to worship—and peradventure worshipping indeed—not only the images, but also the matter of them, gold and silver; as that vice is of all others in the Scriptures peculiarly called *idolatry*, or worshipping of images.

Eph. v. [5.] Col. iii. [5.]

Against the which foul abuses and great enormities shall be alleged unto you, first, the authority of God's holy word, as well out of the Old Testament as of the New: and secondly, the testimonies of the holy and ancient learned fathers and doctors, out of their own works and ancient histories ecclesiastical; both that you may at once know their judgments, and withal understand what manner of ornaments were in the temples in the primitive church, in those times which were most pure and sincere: thirdly, the reasons and arguments made for the defence of images or idols, and the outrageous decking of temples and churches with gold, silver, pearl, and precious stones, shall be confuted; and so this whole matter concluded.

But lest any should take occasion, by the way, of doubting by words or names, it is thought good here to note first of all, that although in common speech we use to call the likeness or similitudes of men or other things, images, and not idols; yet the scriptures use the said two words, idols and images, indifferently for one thing alway. They be words of divers tongues and sounds, but one in sense and signification in the Scriptures. The one is taken of the Greek word *εἴδωλον*, an idol: and the other of the Latin word *imago*, an image: and so both used as English terms in the

[e] phantasing] fancying 1563. [f] at] *wanting* 1574.

translating of Scriptures indifferently, according as the Septuaginta have in their translation in Greek εἴδωλα, and St Hierome in his translation of the same places in Latin hath *simulachra;* in English, images. And in the New Testament, that which St John calleth εἴδωλον, St Jerome likewise translateth *simulachrum*, as in all other like places of Scripture usually he doth so translate. And Tertullian[1], a most ancient doctor, and well learned in both the tongues, Greek and Latin, interpreting this place of St John, *Beware of idols*—that is to say, saith Tertullian, of the images themselves—the Latin words which he useth be, *effigies* and *imago*, to say, an image. And therefore it forceth[g] not, whether in this process we use the one term or the other, or both together, seeing they both—though not in common English speech, yet in Scripture—signify one thing. And though some, to blind men's eyes, have heretofore craftily gone about to make them to be taken for words of divers significations in matters of religion, and have therefore usually named the likeness or similitude of a thing set up amongst the heathen in their temples, or other places, to be worshipped, an idol; but the like similitude with us, set up in the church, the place of worshipping, they call an image: as though these two words, idol and image, in Scripture, did differ in property[h] and sense; which, as is aforesaid, differ only in sound and language, and in meaning be indeed all one, specially in the Scriptures and matters of religion. And our images also have been, and be, and, if they be publicly suffered in churches and temples, ever will be also worshipped, and so idolatry committed to them; as in the last part of this Homily shall at large be declared and proved. Wherefore our images in temples and churches be indeed none other but idols, as unto the which idolatry hath been, is, and ever will be committed.

1 John v.[26]

Lib. de Corona Militis. [cap. x.]

And first of all, the Scriptures of the Old Testament, condemning and abhorring as well all idolatry or worshipping of images, as also the very idols or images themselves, specially in temples, are so many and plentiful, that it were almost an infinite work, and to be contained in no small volume, to

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[g] forceth] skilleth 1623. [h] property] propriety 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[1] ["Non jam ab idololatria, quasi ab officio, sed ab idolis, id est, ab ipsa effigie eorum." Opp. Tom. I. p. 345, A. ed. Pamel.]

record all the places concerning the same. For when God had chosen to himself a peculiar and special[i] people from amongst all other nations that knew not God but worshipped idols and false gods, he gave unto them certain ordinances and laws to be kept and observed of his said people. But concerning none other matter did he give either mo, or more earnest and express, laws to his said people, than those that concerned the true worshipping of him, and the avoiding and fleeing of idols, and images, and idolatry: for that that[j] both the said idolatry is most repugnant to the right worshipping of him and his true glory, above all other vices, and that he knew the proneness and inclination of man's corrupt kind and[k] nature to that most odious and abominable vice. Of the[l] which ordinances and laws, so given by the Lord to his people concerning that matter, I will rehearse and allege some that be most special for this purpose, that you by them may judge of the rest.

Deut. iv. [1, 2.] In the fourth chapter of the book named Deuteronomy, is a notable place, and most worthy with all diligence to be marked, which beginneth thus: *And now, Israel, hear the commandments and judgments which I teach thee, saith the Lord, that thou doing them mayest live, and enter and possess the land which the Lord God of your fathers will give you. Ye shall put nothing to the word which I speak to you, neither shall ye take any thing from it. Keep ye the commandments of the Lord your God, which I command you.* And, by and by after, he repeated[m] the same sentence three or four times, before he come to the matter that he would specially warn them of, as it were for a preface, to [Deut. iv. 9.] make them to take the better heed unto it. *Take heed to thyself,* saith he, *and to thy soul, with all carefulness, lest thou forgettest the things which thine eyes have seen, and that they go not out of thy*[n] *heart all the days of thy life; thou shalt teach them to thy children and nephews, or pos-* [Deut. iv. 12.] *terity.* And shortly after, *The Lord spake unto you out of the middle of fire: but*[o] *you heard the voice or sound of his words, but you did see no form or shape at all.* And [Deut. iv. 15—28.] by and by followeth, *Take heed therefore diligently unto*

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[i] special] a special 1587, 1595.
[j] that] *wanting* 1623.
[k] and] of 1587, 1595.
[l] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[m] repeated] repeateth 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[n] thy] thine 1623.
[o] but] *wanting* 1563.

your souls—you saw no manner of image in the day in which[p] *the Lord spake unto you in Horeb, out of the midst of the fire—lest peradventure you, being deceived, should make to yourselves any graven image, or likeness of man or*[q] *woman, or the likeness of any beast which is upon the earth, or of the birds that fly under heaven, or of any creeping thing*[r] *that is moved*[s] *on the earth, or of the fishes that do continue in the waters: lest peradventure thou, lifting up thine eyes to heaven, do see the sun and the moon, and the stars of heaven, and so thou, being deceived by error, shouldest honour and worship them, which the Lord thy God hath created to serve all nations that be under heaven.* And again, *Beware that thou forget not the covenant of the Lord thy God, which he made with thee, and so make to thyself any carved image, of them which the Lord hath forbidden to be made: for the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, and a jealous God. If thou have children and nephews, and do tarry in the land, and, being deceived, do make to yourselves any similitude, doing evil before the Lord your God, and provoke him to anger; I do this day call upon heaven and earth to witness, that ye shall quickly perish out of the land which you shall possess; you shall not dwell in it any long time; but the Lord will destroy you, and will scatter you amongst all nations; and ye shall remain but a very few amongst the nations, whither the Lord will lead you away; and then shall you serve gods which are made with man's hands, of wood and stone, which see not, and*[t] *hear not, neither eat nor smell,* and so forth. This is a notable chapter, and entreateth almost altogether of this matter; but, because it is too long to write out the whole, I have noted you certain principal points out of it. First, how earnestly and oft[u] he calleth upon them to mark and to take heed, and[x] that upon the peril of their souls, to the charge which he giveth them. Then how he forbiddeth, by a solemn and long rehearsal of all things in heaven, in earth, and in the water, any image or likeness of any thing at all to be made. Thirdly, what penalty and horrible destruction he solemnly, with invocation of heaven and earth for record, denounceth and threateneth

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[p] in which] in the which 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[q] or] and 1587, 1595.

[r] thing] *wanting* 1582, 1587.

[s] is moved] moveth 1595.

[t] and] nor 1563.

[u] oft] how oft 1587, 1595.

[x] and] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

to them, their children and posterity, if they, contrary to this commandment, do make or worship any images[y] or similitude, which he so straitly hath forbidden. And when they, this notwithstanding, partly by inclination of man's corrupt nature—most prone to idolatry—and partly occasioned by the Gentiles, and heathen people dwelling about them, who were idolaters, did fall to the making and worshipping of images; God, according to his word, brought upon them all those plagues which he threatened them with; as appeareth in the books of the Kings and the Chronicles, in sundry places, at large. And agreeable hereunto are many other notable places in the Old Testament. Deuteronomy xxvii. *Cursed be he that maketh a carved image, or a cast or molten image, which is abomination before the Lord, the work of the artificer's hand, and setteth it up in a secret corner; and all the people shall say, Amen.*

[Deut. xxvii. 15.]

Read the thirteenth and fourteenth chapters of the book of Wisdom, concerning idols or images, how they be made, set up, called upon, and offered unto; and how he praiseth the tree whereof the gibbet is made, as happy in comparison to the tree that an image or idol is made of, even by these very words: *Happy is the tree where-through righteousness cometh*—meaning the gibbet—*but cursed is the idol that is made with hands, yea, both it, and he that made it;* and so forth. And by and by he sheweth, how that the things which were the good creatures of God before, as trees or stones, when they be once altered and fashioned into images to be worshipped, become abomination, a temptation unto the souls of men, and a snare for the feet of the unwise. And why? *The seeking out of images is the beginning of whoredom,* saith he; *and the bringing up of them is the destruction of life; for they were not from the beginning, neither shall they continue for ever. The wealthy idleness of men hath found them out upon earth; therefore shall they come shortly to an end:* and so forth to the end of the chapter, containing these points, How idols or images were first invented and offered unto, How by an[z] ungracious custom they were established, How tyrants compel men to worship them, How the ignorant and the common people are deceived by the cunning of the workman, and the beauty of the image, to do honour unto it, and so to

[Wisd. xiv. 7, 8.]

[Wisd. xiv. 12, 13.]

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[y] images] image 1563.

[z] an] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

err from the knowledge of God; and of other great and many mischiefs that come by images. And for a conclusion he saith, that the honouring of abominable images is the cause, the beginning, and end of all evil; and that the worshippers of them be either mad or most wicked. See and view the whole chapter with diligence—for it is worthy to be well considered—specially that is written of the deceiving of the simple and unwise common people by idols and images, and repeated twice or thrice lest it should be forgotten. And in the chapter following be these words: *The painting of the picture and carved image with divers colours enticeth the ignorant, so that he honoureth and loveth the picture of a dead image that hath no soul. Nevertheless, they that love such evil things, they that trust in them, they that make them, they that favour them, and they that honour them, are all worthy of death;* and so forth. Wisd. xv. [4, 5.]

In the book of Psalms, the prophet curseth the image-honourers[a] in divers places. *Confounded be all they that worship carved images, and that delight or glory in them.* Psal. xcvii. [7.] *Like be they unto the images that make them, and all they that put their trust in them.* Psal. cxxxv. [18.]

And in the prophet Isaiah saith the Lord: *Even I am the Lord, and this is my name, and my glory will I give to none other, neither my honour to graven images.* And by and by, *Let them be confounded with shame that trust in idols or images, or say to them, You are our gods.* And in the fortieth chapter, after he hath set forth the incomprehensible majesty of God, he asketh, *To whom then will ye make God like? Or what similitude will ye set up unto him? Shall the carver make him a carved image? And shall the goldsmith cover him with gold, and cast him into a form of silver plates? And for the poor man, shall the image-maker frame an image of timber, that he may have somewhat to set up also?* And after this he crieth out, *O wretches, heard ye never of this? Hath it not been preached unto you since the beginning,* and so forth, how by the creation of the world, and the greatness of the work, they might understand the majesty of God, the Creator and Maker of all, to be greater than that it should be expressed, or set forth in any image or bodily similitude? And beside this preaching, even Isai. xlii. [8. 17.] Isai. xl. [18—31.]

[a] honourers] honorer 1563.

Exod. xx. [4.] [Exod. xxxi. 18.] in the law of God—written with his own finger, as the Scripture speaketh—and that in the first table, and the beginning thereof, is this doctrine aforesaid against images, not briefly touched, but at large set forth and preached, and that with denunciation of destruction to the contemners and breakers of this law, and their posterity after them. And lest it should yet not be marked, or not remembered, the same is written and reported, not in one, but in sundry places of the word of God, that, by oft reading and hearing of it, we might once learn and remember it; as you also hear daily read in the church, *God spake these words and said, I am the Lord thy God: Thou shalt have none other gods but me. Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, nor*[b] *in the earth beneath, nor in the water under the earth: thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God, and visit the sin of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me, and shew mercy unto thousands in them that love me and keep my commandments.* All this notwithstanding, neither could the notableness of the place, being the very beginning of the living[c] Lord's law, make us to mark it; nor the plain declaration, by recounting of all kind of similitudes, cause us to understand it; nor the oft repeating and reporting of it in divers and sundry places, the oft reading and hearing of it, could cause us to remember it; nor the dread of the horrible penalty to ourselves, our[d] children, and posterity after us, fear us from transgressing of it; nor the greatness of the reward to us, and our children after us, move us anything to obedience, and the observing of this the Lord's great law: but as though it had been written in some corner, and not at large expressed, but briefly and obscurely touched; as though no penalty to the transgressors, nor reward to the obedient[e], had been adjoined unto it; like blind men without all knowledge and understanding, like unreasonable beasts, without dread of punishment or respect of reward, have diminished and dishonoured the high majesty of the living God, by the baseness and vileness of sundry and divers images of dead stocks, stones, and metals.

Lev. xxvi. [1.] Deut. v. [8, 9.] Exod. xx. [4, 5.]

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[b] nor] or 1563.

[c] living] loving 1582, 1587, 1595, very loving 1623.

[d] our] and our 1563.

[e] obedient] obedience 1595.

And as the majesty of God, whom we have left, forsaken, and dishonoured, and therefore the greatness of our sin and offence against his majesty cannot be expressed; so is the weakness, vileness, and foolishness in device of the images, whereby we have dishonoured him, expressed at large in the scriptures; namely, the Psalms, the Book of Wisdom, the prophet Isaiah, Ezekiel, and Baruch; especially in these places and chapters of them, Psalm cxv. and cxxxv., Isaiah xli. and xliv., Ezekiel vi., Wisdom xiii., xiv., xv., Baruch vi. The which places, as I exhort you often and diligently to read, so are they too long at this present to be rehearsed in an homily. Notwithstanding, I will make you certain brief or short notes out of them, what they say of these idols or images. First, that they be made but of small pieces of wood, stone, or metal; and therefore they cannot be any similitudes of the great majesty of God, whose seat is heaven, and the earth his footstool. Secondly[f], that they be dead, have eyes and see not, hands and feel not, feet and cannot go, &c.; and therefore they cannot be fit similitudes of the living God. Thirdly, that they have no power to do good nor harm to others: though some of them have an axe, some a sword, some a spear in their hands, yet do thieves come into their temples and rob them, and they cannot once stir to defend themselves from the thieves: nay, if the temple or church be set afire, that their priests can run away and save themselves, but they cannot once move, but tarry still like blocks as they are, and be burned; and therefore they can be no meet figures of the puissant and mighty God, who alone is able both to save his servants, and to destroy his enemies everlastingly. They be trimly decked in gold, silver, and stone, as well the images of men as of women, like wanton wenches, saith the prophet Baruch, that love paramours; and therefore can they not teach us, nor our wives and daughters, any soberness, modesty, and chastity. And therefore, although it is now commonly said that they be the laymen's books, yet we see they teach no good lessons, neither of God, nor godliness, but all error and wickedness. Therefore God by his word, as he forbiddeth any idols or images to be made or set up, so doth he command such as we find made and set up to be pulled down, broken, and destroyed. And it is written in the book of

Places of the scripture against idols or images.

Baruch vi. [11.]

[f] secondly] secondarily, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

Numb. xxiii. [21.] Numbers, the twenty-third chapter, that there was no idol in Jacob, nor there was no image seen in Israel, and that the Lord God was with the[g] people. Where note, that the true Israelites, that is, the people of God, have no images among them; but that God was with them, and that therefore their enemies cannot hurt them, as appeareth in the process of that chapter. And as concerning images already set up, thus saith Deut. vii. [5, 6.] the Lord in Deuteronomy: *Overturn their altars, and break them to pieces, cut down their groves, burn their images; for thou art an holy people unto the Lord.* And the same xii. [2,3.] is repeated more vehemently again in the twelfth chapter of the same book. Here note, what the people of God ought to do to images, where they find them.

But lest any private persons, upon colour of destroying images[h], should make any stir or disturbance in the commonwealth, it must always be remembered, that the redress of such public enormities appertaineth to the magistrates, and such as be in authority only, and not to private persons; and therefore the good kings of Judah, Asa, Hezekiah, Jehosaphat, and Josiah, are highly commended for the breaking down and destroying of the altars, idols, and images. And the scriptures declare, that they specially in that point did that which 1 Kings xvi. 2 Chron. xiv. xv. xxxi. was right before the Lord. And contrariwise, Jeroboam, Ahab, Joash, and other princes, which either set up, or suffered such altars or images undestroyed, are by the word of God reported to have done evil before the Lord. And if any, contrary to the commandment of the Lord, will needs set up such altars or images, or suffer them undestroyed amongst them; the Lord himself threateneth in the first chapter of the Numb. i. [51—53.] book of Numbers, and by his holy prophets Ezekiel, Micah, Micah i. [7.] Habb. ii. [18, 19.] and Habakkuk, that he will come himself and pull them down. And how he will handle, punish, and destroy the people, that so set up, or suffer such altars, images, or idols undestroyed, Ezek. vi. [3—14] he denounceth by his prophet Ezekiel on this manner; *I myself, saith the Lord, will bring a sword over you, to destroy your high places; I will cast down your altars, and break down your images; your slain men will I lay before your gods, and the dead carcases of the children of Israel will I cast before their idols; your bones will I strow round about*

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[g] the] that 1563.

[h] destroying images] destroying of images 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

your altars and dwelling-places; your cities shall be desolate, the hill-chapels laid waste, your altars destroyed and broken, your gods cast down and taken away, your temples laid even with the ground, your own works clean rooted out; your slain men shall lie amongst you: that ye may learn to know that I am the Lord: and so forth to the chapter's end —worthy with diligence to be read—that they that be near shall perish with the sword; they that be far off, with the pestilence; they that flee into holds or wilderness, with hunger; and if any be yet left, that they shall be carried away prisoners to servitude and bondage. So that if either the multitude or plainness of the places might make us to understand, or the earnest charge that God giveth in the said places move us to regard, or the horrible plagues, punishments, and dreadful destruction, threatened to such worshippers of images or idols, setters up or maintainers of them, might engender any fear in our hearts, we would once leave and forsake this wickedness, being in the Lord's sight so great an offence and abomination. Infinite places almost might be brought out of the scriptures of the Old Testament concerning this matter; but these few at this time shall serve for all.

You will say, peradventure, These things pertain to the Jews; what have we to do with them? Indeed they pertain no less to us Christians, than to them. For if we be the people of God, how can the word and law of God not appertain to us? St Paul, alleging one text out of the Old Testament, concludeth generally for other scriptures of the Old Testament as well as that, saying, *Whatsoever is written before*—meaning in the Old Testament—*is written for our instruction*; which sentence is most specially true of such writings of the Old Testament as contain the immutable law and ordinances of God, in no age or time to be altered, nor of any persons of any nations or age to be disobeyed, such as the above-rehearsed places be. Notwithstanding—for your further satisfying herein—according to my promise, I will, out of[1] the scriptures of the New Testament or gospel of our Saviour Christ likewise, make a confirmation of the said doctrine against idols or images, and of our duty concerning the same. Rom. xv. [4.]

First, the scriptures of the New Testament do in sundry places make mention with rejoicing, as for a most excellent

[1] of] *wanting* 1563.

benefit and gift of God, that they which received the faith of Christ were *turned from their dumb and dead images, unto the true and living God, who is to be blessed for ever;* namely, in these places; the fourteenth and seventeenth of the Acts of the Apostles: the eleventh to the Romans: the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the twelfth chapter; to the Galatians, the fourth; and the first to the Thessalonians, the first chapter.

[Acts xiv. 15. xvii. 30.] [Rom. xi 30.] [1 Cor. xii. 2, 3.] [Gal. iv. 6—9.] [1 Thess. i. 9.]

And in like wise, the said idols, images[k], and worshipping of them, are in the scripturess of the New Testament by the Spirit of God much abhorred and detested, and earnestly forbidden; as appeareth both in the forenamed places, and also many other besides; as in the seventh and fifteenth of the Acts of the Apostles; the first to the Romans; where is set forth the horrible plague of idolaters, given over by God into a reprobate sense to work all wickedness and abominations not to be spoken; as usually spiritual and carnal fornication go together.

[Acts vii. 42. xv. 29.] [Rom. i. 24—32.]

In the first Epistle to the Corinthians, the fifth chapter, we are forbidden once *to keep company*, or *to eat and drink, with such as be called brethren or Christians, that do worship images.* In the fifth to the Galatians, the worshipping of images is numbered amongst the *works of the flesh;* and in[l] the first to the Corinthians, the tenth, it is called the *service of devils*, and that such as use it shall be destroyed. And in the sixth chapter of the said epistle, and the fifth of the Galatians, is denounced, that such *image-worshippers shall never come into the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven.* And in sundry other places is threatened, that the *wrath of God shall come upon all such.* And therefore St John in his epistle exhorteth us, as his *dear children, to beware of images.* And St Paul warneth us to[m] flee from the worshipping of them, if we be wise; that is to say, if we care for health, and fear destruction, if we regard the kingdom of God and life everlasting, and dread the wrath of God and everlasting damnation. For it is not possible that we should be worshippers of images and the true servants of God also; as St Paul teacheth the[n] second to the Corinthians, the sixth chapter, affirming expressly that there can *be no more consent or agreement be-*

[1 Cor. v. 11.] [Gal. v. 20.] [1 Cor. x. 19, 20.] [1 Cor. vi. 9.] [Gal. v. 20, 21.] [Eph. v. 5, 6.] 1 John v. [21.] 1 Cor. x. [15.] [2 Cor. vi. 14—16.]

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[k] idols, images] idols or images 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[l] in] *wanting* 1563.

[m] to] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[n] the] in the 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

tween the temple of God—which all true Christians be—*and images, than between righteousness and unrighteousness, between light and darkness, between the faithful and the unfaithful, or between Christ and the devil.* Which[o] place enforceth, both that we should not worship images, and that we should not have images in the temple, for fear and occasion of worshipping[p] them, though they be of themselves things indifferent; for the Christian is the holy temple and lively[q] image of God, as the place well declareth to such as will read and weigh it. And whereas all godly men did ever abhor that any kneeling and worshipping or offering should be used to themselves when they were alive—for that it was the honour due to God only; as appeareth in the Acts of the Apostles, by St Peter forbidding it to Cornelius, and by St Paul and Barnabas forbidding the same to the citizens in Lystra,—yet we like mad men fall down before the dead idols or images of Peter and Paul, and give that honour to stocks and stones, which they thought abominable to be given to themselves being alive. And the good angel of God, as appeareth in the book of St John's Revelation, refused to be kneeled unto, when that honour was offered him of John: *Beware,* saith the angel, *that thou do it not, for I am thy fellow-servant.* But the evil angel, Satan, desireth nothing so much as to be kneeled unto, and thereby at once both to rob God of his due honour, and to[r] work the damnation of such as make him so low courtesy; as in the story of the gospel appeareth in sundry places. Yea, and he offered our Saviour Christ all earthly goods, on the condition that he would kneel down and worship him. But our Saviour repelleth Satan by the scriptures, saying, *It is written, Thou shalt worship thy Lord God, and him alone shalt thou serve.* But we by not worshipping and serving God alone, as the scriptures teach us, and by worshipping of images, contrary to the scriptures, pluck Satan to us, and are ready without reward to follow his desire: yea, rather than fail, we will offer him gifts and oblations to receive our service. But let us, brethren, rather follow the counsel of the good angel of God, than the suggestion of subtle Satan, that wicked angel and old serpent; who, according to the pride whereby he first fell, attempteth always by such sacrilege to deprive God,

Acts x. [25.] Acts xiv. [15.] [Rev. xxii. 8, 9.] Matt. iv. [10.] Luke iv. [8.]

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[o] which] what 1595.

[p] worshipping] worshipping of 1587, 1595.

[q] lively] living 1595.

[r] to] *wanting* 1563.

whom he envieth, of his due honour; and, because his own face is horrible and ugly, to convey it to himself by the mediation of gilt stocks and stones, and withal to make us the enemies of God, and his own suppliants and slaves, and in the end to procure us for a reward, everlasting destruction and damnation. Therefore above all things, if we take ourselves to be Christians indeed—as we be named—let us credit the word, obey the law, and follow the doctrine and example of our Saviour and Master Christ, repelling Satan's suggestion to idolatry and worshipping of images, according to the truth alleged and taught out of the testament and gospel of our said heavenly doctor and schoolmaster Jesus Christ, who is God to be blessed for ever. *Amen.*

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY AGAINST PERIL[a] OF IDOLATRY.

YOU have heard, well-beloved, in the first part of this Homily, the doctrine of the word of God against idols and images, against idolatry and worshipping of images, taken out of the Scriptures of the Old Testament and the New, and confirmed by the examples as well of the apostles as of our Saviour Christ himself. Now, although our Saviour Christ taketh not or[b] needeth not any testimony of men; and that which is once confirmed by the certainty of his eternal truth, hath no more need of the confirmation of man's doctrine and writings, than the bright sun at noontide hath need of the light of a little candle, to put away darkness, and to increase his light; yet, for your further contentation, it shall in this second part be declared—as in the beginning of the first part was promised—that this truth and doctrine concerning the forbidding of images, and worshipping of them, taken out of the holy Scriptures as well of the Old Testament as the New, was believed and taught of the old holy fathers, and most ancient learned doctors and received in the old primitive church, which was most uncorrupt and pure. And this declaration shall be made out of the said holy doctors' own writings, and out of the ancient histories ecclesiastical to the same belonging.

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[a] peril] the peril 1587, 1595. [b] or] nor 1587, 1595.

Tertullian, a most ancient writer and doctor of the Church, who lived about one hundred and threescore years after the death of our Saviour Christ, both in sundry other places of his works, and specially in his book[1] written against the Manner of Crowning, and in another little treatise, entitled, Of the Soldier's Crown or Garland, doth most sharply and vehemently write and inveigh against images or idols: and upon St John's words, the first epistle and fifth chapter, saith thus: "St John, saith he[2], deeply considering the[c] matter, saith, *My little children, keep yourselves from images or idols.* He saith not now, Keep yourselves from idolatry, as it were from the service and worshipping of them; but from the images or idols themselves, that is, from the very shape and likeness of them; for it were an unworthy thing, that the image of the living God should become the image of a dead idol." Do not you think[d] those persons, which place images and idols in churches, and temples, yea, shrine them even over the Lord's table, even as it were of purpose to the worshipping and honouring of them, taking good heed to either of[e] St John's counsel, or Tertullian's? For so to place images and idols, is it to keep themselves from them, or else to receive and embrace them?

Lib. contra coronandi morem.

1 John v. [21.]

[f]Clemens[3] in his book to James, brother of the Lord, saith, "What can be so wicked or so unthankful, as to receive a benefit of God, and to give thanks therefor unto stocks and stones? Wherefore awake ye, and understand your health: for God hath need of no man, nor requireth any thing, nor can be hurt in any thing. But we be they which are either holpen or hurt, in that we be thankful to God, or unthankful."

Lib. v. Ad Jacob. Domini.

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[c] the] that 1595.
[d] not you think] not think you 1563, you not 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[e] of] *wanting* 1563.
[f] Clemens.....unthankful] *wanting* 1623.

[1] [The writer most probably refers to the 'Liber de Idololatria.']

[2] ["Filioli, inquit, custodite vos ab idolis; non jam ab idololatria quasi ab officio, sed ab idolis, id est, ab ipsa effigie eorum. Indignum enim ut imago Dei vivi, imago idoli et mortui fiat." De Corona Militis, c. x. Opp. Tom. I. p. 345, A. ed. Pamel.]

[3] ["Quid certe tam impium tam ingratum, quam a Deo beneficium consequi, et reddere lignis ac lapidibus gratiam? Propter quod expergiscimini et intelligite salutem vestram. Deus enim nullius indiget, neque aliquid requirit, neque in aliquo læditur; sed nos sumus qui aut juvamur aut lædimur, in eo quo grati aut ingrati sumus." Recognit. S. Clement. Lib. v. c. xxvi; apud Coteler. Tom. I. p. 547.]

Origen, in his book against Celsus[1], saith thus: "Christian men and Jews, when they hear these words of the law, Thou shalt fear the Lord thy God, and shalt not make any image, do not only abhor the temples, altars, and images of the gods, but, if need be, will rather die than they should defile themselves with any impiety." And shortly after[2] he saith, "In the commonwealth of the Jews, the carver of idols and image-maker was cast far off and forbidden, lest they should have any occasion to make images, which might pluck certain foolish persons from God, and turn the eyes of their souls to the contemplation of earthly things." And in another place[3] of the same book, "It is not only, saith he, a mad and frantic part to worship images, but also once to dissemble or wink at it. And a man may know God and his only Son, and those which have had such honour given them by God that they be called gods; but it is not possible that any should by worshipping of images get any knowledge of God."

Athanasius, in his book against the Gentiles, hath these words[4]: "Let them tell, I pray you, how God may be known

[1] [Χριστιανοὶ δὲ καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι διὰ τὸ, Κύριον τὸν Θεόν σου φοβηθήσῃ, καὶ αὐτῷ μόνῳ λατρεύσεις· διὰ τὸ, Οὐκ ἔσονταί σοι θεοὶ ἕτεροι πλὴν ἐμοῦ, καὶ, Οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἴδωλον . . . . καὶ ἄλλα πλείονα τούτοις παραπλήσια, οὐ μόνον ἐκτρέπονται νεὼς, καὶ βωμοὺς, καὶ ἀγάλματα· ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀποθνήσκειν, ὅτε δεῖ, ἑτοίμως ἔρχονται ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μολύναι τὴν περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων ὑπόληψιν, διά τινος τοιούτου παρανομήματος. Contra Celsum, Lib. VII. § 64. Opp. Tom. I. p. 740. ed. Paris. 1733.]

[2] [Οὔτε γὰρ ζωγράφος, οὔτ' ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ αὐτῶν ἦν, ἐκβάλλοντος πάντας τοὺς τοιούτους ἀπ' αὐτῆς τοῦ νόμου· ἵνα μηδεμία πρόφασις ᾖ τῆς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων κατασκευῆς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπισπωμένης, καὶ καθελκούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς γῆν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς. Contra Celsum, Lib. IV. § 31, p. 524.]

[3] [Λεκτέον, ὅτε γιγνώσκειν μέν ἐστι Θεὸν καὶ τὸν μονογενῆ αὐτοῦ, καὶ τοὺς τετιμημένους ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τῇ θεὸς προσηγορίᾳ, καὶ μετέχοντας τῆς θεότητος αὐτοῦ, ἑτέρους ὄντας παρὰ πάντας τοὺς θεοὺς τῶν ἐθνῶν, οἵτινές εἰσι δαιμόνια· οὐ μὲν δυνατόν ἐστι καὶ γιγνώσκειν τὸν Θεὸν, καὶ τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν εὔχεσθαι· καὶ οὐ μόνον τὸ εὔχεσθαι τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν ἠλίθιόν ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ γὰρ καὶ τὸ συμπεριφερόμενον τοῖς πολλοῖς προσποιεῖσθαι τοῖς ἀγάλμασιν εὔχεσθαι.—Contra Celsum Lib. VII. § 65, pp. 740, 741.]

[4] [Εἶποι γὰρ ἂν τις πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρελθὼν ἐπ' ἀληθείᾳ κρινούσῃ, πῶς ἀποκρίνεται, ἢ γνωρίζεται Θεὸς διὰ τούτων; πότερον διὰ τὴν περικειμένην αὐτοῖς ὕλην, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς μορφήν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὴν ὕλην, τίς ἡ χρεία τῆς μορφῆς; καὶ μὴ πρὶν πλασθῆναι ταῦτα διὰ πάσης ἁπλῶς ὕλης ἐπιφαίνεσθαι τὸν Θεόν; μάτην δὲ καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς οὗτοι περιτείχισαν συγκλείοντες ἕνα λίθον, ἢ ξύλον, ἢ χρυσοῦ μέρος, πάσης τῆς γῆς πεπληρωμένης τῆς τούτων οὐσίας. Εἰ δὲ ἡ ἐπικειμένη μορφὴ αἰτία γείνεται τῆς θείας ἐπιφανείας τίς ἡ χρεία τῆς ὕλης τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων; καὶ μὴ

by an image. If it be by the matter of an [g]image, then there needeth no shape or form, seeing that God hath appeared in all material creatures, which do testify his glory. Now if they say he is known by the form or fashion, is he not better to be [h]known by the living things themselves, whose fashions the images express? For, of surety, the glory of God should be more evidently known, if it were declared by reasonable and living creatures, rather than by dead and unmoveable images. Therefore, when ye do grave[1] or paint images, to the end to know God thereby, surely ye do an unworthy and unfit thing." And in another place of the same book he saith[1], "The invention of images came of no good, but of evil; and whatsoever hath an evil beginning can never in any thing be judged good, seeing it is altogether naught." Thus far Athanasius, a very ancient, holy, and learned bishop and doctor, who judgeth both the first beginning and the end, and altogether, of images or idols to be naught.

Lactantius likewise, an old and learned writer, in his book of the Origin of Error, hath these words[2]: "God is above man, and is not placed beneath, but is to be sought in the highest region. Wherefore there is no doubt, but that no

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[g] the matter of an] no matter of 1587, 1595; the matter of the 1623.

[h] known by the form or fashion, is he not better to be] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[1] grave] carve 1563.

μᾶλλον δι' αὐτῶν τῶν φύσει ζώων ὧν εἰσι μορφαὶ τὰ γλυμματα, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπιφαίνεσθαι; Καλλίων γὰρ ἂν ἡ περὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ δόξα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἐγεγόνεν, εἰ διὰ ζώων ἐμψύχων λογικῶν τε καὶ ἀλόγων ἐπεφαίνετο, καὶ μὴ ἐν ἀψύχοις καὶ ἀκινήτοις προσεδοκᾶτο· ἐφ' οἷς μάλιστα καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀσέβειαν ἐργάζονται·—Contra gentes Oratio. Opp. p. 22, A, B. ed. Paris. 1627.]

[1] [Κακίας δὴ οὖν εὕρεσις καὶ ἐπίνοια τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐξ ἀρχῆς, οὕτω γέγονε καὶ πέπλασται. Πῶς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν εἰδώλων μανίαν καταβεβήκασιν, ἤδη λέγειν ἀναγκαῖον· ἵνα γινώσκῃς, ὅτι ὅλως ἡ τῶν εἰδώλων εὕρεσις, οὐκ ἀπὸ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ κακίας γέγονε. Τὸ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔχον κακὴν ἐν οὐδενί ποτε καλὸν κριθείη, ὅλον ὂν φαῦλον.—Ibid. p. 8, C, D.]

[2] ["Deus autem major est homine; supra ergo, non infra est, nec in ima potius, sed in summa regione quærendus est. Quare non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubicunque simulacrum est. Nam si religio ex divinis rebus est; divini autem nihil est, nisi in cœlestibus rebus: carent ergo religione simulacra, quia nihil potest esse cœleste in ea re quæ fit ex terra."—De Origine Erroris, Lib. II. c. 18: Opp. p. 111. ed. Cantab. 1685.]

religion is in that place wheresoever any image is: for if religion stand in godly things, and there is no godliness but in heavenly things, then be images without religion." These be Lactantius's words, who was above thirteen hundred years ago, and within three hundred years after our Saviour Christ.

Cyril, an old and holy doctor, upon the Gospel of St John hath[1] these words: "Many have left the Creator, and have worshipped the creature; neither have they been abashed to say unto a stock, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou begottest me. For many, yea, almost all, alas for sorrow! are fallen unto such folly, that they have given the glory of deity, or godhead, to things without sense or feeling."

Epiphanius, bishop of Salamine in Cyprus, a very holy and learned man, who lived in Theodosius the emperor's time, about three hundred and ninety years after our Saviour Christ's ascension, writeth[2] this[k] to John, patriarch of Jerusalem: "I entered," saith Epiphanius, "into a certain church to pray: I found there a linen cloth hanging in the church-door, painted, and having in it the image of Christ, as it were,

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[k] this] thus 1563, 1595.

[1] [Λελατρεύκασι γάρ τινες τῇ κτίσει παρὰ τὸν κτίσαντα, καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ τετολμήκασιν εἰπεῖν, Πατήρ μου εἶ σὺ, καὶ τῷ λίθῳ, Σύ με ἐγέννησας. Πρὸς γὰρ δὴ τοσοῦτον οἱ δείλαιοι κατώλισθον ἀμαθίας μέτρον, ὡς καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεως ἀμοιρούσαις ὕλαις τὴν θείαν ἁπλῶς ἐπωνυμίαν χαρίσασθαι, καὶ τῆς τὰ πάντα ὑπερκειμένης οὐσίας τὴν ἄῤῥητον περιθεῖναι δόξαν.—Cyril. Alexandrin. Comment. in Joan. Evangel. Lib. XI. c. v. Opp. Tom. IV. p. 952, B; ed. Paris. 1638.]

[2] ["Præterea quod audivi quosdam murmurare contra me, quia quando simul pergebamus ad sanctum locum, qui vocatur Bethel, ut ibi collectam tecum ex more ecclesiastico facerem, et venissem ad villam, quæ dicitur Anablatha, vidissemque ibi præteriens lucernam ardentem, et interrogassem, quis locus esset, didicissemque esse ecclesiam, et intrassem ut orarem: inveni ibi velum pendens in foribus ejusdem ecclesiæ tinctum atque depictum, et habens imaginem, quasi Christi, vel sancti cujusdam. Non enim satis memini, cujus imago fuerit. Cum ergo hoc vidissem, in ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem scripturarum hominis pendere imaginem, scidi illud, et magis dedi consilium custodibus ejusdem loci, ut pauperem mortuum eo obvolverent et efferrent."—Epiphan. Epist. ad Joannem episcop. Hierosolymitanum, D. Hieronymo interprete, Epiphan Opp. Tom. II. p. 317, C; ed. Petav. Paris. 1622.]

or of some other saint; for I remember not well whose image it was; therefore when I do[1] see the image of a[m] man hanging in the church of Christ, contrary to the authority of the Scriptures, I did tear it, and gave counsel to the keepers of the[n] church, that they should wind a poor man that was dead in the said linen cloth, and so bury him."

And afterwards the same Epiphanius, sending another unpainted cloth, for that painted one which he had torn, to the said patriarch, writeth[2] thus; "I pray you will the elders of that place to receive this cloth, which I have sent by this bearer, and command them that from henceforth no such painted cloths, contrary to our religion, be hanged in the church of Christ. For it becometh your goodness rather to have this care, that you take away such scrupulosity; which is unfitting for the church of Christ, and offensive to the people committed to your charge." And this epistle, as worthy to be read of many, did St Jerome himself translate into[o] the Latin tongue. And that ye may know that St Jerome had this holy and learned bishop Epiphanius in most high estimation, and therefore did translate this epistle as a writing of authority, hear what a testimony the said St Jerome giveth him in another[3] place—in this treaty Against the Errors of John bishop of Jerusalem—where he hath these words: "Thou hast," saith St Jerome, "Pope Epiphanius, which doth openly in his letters call thee an heretic. Surely thou art not to be preferred before him, neither for age nor learning, nor godliness of life, nor by the testimony of the whole world." And shortly after[4] in the same treaty saith St

All notable bishops were then called popes.

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[1] do] did, 1563, 1623.
[m] a] *wanting* 1587, 1595.]
[n] the] that 1563.
[o] into] in 1587, 1595.

[2] ["Nunc autem nisi quod potui reperire, et precor ut jubeas presbyteros ejusdem loci suscipere velum a latore, quod a nobis missum est: et deinceps præcipere, in ecclesia Christi ejusmodi vela, quæ contra religionem nostram veniunt, non appendi. Decet enim honestatem tuam hanc magis habere sollicitudinem, ut scrupulositatem tollet, quæ indigna et ecclesia Christi, et populis qui crediti sunt."—Ibid. col. 2, B.]

[3] ["Habes papam Epiphanium, qui te aperte missis literis hæreticum vocat. Certe nec ætate, nec scientia, nec vitæ merito, nec totius orbis testimonio, major illo es."—Epist. XXXVIII. ad Pammachium, Opp. Tom. IV. Part. II. col. 308; ed. Bened. Paris. 1706.]

[4] ["Ille vel presbyter monasterii ab Eutychio audiebatur, vel postea Episcopus Cypri a Valente non tangebatur. Tantæ enim

Jerome, "Bishop Epiphanius was ever of so great veneration and estimation, that Valens the emperor, who was a great persecutor, did not once touch him. For heretics, being princes, thought it their shame, if they should persecute such a notable man." And in the Tripartite Ecclesiastical History[1], the ninth book, and forty-eighth chapter, is testified, that Epiphanius, being yet alive, did work miracles; and that after his death, devils being expelled at his grave, or tomb, did roar. Thus you see what authority St Jerome, and that most ancient history, give unto the holy and learned bishop Epiphanius, whose judgment of images in churches and temples, then beginneth by stealth to creep in, is worthy to be noted.

Lib. ix. c. 48.

First, he judged[p] it contrary to christian religion, and the authority of the scriptures, to have any images in Christ's church. Secondly, he rejected not only carved, graven, and molten images, but also painted images out of Christ's church. Thirdly, that he regarded not whether it were the image of Christ, or of any other saint; but being an image would not suffer it in the church. Fourthly, that he did not only remove it out of the church, but with a vehement zeal tare it asunder[q], and exhorted that a corse should be wrapped and buried in it, judging it meet for nothing but to rot in the earth: following herein the example of the[r] good King Hezekiah, who brake the brazen serpent to pieces, and burned it to ashes, for that idolatry was committed to it. Last of all, that Epiphanius thinketh it a duty of vigilant bishops to be careful that no images[s] be permitted in the church; for that they be occasion of scruple and offence to the people committed to their charge. Now whereas neither St Jerome, who did translate the said[t] epistle, nor the authors of that most ancient History Ecclesiastical Tripartite —who do most highly commend Epiphanius, as is aforesaid—nor any[u] other godly or learned bishop, at that time

[2 Kings xviii. 4.]

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p judged] judgeth 1595.
q asunder] in sunder 1582, 1623.
r the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
s images] image 1595.
t said] same 1582, 1587, 1595.
u any] no 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

venerationis semper fuit, ut regnantes hæretici ignominiam suam putarent, si talem virum persequerentur."—Ibid.]

[1] ["Eo quoque tempore fuit Epiphanius, Cypri episcopus, ad cujus sepulchrum hactenus dæmones expelluntur." — Historia Tripartita Cassiodori Senatoris, Lib. IX. c. 48; p. 540, ed. Basil. 1544. In the subsequent parts of the chapter, certain miracles are ascribed to Epiphanius.]

or shortly after, have written any thing against Epiphanius's judgment concerning images; it is an evident proof that, in those days, which were about four hundred years after our Saviour Christ, there were no images publicly used and received in the church of Christ; which was then much less corrupt and more pure than now it is.

And whereas images began at that time secretly and by stealth to creep out of private men's houses into the churches, and that first in painted cloths and walls, such bishops as were godly and vigilant, when they spied them, removed them away as unlawful and contrary to christian religion, as did here Epiphanius; to whose judgment you have not only St Jerome, the translator of his epistle, and the writer of the History Tripartite, but also all[x] the learned and godly bishops and clerks, yea, and the whole church of[y] that age, and so upward to our Saviour Christ's time, by the space of about four hundred years, consenting and agreeing. This is written the more largely of Epiphanius, for that our image-maintainers now-a-days, seeing themselves so pressed with this most plain and earnest act and writing of Epiphanius, a bishop and doctor of such antiquity, holiness[z], and authority, labour by all means—but in vain, against the truth—either to prove that this epistle[1] was neither of Epiphanius's writing, nor St Jerome's translation. Either if it be, say they, it is of[a] no great force: for this Epiphanius, say they, was a Jew, and being converted to the Christian faith and made a bishop, retained the hatred which Jews have to images still in his mind, and so did and wrote against them as a Jew, rather than as[b] a Christian. Oh Jewish impudence and malice of such devisers! It would be proved, and not said only, that Epiphanius was a Jew. Furthermore, concerning the reason they make, I would admit it gladly. For if Epiphanius's judgment against images is not to be admitted, for that he was born of a Jew—an enemy to images, which be God's enemies—converted to Christ's religion; then likewise followeth it, that no sentence in the old doctors and fathers, sounding for images, ought to be of any authority; for that

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[x] also all] also of all 1587, 1595.
[y] of] at 1587, 1595.
[z] holiness] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
[a] of] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[b] as] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[1] [See Du Pin, Bibliothèque Eccl.—*S. Epiphane.*]

in the primitive church the most part of learned writers, as Tertullian, Cyprian, Ambrose, Austin, and infinite others, were[c] of Gentiles—which be favourers and worshippers of images—converted to the christian faith, and so let somewhat slip out of their pens, sounding for images, rather as Gentiles than Christians; as Eusebius[1] in his History Ecclesiastical, and St Jerome[2] saith plainly, that "images came first from the Gentiles to us Christians." And much more doth it[d] follow, that the opinion of all the rabblement of the popish church, maintaining images, ought to be esteemed of small or no authority; for that it is no marvel that they, which have from their childhood been[e] brought up amongst images and idols, and have drunk in idolatry almost with their mother's milk, hold with images and idols, and speak and write for them. But indeed it would not be so much marked, whether he were of[f] a Jew, or a Gentile, converted unto[g] Christ's religion, that writeth; as how agreeable or contrary[h] to God's word he doth write, and so to credit or discredit him. Now what God's word saith of idols and images, and the worshipping of them, you heard at large in the first part of this Homily.

St Ambrose, in his treatise of the death of Theodosius the emperor, saith[3] "Helena found the cross and the[i] title on it. She worshipped the king, and not the wood, surely—for that is an ethnish[k] error, and the vanity of the wicked—but she worshipped him that hanged on the cross, and whose name was written in the title;" and so forth. See both the godly empress' fact, and St Ambrose' judgment at

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[c] others were] others more were 1582, 1587, 1595.
[d] it] yet 1587, 1595.
[e] have from their childhood been] have been from 1587, 1595.
[f] of] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[g] unto] to 1563.
[h] agreeable or contrary] agreeably or contrarily 1563.
[i] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[k] ethnish] heathenish 1595, 1623.

[1] [Hist. Eccl. Lib. c. 18: p. 496, ed. Oxon. 1838.]

[2] ["Qui quidem error ad nos usque transivit."—In Jeremiam, c. x.; Opp. Tom. III. col. 577, ed. Bened. Paris. 1704.]

[3] ["Invenit ergo titulum, regem adoravit, non lignum utique, quia hic gentilis est error et vanitas impiorum: sed adoravit illum, qui perpendit in ligno, scriptus in titulo, illum inquam, qui sicut scarabæus clamavit, ut persecutoribus suis peccata Pater donaret."—Concio de Obitu Theodosii Imp. Opp. Tom. II. col. 1211. A. ed. Bened. Paris. 1690.]

once: they thought it had been an heathenish error and[1] vanity of the wicked, to have worshipped the cross itself, which was embrued with our Saviour Christ's own precious blood. And we fall down before every cross-piece of timber, which is but an image of that cross.

St Augustine, the best learned of all ancient doctors, in his forty-fourth epistle to Maximus[2], saith, "Know thou, that none of the dead, nor any thing that is made of God, is worshipped as God of the catholic Christians, of whom there is a church also in your town." Note, that by St Augustine, such as worshipped the dead, or creatures, be no[m] catholic Christians. The same St Augustine teacheth[3], in the twenty-second book of the City of God, the tenth chapter, that "neither temples nor churches ought to be builded or made for martyrs or saints, but to God alone: and that there ought no priests to be appointed for martyr or saint, but to God only." The same St Augustine[4], in his book of Manners of the Catholic Church, hath these words: "I know that many be worshippers of tombs and pictures; I know that there be many that banquet most riotously over the graves of the dead, and

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[1] and] and the 1623.

[m] no] not 1582, 1587, 1595.

[2] ["Ad summam tamen, ne te hoc lateat, et in sacrilega convitia imprudentem trahat, scias a Christianis catholicis, quorum in vestro oppido etiam ecclesia constituta est, nullum coli mortuorum, nihil denique ut numen adorari, quod sit factum et conditum a Deo, sed unum ipsum Deum, qui fecit et condidit omnia."—Epist. XVII. (al. XLIV.) ad Maximum Madaurensem, § 5. Opp. Tom. II. col. 17, E. ed. Bened. Antwerp. 1700.]

[3] ["Illi talibus diis suis et templa ædificaverunt, et statuerunt aras, et sacerdotes instituerunt, et sacrificia fecerunt: nos autem martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis, quorum apud Deum vivunt spiritus, fabricamus: nec ibi erigimus ultaria, in quibus sacrificemus martyribus, sed uni Deo et martyrum et nostro; ad quod sacrificium, sicut homines Dei, qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur; non tamen a sacerdote, qui sacrificat, invocantur. Deo quippe, non ipsis, sacrificat, quamvis in memoria sacrificet eorum; quia Dei sacerdos est, non illorum."—De Civitate Dei, Lib. XXII. c. 10 Opp. Tom. VII. col. 508, E.]

[4] ["Novi multos esse sepulcrorum et picturarum adoratores; novi multos esse, qui luxuriosissime super mortuos bibant, et epulas cadaveribus exhibentes, super sepultos seipsos sepeliant, et voracitates ebrietatesque suas deputent religioni."—De Moribus Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, c. XXXIV. Opp. Tom. I. col. 531, B.]

giving meat to dead carcases, do bury themselves upon the buried, and attribute their gluttony and drunkenness to religion." See, he esteemeth[n] worshipping of saints' tombs and pictures as good religion as gluttony and drunkenness, and no better at all. St Augustine[1] greatly alloweth Marcus Varro, affirming that religion is most pure without images; and saith[2] himself, "Images be of more force to crooken an unhappy soul, than to teach and instruct it." And saith further[3], "Every child, yea, every beast knoweth that it is not God that they see. Wherefore then doth the Holy Ghost so often admonish us of that which all men know?" Whereunto St Augustine himself answereth thus: "For," saith he, "when images are placed in temples, and set in honourable sublimity, and begin once to be worshipped, forthwith breedeth the most vile affection of error." This is St Augustine's judgment of images in churches, that by and by they breed error and idolatry. It would be too[o] tedious to rehearse all other places, which might be brought out of the ancient doctors, against images and idolatry. Wherefore we shall hold ourselves contented with these few at this present.

Lib. de Civ. Dei. Cap. 31. In Psalm xxxvi. et cxiii.

Now as concerning histories ecclesiastical, touching this matter, that ye[p] may know why, and when, and by whom

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[n] esteemeth] esteemed 1595.
[o] too] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1623.
[p] ye] you 1563.

[1] ["Qua propter cum solos dicit (sc. Varro) animadvertisse quid esset Deus, qui eum crederent animam mundum gubernantem, castiusque existimat sine simulacris observari religionem, quis non videat quantum propinquaverit veritati?"—De Civitate Dei, Lib. IV. c. 31. Opp. Tom. VII. col 87, E.]

[2] ["Plus enim valent simulacra ad curvandam infelicem animam .... quam ad corrigendam."—Enarrat. in Psalm cxiii. Serm. II. § 6. Opp. Tom. IV. col. 947, B.]

[3] ["Quis puer interrogatus non hoc certum esse respondeat, quod simulacra gentium 'os habent, et non loquentur' etc.? Cur ergo tantopere Spiritus Sanctus curat scripturarum plurimis locis hæc insinuare atque inculcare velut inscientibus, quasi non omnibus apertissima atque notissima; nisi quia species membrorum, quam naturaliter in animantibus viventem videre, atque in nobismetipsis sentire consuevimus, quamquam ut illi asserunt in signum aliquod fabrefacta atque eminenti collocata suggestu, cum adorari atque honorari a multitudine cœperit, parit in unoquoque sordissimum erroris affectum?"—Ibid. § 3. Opp. Tom. IV. coll. 945, F, 946, A. Erasmus and the earlier editions read 'in signo aliquo fabrefacto, atque eminenti collocato suggestu.']

images were first used privately, and afterwards not only received into the Christians' churches and temples, but in conclusion worshipped also, and how the same was gainsaid, resisted, and forbidden, as well by godly bishops and learned doctors, as also by sundry christian princes; I will briefly collect into a compendious history, that which is at large, and[q] in sundry places, written by divers ancient writers and historiographers concerning this matter.

As the Jews, having most plain and express commandment of God, that they should neither make nor worship any image —as it is at large before declared—did, notwithstanding, by the example of the Gentiles or heathen people that dwelt about them, fall to the making of images and worshipping of them, and so to the committing of most abominable idolatry; for the which God by his holy prophets doth most sharply reprove and threaten them, and afterward did accomplish his said threatenings by extreme punishing of them, as is[r] also above specified; even so some of the Christians in old time, which were converted from worshipping of idols and false gods, unto the true living God and to our Saviour Jesus Christ, did of a certain blind zeal, and as men long accustomed to images, paint or carve images of our Saviour Christ, his mother Mary, and of the apostles; thinking that this was a point of gratitude and kindness towards those, by whom they had received the true knowledge of God, and the doctrine of the gospel. But these pictures or images came not yet into churches, nor were not worshipped[s] of a long time after. And lest you should think that I do say this of mine own head only, without authority, I allege for me Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, and the most ancient author of the ecclesiastical history—who lived about the three hundred and thirtieth year of our Lord, in Constantinus Magnus' days, and his son Constantius, emperors—in the seventh book of his History Ecclesiastical, the fourteenth chapter; and St Jerome upon the tenth chapter of the prophet Jeremiah; who both expressly say, 'That the errors of images'—for so St Jerome calleth it[1]

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[q] and] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[r] as is] as it is 1595.

[s] not worshipped] not yet worshipped 1623.

[1] ["Qui quidem error ad nos usque transivit, ut religionem in divitiis arbitremur." Opp. Tom. III. col. 577; ed. Benedict. Paris. 1704.]

—'hath come in and passed to the Christians from the Gentiles, by an heathenish use and custom.' The cause and means Eusebius sheweth, saying[l], "It is no marvel if they, which being Gentiles before, and did believe, seemed to offer this as a gift unto our Saviour, for the benefits which they had received of him. Yea, and we do see now that images of Peter and Paul, and of[t] our Saviour himself, be made, and tables to be painted, which we think to have been observed and kept indifferently by an heathenish custom. For the heathen are wont so to honour them whom they judged honour worthy, for that some tokens of old men should be kept. For the remembrance of posterity is a token of their honour that were before, and the love of those that come after."

Thus far I have[u] rehearsed Eusebius's words. Where note ye, that both St Jerome and he agreeth herein, that these images came in amongst christian men by such as were Gentiles, and accustomed to idols, and, being converted to the faith of Christ, retained yet some remnants of Gentility[x] not throughly purged; for St Jerome calleth it an error manifestly. And the like example we see, in the Acts of the Apostles, of the Jews; who, when they were converted to[y] Christ, would have brought in their circumcision, whereunto they were so long accustomed, with them into Christ's religion. With whom the apostle, namely St Paul, had much ado for the staying of that matter. But of circumcision was less marvel; for that it came first in by God's ordinance and commandment. A man may most justly wonder of images, so directly against God's holy word and strait commandment, how they should enter in. But images were not yet worshipped in Eusebius's time, nor[z] publicly set up in churches and temples; and they who privately had them did err of a certain zeal, and not by malice; but afterwards they crept out of

Acts xv. [5.]

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[t] of] *wanting* 1563.
[u] I have] have I 1587, 1595.
[x] of Gentility] of the Gentility 1587, 1595.
[y] to] unto 1587, 1595.
[z] nor] or 1595.

[l] [Καὶ θαυμαστὸν οὐδὲν τοὺς πάλαι ἐξ ἐθνῶν εὐεργετηθέντας πρὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν ταῦτα πεποιηκέναι, ὅτε καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ τὰς εἰκόνας Παύλου καὶ Πέτρου, καὶ αὐτοῦ δὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, διὰ χρωμάτων ἐν γραφαῖς σωζομένας ἱστορήσαμεν· ὡς εἰκὸς τῶν παλαιῶν ἀπαραφυλάκτως οἷα σωτῆρας ἐθνικῇ συνηθείᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τοῦτον τιμᾶν εἰωθότων τὸν τρόπον. Histor. Eccl. Lib. VII. c. 18. Tom. I. p. 496: ed. Oxon. 1838.]

private houses into churches, and so bred first superstition, and last of all idolatry, amongst Christians, as hereafter shall appear.

In the time of Theodosius and Martian, emperors, who reigned about the year of our Lord 460, and eleven hundred[a] years ago; when the people of the city of Nola once a year did celebrate the birth-day of St Felix in the temple, and used to banquet there sumptuously; Pontius Paulinus[1], bishop of Nola, caused the walls of the temple to be painted with stories taken out of the Old Testament; that the[b] people beholding and considering those pictures might the better abstain from too much surfeiting and riot. And about the same time, Aurelius Prudentius, a very learned and christian poet, declareth how he did see painted in a church the history of the passion of St Cassian, a schoolmaster and martyr: whom his own scholars, at the commandment of the tyrant, tormented with the pricking or stabbing in of their pointels, or brazen pens, into his body, and so by a thousand wounds and mo, as saith Prudentius[2], most cruelly slew him. And these were the first paintings in churches that were notable of antiquity. And so by this example came in painting, and afterward images of timber and stone and other matter, into the churches of Christians. Now, and ye well consider this beginning, men are not so ready to worship a picture on a wall, or in a window, as an embossed and gilt image, set with pearl and stone. And a process of a story painted with the gestures and actions of many persons, and commonly the sum of the story written withal, hath another use in it than one dumb idol or image standing by itself. But from learning by painted stories it came by little and little to idolatry. Which when godly men—as well emperors and learned bishops as others—perceived, they commanded that such pictures, images, or idols, should be used no more. And I will, for a declaration thereof, begin with the decree of the ancient christian emperors, Valens and Theodosius II. who reigned about four hundred years after our Saviour Christ's ascension, who for-

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[a] 1100] 1117, 1582, 1587, 1595. [b] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[1] [Vid. Paulin. Nol. Poemata de S. Felice Natal. IX., p. 615; Natal. X. p. 617; ed. Antverp. 1622.]

[2] [Περὶ Στεφάνων, Passio Cassian. Hymn ix. Opp. p. 204, ed. Paris. 1687.]

bade that any images should be made or painted privately: for certain it is, that there was[c] none in temples publicly in their time. These emperors did write[1] unto the captain of the army attending on the emperors, after this sort: "Valens and Theodosius, emperors, unto the captain of the army. Whereas we have a diligent care to maintain the religion of God above in[d] all things, we will grant to no man to set forth, grave, carve, or paint, the image of our Saviour Christ in colours, stone, or any other matter; but in what place soever it shall be found, we command that it be taken away, and that all such as shall attempt anything contrary to our decrees or commandment herein, shall be most sharply punished." This decree is written in the books named *Libri Augustales*, the Imperial Books, gathered by Tribonianus, Basilides, Theophilus, Dioscorus, and Satira, men of great authority and learning, at the commandment of the emperor Justinian[2]; and is alleged[3] by Petrus Crinitus[e], a notable learned man, in the ninth book and ninth chapter of his work, entitled *De honesta disciplina*, that is to say, Of honest learning. Here you see what christian princes of most ancient times decreed against images, which then began to creep in amongst the Christians. For it is certain, that by the space of three hundred years, and more, after the death of our Saviour Christ, and before these godly emperors' reign[f], there were no images publicly in[g] churches or temples. How would the idolaters glory, if they had so much antiquity and authority for them, as is here against them!

Now, shortly after these days, the Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other barbarous and wicked nations, burst into Italy, and

[c] was] were 1595.
[d] in] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[e] Crinitus] Erinilus 1563, 1574; Erinius 1582, 1587; Erimus 1595.
[f] reign] reigned 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[g] in] in the 1587, 1595.

[1] ["Impp. Theodosius et Valentinianus, AA. Eudoxio Præfecto Prætorio. Cum sit nobis cura diligens per omnia superni numinis religionem tueri, signum salvatoris Christi nemini licere vel in solo, vel in silice, vel in marmoribus humi positis insculpere vel pingere: sed quodcunque reperitur, tolli gravissima pœna multando eos, qui contrarium statutis nostris tentaverit, specialiter imperamus. Dat. XII. Kalend. Jun. Hierio et Ardaburio Coss." [A. D. 427]. Goldastus, Imperialia Decreta de cultu Imaginum, p. 2; ed. Francof. 1608.]

[2] [Codex Justinian. Constitut. de nov. Cod. faciend.]

[3] [Lib. IX. c. 9, p. 153: ed. Lugdun. 1554.]

all parts of the West countries of Europe, with huge and mighty armies, spoiled all places, destroyed cities, and burned libraries, so that learning and true religion went to wrack, and decayed incredibly. And so the bishops of those latter days being of less learning, and in the midst of the wars[h], taking less heed also than did the bishops afore, by ignorance of God's word, and negligence of bishops, and especially barbarous princes not rightly instructed in true religion, bearing the rule, images came into the church of Christ in the said West parts, where these barbarous people ruled, not[i] now in painted cloths only, but embossed in stone, timber, metal, and other like matter; and were not only set up, but began to be worshipped also. And therefore Serenus, bishop of Massile, the head town of Gallia Narbonensis, now called the Province—a godly and learned man, who was about six hundred years after our Saviour Christ—seeing the people, by occasion of images, fall to most abominable idolatry, brake to pieces all the images of Christ and saints which were in that city; and was therefore complained upon to Gregory, the first of that name, bishop of Rome, who was the first learned bishop that did allow the open having of images in churches, that can be known by any writing or[k] history of antiquity. And upon this Gregory do all image-worshippers at this day ground their defence. But as all things that be amiss have from a tolerable beginning grown worse and worse, till they at the last became untolerable, so did this matter of images. First, men used privately stories painted in tables, cloths, and walls; afterwards gross and embossed images, privately in their own houses. Then afterwards, pictures first, and after them, embossed images began to creep into churches; learned and godly men ever speaking against them. Then by use it was openly maintained, that they might be in churches; but yet forbidden that they should be worshipped. Of which opinion was Gregory, as by the said Gregory's Epistle to the forenamed Serenus, bishop of Massile, plainly appeareth. Which epistle is to be found in the book of[l] Epistles of Gregory, or Register, in the tenth part of the fourth epistle, where he hath these words[2]: "That thou didst forbid images to be

[h] midst of the wars] middle of wars, 1563.

[i] not] and 1595.

[k] or] of 1595.

[l] of] of the 1563.

[2] [Gregor. Epist. Lib. IX. Indict. IV. ep. IX.: "Et quidem quia

worshipped, we praise altogether; but that thou didst break them, we blame; for it is one thing to worship the picture, and another thing by the picture of the story to learn what is to be worshipped. For that which Scripture is to them that read, the same doth picture perform unto idiots, or the unlearned, beholding," and so forth. And after[1] a few words; "Therefore it should not have been broken, which was set up, not to be worshipped in churches, but only to instruct the minds of the ignorant." And a little after[2]; "Thus thou shouldest have said, If you will have images in the church for that instruction, wherefore they were made in old time, I do permit that they may be made, and that you may have them; and shew them, that not the sight of the story which is opened by the picture, but that worshipping, which was inconveniently given to the pictures, did mislike you. And if any would make images, not to forbid them, but avoid by all means to worship any image."

By these sentences taken here and there out of Gregory's Epistle to Serenus, (for it were too long to rehearse the whole) ye may understand whereunto the matter was now come, six hundred years after Christ; that the having of images or pictures in the churches were then maintained in the West part of the world—for they were not so froward yet in the East church—but the worshipping of them was utterly forbidden. And you may withal note, that seeing there is no ground for worshipping of images in Gregory's writing, but a[m] plain condemnation thereof, that such as do worship images do unjustly

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[m] a] *wanting* 1595.

eas adorari vetuisses, omnino laudavimus; fregisse vero reprehendimus .... Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturæ historiam quid sit adorandum addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis præstat pictura cernentibus: quia in ipsa etiam ignorantes vident quod sequi debeant, in ipsa legunt qui literas nesciunt." Opp. Tom. IV. col. 349: ed. Antverp. 1615.]

[1] ["Frangi vero non debuit quod non ad adorandum in ecclesiis, sed ad instruendas solummodo mentes fuit nescientium collocatum." Ibid. C.]

[2] ["Atque eis dicendum: si ad hanc instructionem, ad quam imagines antiquitus factæ sunt, habere vultis in ecclesia, eas modis omnibus et fieri et haberi permitto. Atque indica quod non tibi ipsa visio historiæ, quæ pictura teste pandebatur, displicuerit; sed illa adoratio, quæ picturis fuerat incompetenter exhibita." Ibid. E.]

allege Gregory for them. And further; if images in the church do not teach men, according to Gregory's mind, but rather blind them; it followeth, that images should not be in the church by his sentence, who only would they should be placed there, to the end that they might teach the ignorant. Wherefore, if it be declared that images have been and be worshipped; and also that they teach nothing but errors and lies—which shall by God's grace hereafter be done—I trust that then, by Gregory's own determination, all images and image-worshippers shall be overthrown. But, in the mean season, Gregory's authority was so great in all the West church, that by his encouragement men set up images in all places: but their judgment was not so good to consider why he would have them set up, but they fell all on heaps to manifest idolatry by worshipping of them; which bishop Serenus, not without just cause, feared would come to pass. Now if Serenus his judgment, thinking it meet that images whereunto idolatry was committed, should be destroyed, had taken place, idolatry had been overthrown: for to that which is not no man committeth idolatry. But of Gregory's opinion—thinking that images might be suffered in churches, so it were taught that they should not be worshipped—what ruin of religion, and what mischief ensued afterward to all Christendom, experience hath to our great hurt and sorrow proved. First, by the schism rising between the East and the West church about the said images. Next, by the division of the empire into two parts, by the same occasion of images, to the great weakening of all Christendom; whereby, last of all, hath followed the utter overthrow of the Christian religion and noble empire in Greece, and all the East parts of the world, and the increase of Mahomet's false religion, and the cruel dominion and tyranny of the Saracens and Turks; who do now hang over our necks also that dwell in the west parts of the world, ready at all occasions[n] to over-run us. And all this do we owe unto our idols and images, and our idolatry in worshipping of them.

But now give you ear a little to the process of the history; wherein I do much follow the histories[1] of Paulus

Eutrop. Lib. de Rebus Rom. xxiii.

[n] occasions] occasion 1595.

[1] [The title of the collection of histories, which the writer appears to have used, is: "Eutropii Insigne Volumen, quo Romana Historia

Diaconus, and others, joined with Eutropius, an old writer. For though some of the authors were favourers of images, yet do they most plainly and at large prosecute the histories of those times: whom Baptist Platina also, in his History of Popes[1], as in the Lives of Constantine and Gregory II. bishops of Rome, and other places, where he intreateth of this matter, doth chiefly follow. After Gregory's time, Constantine, bishop of Rome, assembled a council of bishops in the West church, and did condemn Philippicus, then emperor, and John, bishop of Constantinople, of the heresy of the Monothelites, not without a cause indeed, but very justly. When he had so done, by the consent of the learned about him, the said Constantine, bishop of Rome, caused[2] the images of the ancient fathers, which had been at those six councils, which were allowed and received of all men, to be painted in the entry of St Peter's church at Rome. When the Greeks had knowledge hereof, they began to dispute and reason the matter of images with the Latins; and held this opinion, that images could have no place in Christ's church, and the Latins held the contrary, and took part with the images. So the East and West churches, which agreed evil before, upon this contention about images fell to utter enmity, which was never well[o] reconciled yet. But in the mean season Philippicus[3] and Arthemius, or Anastasius, emperors, commanded images and pictures to be pulled down, and rased out in[p] every place of their dominion. After them came Theodosius III., he commanded the defaced images to be painted again in their places: but this Theodosius reigned but one year. Leo, the third of that name, succeeded him; who was a Syrian born, a very wise, godly, merciful, and valiant prince. This Leo by proclamation[4] commanded, that all images set up in churches to be wor-

Platina in Vitis Constantini et Greg. II.

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[o] well] *wanting* 1595.

[p] in] of 1587, 1595.

universa describitur, ex diversorum authorum monumentis collecta." Basil. 1532. For much of the historical matter which follows, see Libb. XX—XXIII.]

[1] [Platina, in Vitis Constantini I. et Greg. II. Vid. pp. 202, 206; ed. 1664.]

[2] [Cf. Platin. in Vit. Constantin. I. p. 202. Labb. In Vit. Constantini I. apud Concil. Tom. VI. 1395, B.]

[3] [A. D. 713: cf. Goldast. Imperialia Decreta de cultu Imaginum, p. 6.]

[4] [A. D. 726: cf. Goldast. ubi supra, p. 16.]

shipped, should be plucked down and defaced; and required specially[1] the bishop of Rome, that he should do the same; and himself, in the mean season, caused all images, that were in the imperial city of[q] Constantinople, to be gathered on an heap in the midst[r] of the city, and there publicly burned them to ashes; and whited over, and rased out all pictures, painted upon the walls of the temples; and punished sharply divers maintainers of images. And when some did therefore report him to be a tyrant, he answered, that such of all other were most justly punished, who neither worshipped God aright, nor regarded the imperial majesty and authority, but maliciously rebelled against wholesome and profitable laws. When Gregorius, the third of that name, bishop of Rome, heard of the emperor's doings in Greece concerning the[s] images, he assembled a council of Italian bishops against him; and there made decrees for images, and that more reverence and honour should yet be given to them than was before; and stirred up the Italians against the emperor, first at Ravenna, and moved them to rebellion. And, as [2]Aspurgensis[t], and Anthonius[3] bishop of Florence, testify in their chronicles, he caused Rome and all Italy, at the last[u], to refuse their obedience, and the payment of any more tribute to the emperor; and so by treason and rebellion maintained their idolatry. Which example other bishops of Rome have continually followed, and gone through withal most stoutly.

Treason and rebellion for the defence of images.

After this Leo, which[x] reigned thirty-four[4] years, succeeded his son Constantine V., who, after his father's example, kept images out of the temples[5]; and being moved with the council, which Gregory had assembled in Italy for images against his father, he also assembled a council of all the learned men and bishops of Asia and Greece; although some

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q of] *wanting* 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
r in the midst] into the middle 1563.
s the] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
t Aspurgensis] Auspergensis 1563.
u last] least 1582, 1587, 1595.
x which] who 1623.

1 ["Misit et ad papam Romanum Gregorium, ut similiter faceret." Goldastus, ubi supra, p. 18.]

2 [Chronicum Abbatis Urspergensis, p. clxvii; ed. Argentorati, 1540.]

3 [Antonin. Chronicorum, Part. II. p. 401. col. 1, F; ed. Lugd. 1586.]

4 [Twenty-four.]

5 [Vid. Goldast. Imperialia Decreta de cultu Imaginum, p. 19. The edict of Constantine Caballinus 'de tollendis imaginibus' is dated A.D. 741.]

writers place this council in Leo Isauricus his father's latter days. In this great assembly[1] they sat in council, from the fourth of the Idus of February to the sixth of the Idus of August, and made concerning the use of images this decree: "It is not lawful for them that believe in God through Jesus Christ to have any images, neither of the Creator, nor of any creatures, set up in temples to be worshipped; but rather that all images, by the law of God and for the avoiding of offence, ought to be taken out of the[y] churches." And this decree was executed in all places, where any images were found in Asia or Greece. And the emperor sent the determination of this council, holden at Constantinople, to Paul, then bishop of Rome, and commanded him to cast all images out of the churches: which he, trusting in the friendship of Pepin, a mighty prince, refused to do. And both he and his successor Stephanus III. who assembled another council[2] in Italy for images, condemned the emperor and the council of Constantinople of heresy; and made a decree, "That the holy images (for so they called them) of Christ, the blessed virgin, and other saints, were indeed worthy honour and worshipping." When Constantine was dead, Leo IV. his son, reigned after him; who married a woman[3] of the city of Athens, named Theodora, who also was called Irene, by whom he had a son, named Constantine VI., and dying whilst his son was yet young, left the regiment of the empire[4], and governance of his young son, to his wife Irene. These things were done in the church about the year of our Lord 760.

A council against images.

Or Eirene.

Note here, I pray you, in this[z] process of the story, that in the churches of Asia and Greece there were no images

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[y] the] *wanting* 1563. [z] this] the 1563.

[1] [Held at Constantinople, A. D. 754; and consisting of more than 300 bishops. The spirit of the Synod is expressed in the following Decree:—*ὁμοφώνως ὁρίζομεν, ἀπόβλητον εἶναι καὶ ἀλλοτρίαν καὶ ἐβδελυγμένην ἐκ τῆς τῶν Χριστιανῶν ἐκκλησίας πᾶσαν εἰκόνα ἐκ παντοίας ὕλης καὶ χρωματουργικῆς τῶν ζωγράφων κακοτεχνίας πεποιημένην.* Labb. Concil. Tom. VII. 505, A. See also, Goldast, ubi supra, pp. 23—52.]

[2] [Held A. D. 769. "Si quis sanctas imagines Domini nostri Jesu Christi et ejus genitricis atque omnium sanctorum, secundum sanctorum patrum statuta venerari noluerit, anathema sit." Labbe, Concil. Tom. VI. 1723, C.]

[3] [Eutropii Insig. Volumen. ut supr. Lib. XXII. p. 317.]

[4] [Ibid. Lib. XXIII. p. 322.]

publicly by the space of almost seven hundred years. And there is no doubt but the primitive church next the Apostle's time was most pure. Note also, that when the contention began about images, how of six christian emperors, who were the chief magistrates by God's law to be obeyed, only one, which was Theodosius, who reigned but one year, held with images. All the other emperors, and all the learned men and bishops of the east church, and that in assembled councils, condemned them; besides the two emperors before mentioned, Valens and Theodosius II., who were long before these times, who straitly forbade that any images should be made. And universally after this time all the emperors of Greece, only Theodosius excepted, destroyed continually all images. Now, on the contrary part, note ye, that the bishops of Rome, being no ordinary magistrates appointed of God out of their diocese, but usurpers of princes' authority contrary to God's word, were the maintainers of images against God's word; and stirrers up of sedition and rebellion, and workers of continual treason against their sovereign lords, contrary to God's law, and the ordinances of all human laws; being not only enemies to God, but also rebels and traitors against their princes. These be the first bringers in of images openly into[a] churches. These be the maintainers of them in[b] the churches; and these be the means, whereby they have maintained them, to wit, conspiracy, treason, and rebellion against God and their princes.

Now to proceed in the history, most worthy to be known. In the nonage of Constantine VI. the empress Irene, his mother, in whose hands the regiment of the empire remained, was governed much by the advice of Theodore, bishop, and Tharasius, patriarch of Constantinople, who practised[1] and held with the bishop of Rome in maintaining of images most earnestly. By whose counsel and entreaty, the empress first most wickedly digged up the body of her father-in-law Constantine V. and commanded it to be openly burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the sea. Which example—as the constant report goeth—had like to have been put in practice with princes' corses in our days, had the authority of the

[a] into] in 1587, 1595. [b] in] into 1587, 1595.

[1] [Eutrop. Insig. Vol. ut supr. pp. 326, 327.]

holy father continued but a little longer. The cause, why the empress Irene thus used her father-in-law, was, for that he, when he was alive, had destroyed images, and had taken away the sumptuous ornaments of churches, saying, That Christ, whose temples they were, allowed poverty and not pearls and precious stones. Afterward the said Irene, at the persuasion of Adrian, bishop of Rome, and Paul the patriarch of Constantinople, and his successor[c] Tharasius, assembled a council[1] of the bishops of Asia and Greece, at the city Nicæa; where the bishop of Rome's legates being presidents of the council, and ordering all things as they listed, the council, which was[d] assembled before under the emperor Constantine V., and had decreed that all images should be destroyed, was condemned as an heretical council, and assembly, and a decree was made, that images should be set[e] up in all the churches of Greece, and that honour and worship[2] also should be given unto the said images. And so the empress, sparing no diligence in setting up of images, nor cost in decking them in all churches, made Constantinople within a short time altogether like Rome itself. And now you may see that come[f] to pass, which bishop Serenus feared, and Gregory I. forbad in vain—to wit, that images should in no wise be worshipped. For now not only the simple and unwise—unto whom images, as the scriptures teach, be especially a snare—but the bishops, and learned men also, fall to idolatry by occasion of images, yea, and make decrees and laws also[g] for the maintenance of the same. So hard is it, and indeed impossible, any long time to have images publicly in churches and temples without idolatry; as by the space of a[h] little more than one hundred years betwixt Gregory I. forbidding most straitly the worshipping of images, and Gregory III., Paul, and Leo III., bishops of Rome, with this council, commanding and decreeing that images should be worshipped, most evidently appeareth.

A decree that images should be worshipped.

[c] successor] successors 1582, 1587, 1595.
[d] was] were 1582, 1587, 1595.
[e] set] put 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[f] come] cummen 1563.
[g] also] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
[h] a] *wanting* 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[1] [A. D. 787.]

[2] [*τιμητικὴν προσκύνησιν.* For the whole decree, see Labbe, Concil. Tom. VII. 555, D; 575, C.]

Now when Constantine[2], the young emperor, came to the age of twenty years, he was daily in less and less estimation. For such as were about his mother persuaded her, that it was God's determination that she should reign alone, and not her son with her. The ambitious woman, believing the same, deprived her son of all imperial dignity; and compelled all the men of war, with their captains, to swear to her, that they would not suffer her son Constantine to reign during her life. With which indignity the young prince, being moved, recovered the regiment of the empire unto himself by force[3]; and being brought up in true religion in his father's time, seeing the superstition of his mother Irene, and the idolatry committed by images, cast down, brake, and burned all the idols and images that his mother had set up. But within a few years after[4], Irene, the empress, taken again[1] into her son's favour—after she had persuaded him to put out Nicephorus his uncle's eyes, and to cut out the tongues of his four other uncles, and to forsake his wife, and by such means to bring him in[k] hatred with all his subjects,—now further to declare that she was no changeling, but the same woman that had before digged up and burned her father-in-law's body, and that she would be as natural a mother as she had been a[1] kind daughter, seeing the images which she loved so well, and had with so great cost set up, daily destroyed by her son the emperor, by the help of certain good companions deprived her son of the empire; and first, like a kind and loving mother, put out both his eyes, and laid him in prison; where, after long and many torments, she at the last most cruelly slew him[5]. In this history, joined to Eutropius, it is written[6], that the sun was darkened by the space of seventeen days most strangely and dreadfully; and that all men said, that for the horribleness of that cruel and unnatural fact of Irene, and the putting out of the emperor's eyes, the sun had lost his light. But, indeed, God would signify by the darkness of the sun, into what darkness and blindness of ignorance and idolatry all[m] Christendom should fall by the occasion of

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[1] again] away 1582, 1587.
[k] in] into 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[1] a] *wanting* 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[m] all] of 1582.

[2] [Eutrop. Insig. Vol. ut supr. Lib. XXIII. pp. 328, et seqq.]
[3] [Ibid. p. 329.]
[4] [Ibid. p. 330.]
[5] [Ibid. pp. 332, 333.]
[6] [Ibid. p. 333.]

images. The bright sun of his[n] eternal truth, and light of his holy word, by the mists and black clouds of men's traditions being blemished and darkened, as by sundry most terrible earthquakes that happened about the same time, God signified, that the quiet estate[o] of true religion should by such idolatry be most horribly tossed and turmoiled.

And here may you see what a gracious and virtuous lady this Irene was, how loving a niece to her husband's uncles, how kind a mother-in-law to her son's wife, how loving a daughter to her father-in-law, how natural a mother to her own son, and what a stout and valiant captain the bishops of Rome had of her, for the setting up and maintenance of their idols and[p] images. Surely they could not have found a meeter patron for the maintenance of such a matter than this Irene; whose ambition and desire of rule was insatiable, whose treason, continually studied and wrought, was most abominable, whose wicked and unnatural cruelty passed Medea and Progne, whose detestable parricides have ministered matter to poets to write their horrible tragedies. And yet certain historiographers[1], who do put in writing all these her horrible wickedness[q] for love they had to images which she maintained, do praise her as a godly empress, and as sent from God. Such is the blindness of false superstition, if it once take possession in a man's mind, that it will both declare the vices of wicked princes, and also commend them. But not long after, the said Irene, being suspected to the princes and lords of Greece of treason, in alienating[2] the empire to Charles king of the Francons, and for practising a secret marriage between herself and the said king, and being convicted of the same, was by the said lords deposed and deprived again of the empire, and carried into exile into the island Lesbos, where she ended her lewd life.

Whiles[r] these tragedies about images were thus in[s] working in Greece, the same question of the use of images in churches began to be moved in Spain also. And at Eliberis[3],

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n his] the 1595.
o estate] state 1563.
p and] or 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
q wickedness] wickednesses, 1587, 1595, 1623.]
r whiles] while 1587, 1595, 1623.
s in] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

1 [See Spanheim, Hist. Imaginum, pp. 317, et seq. Lugd. Bat. 1686.]
2 [Eutrop. Insig. Vol. ut supr. Lib. XXIII. p. 334.]
3 [There is some uncertainty respecting the date of the Council

a notable[t] city now called Granate, was a council of Spanish bishops and other learned men assembled; and there, after long deliberation and debating of the matter, it was concluded at length of the whole council, after this sort, in the thirty-sixth article[1]: "We think that pictures ought not to be in churches, lest that which is honoured or worshipped be painted on walls." And in the forty-first canon[2] of that council it is thus written, "We thought good to admonish the faithful, that, as much as in them lieth, they suffer no images to be in their houses: but if they fear any violence of their servants, at the least let them keep themselves clean and pure from images; if they do not so, let them be accounted as none of the church." Note here, I pray you, how a whole and great country, in the west and south parts of Europe, nearer to Rome a great[u] deal than to Greece in situation of place, do agree with the Greeks against images, and do not only forbid them in churches, but also in private houses, and do excommunicate them that do the contrary. And another council of the learned men of all[x] Spain also, called *Concilium Toletanum Duodecimum*, decreed[3] and determined likewise against images and image-worshippers[y]. But when these decrees of the Spanish council at Eliberis came to the knowledge of the bishop of Rome and his adherents, they, fearing[z] lest all Germany also would decree against images and forsake them, thought to prevent the matter, and by the consent and help of the prince of Francons—whose power was then[a] most great in the west parts of the world—assembled a council[4]

Another council against images.

Decrees of the council against images.

Yet another council against images.

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t notable] noble 1563, 1582, 1587.
u great] greater 1582, 1587, 1595.
x all] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
y worshippers] worshipping 1563.
z fearing] feared 1563.
a then] the 1587, 1595.

"at Eliberis," or Elvira, (a city anciently an episcopal see, and supposed to have been situate not far from Granada); but it is usually considered to have been held early in the 4th century.]

1 [Can. xxxvi. "Placuit picturas in ecclesia [esse] non debere, ne quod colitur et adoratur in parietibus depingatur." Labb. Concil. Tom. I. col. 974, D.]

2 [Can. xli. "Admoneri placuit fideles, ut in quantum possint prohibeat, ne idola in domibus suis habeant: si vero vim metuunt servorum, vel seipsos puros conservent; si enim non fecerint, alieni ab ecclesia habeantur." Tom. I. col. 975, B.]

3 [A. D. 681. Vid. cap. xi. apud Labb. Concil. Tom. VI. 1234.]

4 [A. D. 794. Respecting this council see Goldastus, Imperialia, Decreta, pp. 61—66.]

of Germans at Frankfort, and there procured the Spanish council against images aforementioned to be condemned by the name of the Felician heresy[1]—for that Felix, bishop of Aquitania, was chief in[b] that council—and obtained that the acts of the second Nicene council assembled by Irene, the holy empress whom ye heard of before, and the sentence of the bishop of Rome for images, might be received. For much after this sort do the papists report[2] of[c] the history of the council of Frankfort. Notwithstanding the book [of] Carolus Magnus his own writing, as the title sheweth, which is now put in print[3] and commonly in men's hands, sheweth the judgment of that prince, and of the whole council of Frankfort also, to be against images, and against[4] the second council of Nice assembled by Irene for images; and calleth it an arrogant, foolish, and ungodly council: and declareth the assembly of the council of Frankfort to have been directly made and gathered against that Nicene council, and the errors of the same. So that it must needs follow, that either there were in one prince's time two councils assembled at Frankfort, one contrary to an[d] other—which by no history doth appear—or else that, after their custom, the popes and papists have most shamefully corrupted that council, as their manner is to handle, not only councils, but also all histories and writings of the old doctors, falsifying and corrupting them for the maintenance of their wicked and ungodly purposes; as hath in times of late come to light, and doth in our days more and more continually appear most evidently. Let the forged gift of

The forged gift of Constantine, &c.

[b] in] of 1563. [c] of] *wanting* 1563. [d] an] the 1623.

[1] [The heresy of Felix, bishop of Urgel, which affirmed that Christ is the Son of God only by adoption.]

[2] [See Harding, Confutation of Jewell's Apology, pp. 328 et seq. Antwerp. 1565. Labbe, Concil. Tom. VII. 1013, et seqq.]

[3] [Vid. apud Goldast. Imperialia Decreta, pp. 89. et seqq.]

[4] [e. g. "Omnes novitates vocum, et stultiloquas adinventiones abjicimus: et non solum non suscipimus, verum etiam tanquam purgamenta despicimus, sicut et eam, quæ propter adorandarum imaginum impudentissimam traditionem in Bithyniæ partibus gesta est, synodum." Præf. ad Lib. I. apud Goldast. p. 96. "Allata est in medium quæstio de nova Græcorum Synodo, quam de adorandis imaginibus Constantinopoli fecerunt . . . Qui supra sanctissimi Patres nostri omnimodis adorationem et servitutem renuentes contempserunt utque consentientes condemnaverunt." Concil. Francof. Can 2. Labb. Concil. Tom. VII. col. 1057.]

Constantine[1], and the notable attempt to falsify the first Nicene council[2] for the pope's supremacy, practised by popes in St Augustine's time, be a witness hereof: which practice indeed had then taken effect, had not the diligence and wisdom of St Augustine, and other learned and godly bishops in Africa, by their great labour and charges also resisted and stopped the same. Nicene council like to be falsified.

Now to come towards an end of this history, and to shew you the principal point that came to pass by the maintenance of images. Whereas, from Constantinus Magnus' time until that day, all authority imperial, and princely dominion of the empire of Rome, remained continually in the right and possession of the emperors—who had their continuance and seat imperial at Constantinople, the city royal—Leo the third, then bishop of Rome, seeing the Greek emperors so bent against his gods of gold and silver, timber and stone; and having the king of the Francons or Frenchmen, named Charles, whose power was exceeding great in the west countries, very appliable to his mind—for causes hereafter appearing—under the pretence that they of Constantinople were for that matter of images under the pope's ban and curse, and therefore unworthy to be emperors, or to bear rule; and for that the emperors of Greece, being far off, were not ready at a beck to defend the pope against the Lombards his enemies, and others[e] with whom he had variance—this Leo the third, I say, attempted a thing exceeding strange and unheard of before, and of incredible boldness and presumption: for he by his papal authority doth translate[3] the government of the empire and the crown and name imperial from the Greeks, and giveth it unto Charles the great, king of the Francons; not without the consent of the forenamed Irene, empress of

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[e] others] other 1582, 1587, 1595.

[1] [This notorious fabrication was exposed about the middle of the 15th century by Nicolaus Cusanus, 'De concordia ecclesiastica:' and more especially by Laurentius Valla in his work entitled 'De falso credita et ementita Constantini Donatione declamatio.']

[2] [The allusion is to Zosimus, and his two immediate successors, bishops of Rome, who attempted to mislead the bishops of Africa by putting forward the seventh Sardican canon as one of those passed in the first Council of Nicæa. Vid. Beveregii Pandect. Canon. I. 510; Labb. Concil. II. 1590.]

[3] [A. D. 800. Eutrop. Insig. Vol. ut supr. Lib. XXIII. p. 334.]

Greece, who also sought to be joined in marriage with the said Charles. For the which cause the said Irene was by the lords of Greece deposed and banished[1], as one that had betrayed the empire, as ye before have heard. And the said princes of Greece did, after the deprivation of the said Irene, by common consent, elect and create—as they always had done—an emperor, named Nicephorus, whom the bishop of Rome, and they of the West, would not acknowledge for their emperor; for they had already created them another[2], and so there became two emperors. And the empire, which was before one, was divided into two parts, upon occasion of idols and images and the worshipping of them: even as the kingdom of the Israelites was in old time, for the like cause of idolatry, divided in king Rehoboam his time. And so the bishop of Rome, having the favour of Charles the Great by this means assured to him, was wondrously enhanced in power and authority, and did in all the West church, especially in Italy, what he lust[f]; where images were set up, garnished and worshipped of all sorts of men. But images were not so fast set up, and so much honoured in Italy and the West, but Nicephorus[3], emperor of Constantinople, and his successors[4] Scauratius, the two Michaels[5], Leo[6], Theophilus[7] and other emperors their successors in the empire of Greece, continually pulled them down, brake them, burned them, and destroyed them as fast. And when Theodorus[8] the emperor would at the council of Lyons have agreed with the bishop of Rome, and have set up images, he was by the nobles of the empire

These things were done about the year of our Lord 803.

Or, Stauratius.

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[f] lust] list 1595.

[1] [Eutrop. Insig. Vol. ut supr. Lib. XXIII. p. 336.]

[2] [Charlemagne.]

[3] ['Mandatum de non adorandis Imaginibus.' A. D. 810; Vid. Goldast. p. 599.]

[4] [A. D. 810. Goldast. ubi supra.]

[5] [Michaelis I. edictum, A. D. 811; apud Goldast. p. 601; Michaelis II. edict. A. D. 821; ubi supra, p. 607.]

[6] [Leonis V. edictum, A. D. 814; apud Goldast. p. 603.]

[7] [Vid. Michael. II. et Theophil. Epist. de non adorandis Imaginibus, A. D. 824, apud Goldast. pp. 611. et seqq.]

[8] [It was Baldwin II., Latin Emperor of Constantinople, the contemporary of Theodore Lascaris II., who was present at the Council of Lyons, A. D. 1245. He was dethroned by the agency of Michael Palæologus. Labb. Concil. Tom. XI. col. 633 et seq. Matt. Paris ad ann. 1262, p. 850. ed. Lond. 1684.]

of Greece deprived, and another chosen in his place: and so rose a jealousy, suspicion, grudge, hatred, and enmity between the Christians and empires of the East countries and West, which could never be quenched nor pacified. So that when the Saracens first, and afterward the Turks, invaded the Christians, the one part of Christendom would not help the other. By reason whereof at the last, the noble empire of Greece, and the city imperial Constantinople, was lost[1], and is come into the hands of the infidels, who have now over-run almost all Christendom; and possessing past the middle of Hungary, which is part of the West empire, do hang over all our heads, to the utter danger of all Christendom.

Thus we see what a sea of mischiefs the maintenance of images hath brought with it; what an horrible schism between the East and West church; what an hatred between one Christian and another; councils against councils, church against church, Christians against Christians, princes against princes, rebellions, treasons, unnatural and most cruel murders; the daughter digging up and burning her father the emperor's body; the mother, for love of idols, most abominably murdering her own son, being an emperor; at the last, the tearing in sunder of Christendom and the empire into two pieces, till the Infidels, Saracens, and Turks, common enemies to both parts, have most cruelly vanquished, destroyed, and subdued the one part, the whole empire of Greece, Asia the Less, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus, and many other great and goodly countries and provinces; and have won a great piece of the other empire, and put the whole in dreadful fear and most horrible danger. For it is not without a just and great cause to be dreaded[g], lest, as the empire of Rome was even for the like cause of images, and the worshipping of them, torn in pieces and divided, as was for idolatry the kingdom of Israel in old time divided; so like punishment, as for the like offence fell upon the Jews, will also light upon us: that is, lest the cruel tyrant, and enemy of our commonwealth and religion, the Turk, by God's just vengeance, in like wise partly murder, and partly lead away into captivity us Christians, as did the Assyrian and Babylonian kings murder and lead away the Israelites; and lest the empire of Rome and christian religion

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g dreaded] dread 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

1 [A. D. 1453.]

be so utterly brought under foot, as was then the kingdom of Israel and true religion of God; whereunto the matter already, as I have declared, shrewdly inclineth on our part; the greater part of Christendom, within less than three hundred years' space, being brought into captivity and most miserable thraldom under the Turk[h], and the noble empire of Greece clean everted. Whereas, if the Christians, divided by these image-matters, had holden together, no infidels and miscreants could thus have prevailed against Christendom. And all this mischief and misery which we have hitherto fallen into, do we owe to our mighty gods of gold and silver, stock and stone; in whose help and defence, where they cannot help themselves, we have trusted so long, until our enemies the infidels have overcome and over-run us almost altogether. A just reward for those that have left the mighty living God, the Lord of Hosts, and have stooped and given the honour due to him to dead blocks and stocks; *who have eyes and see not, ears and hear not*[i], *feet and cannot go,* and so forth, *and are cursed of God, and all they that make them, and that put their trust in them.*

[Ps. cxv. 5—8.]

Thus you understand, well-beloved in our Saviour Christ, by the judgment of the old learned and godly doctors of the church, and by ancient histories ecclesiastical, agreeing to the verity of God's word, alleged out of the Old Testament and the New, that images and image-worshipping were in the primitive church, which was most pure and uncorrupt, abhorred and detested as abominable and contrary to true christian religion. And that when images began to creep into the church, they were not only spoken and written against by godly and learned bishops, doctors, and clerks, but also condemned by whole councils of bishops and learned men assembled together; yea, the said images by many christian emperors and bishops were defaced, broken, and destroyed, and that above seven hundred and eight hundred years ago; and that therefore it is not of late days, as some would bear you in hand, that images and image-worshipping have been spoken and written against. Finally, you have heard what mischief and misery hath, by the occasion of the said images, fallen upon whole Christendom, besides the loss of infinite souls, which is most horrible of all. Wherefore let us beseech God,

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[h] Turk] Turks 1563.

[i] ears and hear not] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.

that we, being warned by his holy word, forbidding all idolatry, and by the writings[k] of old godly doctors, and ecclesiastical histories, written and preserved by God's ordinance for our admonition and warning, may flee from all idolatry, and so escape the horrible punishment and plagues, as well worldly as everlasting, threatened for the same: which God our heavenly Father grant us, for our only Saviour and Mediator, Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

THE THIRD PART OF THE HOMILY AGAINST IMAGES, AND THE WORSHIPPING OF THEM;

CONTAINING THE CONFUTATION OF THE PRINCIPAL ARGUMENTS, WHICH ARE USED TO BE MADE FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF IMAGES: WHICH PART MAY SERVE TO INSTRUCT THE CURATES THEMSELVES, OR MEN OF GOOD UNDERSTANDING.

NOW ye have heard how plainly, how vehemently, and that in many places, the word of God speaketh against not only idolatry and worshipping of images, but also against idols and[a] images themselves. I mean always thus herein, in that we be stirred and provoked by them to worship them, and not, as though they were simply forbidden by the New Testament, without such occasion and danger. And ye have heard likewise out of histories ecclesiastical, the beginning, proceeding, and success of idolatry by images, and the great contention in the church of Christ about them, to the great trouble and decay of Christendom. And withal ye have heard the sentences of old ancient fathers, and godly learned doctors and bishops, against images and idolatry, taken out of their own writings. It remaineth that such reasons as be made for the maintenance of images, and[b] excessive painting, gilding, and decking, as well of them as of the temples or churches, also be answered and confuted, partly by application of some places before alleged to their reasons, and partly by otherwise answering the same. Which part hath the last place in this treatise, for that it cannot be well[c] understanded[d] of the meaner sort; nor the arguments of image-maintainers can,

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[k] writings] writing 1582, 1587, 1595.
[a] idols and] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[b] and] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[c] be well] well be 1563.
[d] understanded] understood 1623.

without prolixity too much tedious, be answered without the knowledge of the treatise going before. And although divers things before mentioned be here rehearsed again, yet this repetition is not superfluous but in a manner necessary; for that the simple sort cannot else understand how the foresaid places are to be applied to the arguments of such as do maintain images, wherewith otherwise they might be abused.

First, it is alleged by them that maintain images, that all laws, prohibitions, and curses, noted by us out of the holy scripture, and sentences of the doctors also by us alleged, against images and the worshipping of them, appertain to the idols of the Gentiles or Pagans, as the idol of Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, &c., and not to our images of God, of Christ, and his saints. But it shall be declared both by God's word, and the sentences of the ancient doctors, and judgment of the primitive church, that all images, as well ours as the idols of the Gentiles, be forbidden and unlawful, namely, in churches and temples. And first this is to be replied out of God's word, that the images of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, either severally, or the images of the Trinity which we had in every church, be by the Scriptures expressly and directly forbidden and condemned, as appeareth by these places. *The Lord spake unto you out of the middle of fire: you heard the voice or sound of his words, but you did see no form or shape at all; lest peradventure you, being deceived, should make to yourself any graven image or likeness;* and so forth, as is at large rehearsed in the first part of this treaty[e] against images. And therefore in the old Law, the middle of the propitiatory, which represented[f] God's seat, was empty; lest any should take occasion to make any similitude or likeness of him. Isaiah, after he hath set forth the incomprehensible majesty of God, he asketh, *To whom then will ye make God like; or what similitude will ye set up unto him? Shall the carver make him a carven[g] image? And shall the goldsmith cover him with gold, or cast him into a form of silver plates? And for the poor man, shall the image-maker frame an image of timber, that he may have somewhat to set up also?* And after this he crieth out, *O wretches, heard ye never of this? Hath it not been*

Deut. iv. [15, 16.]

Isai. xl. [18—22.]

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[e] treaty] treatise 1582, 1587, 1595.

[f] represented] presented 1582, 1587, 1595.

[g] carven] carved 1582, 1587, 1595.

preached to you since[h] *the beginning*, how by the creation of the world, and the greatness of the work, they might understand the majesty of God, the Maker and Creator of all, to be greater than that it could be expressed or set forth in any image or bodily similitude? Thus far the prophet Isaiah; who, from the forty-fourth chapter to the forty-ninth intreateth, in a manner, of no other thing. And St Paul, in the Acts of the Apostles, evidently teacheth the same, that *no similitude can be made unto God, in gold, silver, stone, or any other matter.* By these and many other places of Scripture it is evident, that no image either ought or can be made unto God. For how can God, a most pure Spirit, whom man never saw, be expressed by a gross, bodily, and visible similitude? How can the infinite majesty and greatness of God, incomprehensible to man's mind, much more not able to be compassed with the sense, be expressed in a [finite][i] and little image? How can a dead and dumb image express the living God? What can an image which when it is fallen cannot rise up again, which can neither help his friends nor hurt his enemies, express of the most puissant and mighty God; who alone is able to reward his friends, and to destroy his enemies everlastingly? A man might justly cry with the prophet Habakkuk, *Shall such images instruct or teach any thing right of God?* or shall they become doctors? Wherefore men that have made an image of God whereby to honour him, have thereby dishonoured him most highly, diminished his majesty, blemished his glory, and falsified his truth. And therefore St Paul saith, that such as have framed any similitude or image of God, like a mortal man or any other likeness, in timber, stone, or other matter, *have changed his truth into a lie.* For both they thought it to be no longer that which it was, a stock or a stone, and took it to be that which it was not, as God, or an image of God. Wherefore an image of God is not only a lie, but a double lie also. *But the devil is a liar, and the father of lies:* wherefore the lying images, which be made of God, to his great dishonour, and horrible danger of his people, came from the devil.

Acts xvii. [29.] Hab. ii. [18, 19.] [Rom. i. 25.] John viii. [44.]

Wherefore they be convict of foolishness and wickedness in making of images of God, or the Trinity, for that no image of God ought or can be made, as by the Scriptures

[h] since] sith 1563. [i] finite] infinite 1574: small 1582, 1587, 1595.

and good reason evidently appeareth; yea, and once to desire an image of God cometh of infidelity, thinking not[k] God to be present, except they might see some sign or image of him; as appeareth by the Hebrews in the wilderness, willing Aaron to make them gods whom they might see go before them. [Exod xxxii. 1.]

Where they object, that seeing in Isaiah and Daniel be certain descriptions of God, as sitting on an[l] high seat, &c.: why may not a painter likewise set him forth in colours to be seen, as it were a judge sitting on a throne, as well as he is described in writing by the prophets, seeing that scripture, or writing, and picture differ but a little? First, it is to be answered, that things forbidden by God's word, as painting of images of God, and things permitted of God, as such descriptions used of the prophets, be not all one; neither ought nor can man's reason—although it shew never so goodly—prevail any thing against God's express word, and plain statute-law, as I may well term it. Furthermore, the Scripture although it have certain descriptions of God, yet if you read on forth, it expoundeth itself, declaring that God is a pure Spirit, infinite, who replenisheth heaven and earth; which the picture doth not, nor expoundeth not[m] itself, but rather, when it hath set God forth in a bodily similitude, leaveth a man there, and will easily bring one into the heresy of the Anthropomorphites, thinking God to have hands and feet, and to sit as a man doth: which they that do, saith St Augustine[2] in his book *De Fide et Symbolo*, cap. VII. 'fall into that sacrilege, which the apostle detesteth in those who have *changed the glory of the incorruptible God into the similitude of a corruptible man.*' [Rom. i. 23.] For it is wickedness for a Christian to erect such an image to God in a temple; and much more wickedness to erect such a one in his heart by believing of it.

But to this they reply, that, this[n] reason notwithstanding, images of Christ may be made, for that he took upon him flesh, and became man. It were well that they would first grant, that they have hitherto done most wickedly, in making

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[k] not] no 1595.
[l] an] a 1563, 1582, 1623.
[m] not] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
[n] this] by this 1587, 1595.

[2] ["Ne in illud incidamus sacrilegium, in quo execratus Apostolus eos qui commutaverunt gloriam incorruptibilis Dei in similitudinem corruptibilis hominis." De Fide et Symbolo, cap. vii. Opp. Tom. VI. col. 116, A.]

and maintaining of images of God and of the Trinity in every place, whereof they are by force of God's word and good reason convicted; and then to descend to the trial for other images.

Now concerning their objection, that an image of Christ may be made, the answer is easy: for in God's word and religion, it is not only required[o] whether a thing may be done or no; but also, whether it be lawful and agreeable to God's word to be done or no. For all wickedness may be and is daily done, which yet ought not to be done. And the words of the reasons above alleged out of the Scriptures are, that images neither ought nor can be made unto God. Wherefore to reply, that images of Christ may be made, except withal it be proved that it is lawful for them to be made, is, rather than to hold one's peace, to say somewhat but nothing to the purpose. And yet it appeareth that no image can be made of Christ, but a lying image—as the Scripture peculiarly calleth images *lies*—for Christ is God and man. Seeing therefore, Rom. i. [23.] that for[p] the Godhead, which is the most excellent part, no image[q] can be made, it is falsely called the image of Christ. Wherefore images of Christ be not only defects, but also lies. Which reason serveth also for the images of saints; whose souls, the more[r] excellent parts of them, can by no images be represented[s] and expressed. Wherefore they be no images of saints—whose souls reign in joy with God—but of the bodies of saints, which as yet lie putrefied in the graves. Furthermore, no true image can be made of Christ's body; for it is unknown now of what form and countenance he was. And there be in Greece and at Rome, and in other places, divers images of Christ, and none of them like to other[t]; and yet every of them affirmeth, that theirs[u] is the true and lively image of Christ; which cannot possibly[x] be. Wherefore, as soon as an image of Christ is made, by and by is a lie made of him, which by God's word is forbidden. Which also is true of the images of any saints of antiquity; for that it is unknown of what form and countenance they were. Wherefore, seeing that religion ought to be grounded upon

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o required] inquired 1563.
p for] of 1563.
q image] images 1582, 1587, 1595.
r more] most 1582, 1587, 1595.
s represented] presented 1582, 1587, 1595.
t other] another 1563.
u their] there 1587, 1595.
x possibly] possible 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

truth, images, which cannot be without lies, ought not to be made, or put to any use of religion, or to be placed in churches and temples, places peculiarly appointed to true[y] religion and service of God. And thus much, that no true image of God, our Saviour Christ, or his saints, can be made: wherewithal is also confuted that their allegation, that images be the laymen's books. For it is evident, of[z] that which is afore rehearsed, that they teach no things of God, of our Saviour Christ, and of his saints, but lies and errors. Wherefore, either they be no books, or, if they be, they be false and lying books, the teachers of all error.

And now if it should be admitted and granted, that an image of Christ could truly be made, yet is it[a] unlawful that it should be made; yea, or that the image of any saint should be made, specially to be set up in temples[b], to the great and unavoidable danger of idolatry, as hereafter shall be proved.

And first, concerning the image of Christ, that though it might be had truly, yet it were unlawful to have it in churches publicly, is a notable place in Irenæus[1]; who reproved the heretics, called *Gnostici*, for that they carried about the image of Christ, made truly after his own proportion in Pilate's time—as they said—and therefore more to be[c] esteemed than those lying images of him which we now have. The which *Gnostici* also used to set garlands upon the head of the said image, to shew their affection to it.

Lib. i. cap. xxiv.

Lev. xxvi. [1.] Deut. v. [8.] Sculptile. Fusile. Similitudo. Deut. xxvii. [15.]

But to go to God's word. Be not, I pray you, the words of the Scriptures plain? *Beware lest thou, being deceived, make to thyself*[d]—to say, to any use of religion—*any graven image, or any similitude of any thing*, &c. And *cursed be the man that maketh a*[e] *graven or molten image, abomination before the Lord*, &c. Be not our images such? Be not

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[y] to true] to the true 1587, 1595.
[z] of] by 1623.
[a] is it] it is 1582, 1587, 1595.
[b] in temples] in the temples 1587, 1595.
[c] more to be] to be more 1587, 1595.
[d] thyself] theeself 1582, 1587.
[e] a] any 1587, 1595.

[1] ["Gnosticos se autem vocant: etiam imagines quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et de reliqua materia fabricatas, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato, illo in tempore, quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant, et proponunt eas cum imaginibus mundi philosophorum," etc. Adv. Hæreses. Lib. I. c. 24. Opp. pp. 101, 102, ed. Grabe, 1702.]

our images of Christ and his saints either carved, or molten or[f] cast, or similitudes of men and[g] women? It is happy that we have not followed the Gentiles in making of images of beasts, fishes, and vermins also. Notwithstanding the image of an horse, as also the image of the ass that Christ rode on, have in divers places been brought into the church and temple of God. And is not that which is written in the beginning of the Lord's most holy law, and daily read unto you, most evident also? *Thou shalt not make any likeness of any thing in heaven above, in earth beneath, or in the water under the earth, &c.* Could any more be forbidden and said than this; either of the kinds of images, which be either carved, molten, or otherwise similitudes; or of things, whereof images are forbidden to be made? Are not all things either in heaven, earth, or water under the earth? And be not our images of Christ and his saints, likenesses of things in heaven, earth, or in the water? Exod. xx. [4–6.]

If they continue in their former answer, that these prohibitions concern the idols of the Gentiles, and not our images; first, that answer is already confuted concerning the images of God and the Trinity, at large, and concerning the images of Christ also, by Irenæus. And that the law of God is likewise to be understanded[h] against all our images, as well of Christ as his saints, in temples and churches, appeareth further by the judgment of the old doctors and the primitive church. Epiphanius[1] renting a painted cloth, wherein was the picture of Christ, or of some saint, affirming it to be against our religion, that any such image should be had in the temple or church—as is before[i] at large declared—judged, that not only idols of the Gentiles, but that all images of Christ and his saints also, were forbidden by God's word and our religion. Lactantius[2], affirming it to be certain that no true religion can be where any[k] image or picture is—as is before declared—judged, that as well all images and pictures, as the idols of the Gentiles, were forbidden; else would he not so generally have

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[f] or] and 1563.
[g] and] or 1587, 1595.
[h] understanded] understood 1587, 1595, 1623.
[i] before] afore 1563.
[k] any] an 1563.

[1] [Epiphan. epist. ad Joannem episcop. Hierosyl.: Opp. Tom. II. p. 317, c. See above, p. 186.]

[2] [De Origine Erroris, Lib. II. c. 18: Opp. p. 111. See above, p. 185.]

Lib. iv. cap. iii. De Civ. Dei.

In Ps. xxxvi. and cxiii.

spoken and pronounced of them. And St Augustine[2] as is before alleged, greatly alloweth M. Varro, affirming that religion is most pure without images; and saith himself, "Images be of more force to crook an unhappy soul, than to teach and instruct it." And he saith further, "Every child, yea, every beast knoweth that it is not God that they see." Wherefore then doth the Holy Ghost so often[1] monish us of that which all men know? Whereunto St Augustine[3] answereth us: "For," saith he, "when images are placed in temples, and set in honourable sublimity, and begin once to be worshipped, forthwith breedeth the most vile affection of error." This is St Augustine's judgment of images in churches, that by and by they breed error and idolatry. The Christian emperors[4], the learned bishops, all the learned men of Asia, Greece, and Spain, assembled in councils at Constantinople and in Spain, seven and eight hundred years ago and more, condemning and destroying all images as well of Christ as of the saints, set up by the Christians—as is before at large declared—testify that they understood God's word so, that it forbad our images as well as the idols of the Gentiles. And as it is written (Sapi. xiv.) that images were[m] not from the beginning, neither shall they continue to the end; so were they not in the beginning in the primitive church. God grant they may in the end be destroyed! For all Christians in the primitive church, as Origen against Celsus[5], Cyprian[6] also, and Arnobius[7] do testify, were sore charged and complained on, that they had no altars nor images. Wherefore did they not, I pray you, conform themselves to the Gentiles in making of images, but for lack of them sustained their heavy displeasure, if they had taken it to be lawful by God's word to have images? It is evident, therefore, that they

Wisd. xiv. [13.]

Orig. contr. Cels Lib. iv. and viii. Cypr. contr. Demetr.

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[1] often] oft 1563. [m] were] are 1587, 1595.

[2] [See above, p. 192.] [3] [See above, p. 192, note 3, sub. fin.]

[4] [See above, pp. 182 et seqq.]

[5] [Contra Celsum, Lib. VIII. § 17, pp. 754 et seqq. Opp. ut supr.]

[6] [Ad Demetrianum, p. 191. Opp. Ox. 1682.]

[7] [In hac enim consuestis parte crimen nobis maximum impietatis affigere, quod neque ædes sacras venerationis ad officia construamus, non deorum alicujus simulachrum constituamus, aut formam: non altaria fabricemus, non aras," etc. Disputationes adv. Gentes. Lib. VI. p. 189; ed. Lugdun. Batav. 1651.]

took all images to be unlawful in the church or temple of God, and therefore had none—though the Gentiles therefore were most highly displeased—following this rule, *We must obey God rather than men.* Acts v. [29.] And Zephyrius[n], in his notes upon the Apology of Tertullian[1], gathereth, that 'all his vehement persuasion should be but cold, except we know this once for all, that Christian men in his time did most hate images, with their ornaments.' And Irenæus—as is above declared[2]—reproveth the heretics called *Gnostici*, for that they carried about the image[o] of Christ. And therefore the primitive church, which is specially to be followed, as most incorrupt and pure, had publicly in[p] churches neither idols of the Gentiles, nor any other images, as things directly forbidden by God's word. And thus it is declared by God's word, the sentences of the doctors, and the judgment of the primitive church, which was most pure and sincere, that all images, as well ours as the idols of the Gentiles, be by God's word forbidden, and therefore unlawful, specially in temples and churches.

Now if they, as their custom is, flee to this answer, that God's word forbiddeth not absolutely all images to be made, but that they should not be made to be worshipped; and that therefore we may have images, so we worship them not, for that they be things indifferent, which may be abused, or well used: which seemeth also to be the judgment of Damascene[3] and Gregory I.[4] as is above[q] declared:—and this is one of their chief allegations for the maintenance of images, which have[r] been alleged since[s] Gregory the first his time:— Damas. Lib. iv. de Fid. Orth. cap. xvii. Gregor. in Epist. ad Seren. Massil.

Well then, we be come to their second allegation, which in part we would[t] not stick to grant them. For we are not so superstitious or scrupulous, that we do abhor either flowers wrought in carpets, hangings, and other arras; either the images of princes, printed or stamped in their coins, which when Christ did see in a Roman coin, we read not that he

[n] Zephyrius] Zephyrus 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[o] image] images 1595.
[p] in] in the 1595.
[q] as is above] as *wanting* 1587, 1595, as is before 1563.
[r] have] hath, 1563.
[s] since] sith 1563.
[t] would] should 1587, 1595.

[1] [p. 145; ed. Colon. 1622.] [2] [See above, p. 218.]
[3] [Joan. Damascen. Orthodox. Fidei, Lib. IV. c. 17, 'De adoratione Imaginum:' Opp. pp. 342 et seqq. ed. Basil. 1575.]
[4] [See above, pp. 197, 198.]

reprehended it; neither do we condemn the arts of painting and image-making, as wicked of themselves. But we would[u] admit and grant them, that images used for no religion, or superstition rather—we mean images of none worshipped, nor in danger to be worshipped of any—may be suffered. But images placed publicly in temples cannot possibly[x] be without danger of worshipping and idolatry; wherefore they are not publicly to be had or suffered in temples and churches. The Jews, to whom this law was first given—and yet[y] being a moral commandment, and not ceremonial, as all doctors interpret it, it[z] bindeth us as well as them—the Jews, I say, who should have the true sense and meaning of God's law, so peculiarly given unto them, neither had in the beginning any images publicly in their temple, as Origen[1] and Josephus[2] at large declareth, neither, after the restitution of the temple, would by any means consent to Herod, Pilate, or Petronius, that images should be placed only in the temple at Jerusalem, although no worshipping of images was required at their hands; but rather offered themselves to the death, than to assent that images should once be placed in the temple of God; neither would they suffer any image-maker among them. And Origen[3] added this cause, "Lest their minds should be plucked from God to the contemplation of earthly things." And they are much commended for this earnest zeal, in maintaining of God's honour and true religion. And truth it is, that the Jews and Turks, who abhor images and idols, as directly forbidden by God's word[a], will never come to the truth of our religion, while the[b] stumbling-blocks of images remain amongst us, and lie in their way.

Orig. contr. Cels. Lib. iv.
Joseph. Ant. Lib. xvii. cap. viii.
Lib. xviii. cap. iii.
Lib. xviii. cap. viii.

If they object yet the brazen serpent, which Moses did set up, or the images of the cherubims, or any other images which the Jews had in their temple, the answer is easy: We must in religion obey God's general law, which bindeth all men, and

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[u] would] should 1595.
[x] possibly] possible 1563.
[y] yet being] yet but being 1587, 1595.
[z] it] *wanting* 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[a] word] words 1587, 1595.
[b] the] these 1563.

[1] [Contra Celsum, ubi supr. p. 184.]

[2] [Antiq. Jud. Lib. xvii. c. vi. (al. viii.), § 2: Tom. i. p. 843, ed. Havercamp. Lib. xviii. c. iii; pp. 875, 876: Lib. xviii. c. viii. § 2; 900.]

[3] [Ἵνα μηδημία πρόφασις ᾖ τῆς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων κατασκευῆς τοὺς ἀνοήτους τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπισπωμένης, καὶ καθελκούσης ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ εἰς γῆν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς. ubi supr. p. 184.]

not follow examples of particular dispensation, which be no warrants for us; else we may by the same reason resume circumcision and sacrificing of beasts, and other rites permitted to the Jews. Neither can those images of cherubims, set in secret where no man might come nor behold, be any example for our public setting up of images in churches and temples. But to let the Jews go: Where they say that images, so they be not worshipped, as things indifferent may be tolerable[c] in temples and churches; we infer and say for the adversative, that all our images of God, our Saviour Christ, and his saints, publicly set up in temples and churches —places peculiarly appointed to the true worshipping of God —be not things indifferent, nor tolerable, but against God's law and commandment, taking their own interpretation and exposition of it. First, for[d] that all images, so set up publicly, have been worshipped of the unlearned and simple sort, shortly after they have been publicly so set up, and, in conclusion, of the wise and learned also. Secondly, for that they are worshipped in sundry places now in our time also. And thirdly, for that it is impossible that images of God, Christ, or his saints, can be suffered—especially in temples and churches—any while or space, without worshipping of them; and that idolatry, which is most abominable before God, cannot possibly[e] be escaped and avoided, without the abolishing and destruction of images and pictures in temples and churches; for that idolatry is to images, specially in temples and churches, an inseparable accident, as they term it; so that images in churches and idolatry go always both together, and that therefore the one cannot be avoided except the other —specially in all public places—be destroyed. Wherefore, to make images, and publicly to set them up in temples and churches, places appointed peculiarly to the service of God, is to make images to the use of religion; and not only against this precept, *Thou shalt make no manner of image*[f], but against this also, *Thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them.* For they being set[g] up, have been, be, and ever will be worshipped. And the full proof of that, which in the beginning of the first part of this treaty was touched, is here to be made and performed; to wit, that our images,

[Deut. v. 8, 9.]

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[c] tolerable] tolerated 1563.
[d] for] *wanting* 1595.
[e] possibly] possible 1563.
[f] image] images 1582, 1587, 1595.
[g] being set] being so set 1563.

and idols of the Gentiles, be all one, as well in the things themselves, as also in that our images have been before, be now, and ever will be worshipped, in like form and manner, as the idols of the Gentiles were worshipped, so long as they be suffered in churches and temples. Whereupon it followeth, that our images in churches, have been, be, and ever will be, none other but abominable idols, and be therefore no things indifferent. And every of these parts shall be proved in order, as hereafter followeth.

Simulachra gentium, argentum et aurum.

And first, that our images and the idols of the Gentiles be all one concerning themselves, is most evident, the matter of them being gold, silver, or other metal, stone, wood, clay, or plaster, as were the idols of the Gentiles; and so being either molten or cast, either carved, graven, hewed[h], or otherwise formed and fashioned after the similitude and likeness of man or woman, be dead and dumb works of man's hands, having *mouth*[i] *and speak not, eyes and see not, hands and feel not, feet and go not,* and so, as well in form as matter, be altogether like the idols of the Gentiles. Insomuch that all the titles, which be given to the idols in the Scriptures, may be verified of our images. Wherefore, no doubt but the like curses which are mentioned in the Scriptures will light upon the makers and worshippers of them both. Secondly, that they have been and be worshipped in our time, in like form and manner as were the idols of the Gentiles, is now to be proved. And for that idolatry standeth chiefly in the mind, it shall in this part first be proved, that our image-maintainers have had and have the same opinions and judgment of saints, whose images they have made and worshipped, as the Gentiles idolaters had of their gods. And afterwards shall be declared, that our image-maintainers and worshippers have used and use the same outward rites and manner of honouring and worshipping their images, as the Gentiles did use before their idols; and that therefore they commit idolatry, as well inwardly and outwardly, as did the wicked Gentiles idolaters.

Fusile.

Sculptile. Similitudo. Simulachrum. Opera manuum hominum.

And concerning the first part, Of the idolatrous opinions of our image-maintainers. What, I pray you, be such saints with us, to whom we attribute the defence of certain countries, spoiling God of his due honour herein, but *dii tutelares* of

Dii Tutelares.

[h] hewed] hewen 1623. [i] mouth] mouths 1623.

the Gentiles idolaters? Such as were Belus to the Babylonians and Assyrians; Osiris and Isis to the Egyptians; Vulcan to the Lemnians; and such[k] other. What be such saints to whom the safeguard of certain cities are appointed, but *Dii Præsides* with the Gentiles idolaters? Such as were at Delphos, Apollo; at Athens, Minerva; at Carthage, Juno; at Rome, Quirinus, &c. What be such saints, to whom, contrary to the use of the primitive church, temples and churches be builded and altars erected, but *Dii Patroni* of the Gentiles idolaters? Such as were in the capitol, Jupiter; in Paphus Temple, Venus; in Ephesus Temple, Diana; and such like. Alas, we seem in thus thinking and doing to have learned our religion, not out of God's word, but out of the pagan poets[2], who say[l],

Dii Præsides.

Dii Patroni.

> Excessere omnes, adytis arisque relictis,
> Di, quibus imperium hoc steterat, &c.

That is to say, 'All the gods, by whose defence this empire stood, are gone out of the temples, and have forsaken their[m] altars.' And where one saint hath images in divers places, the same saint hath divers names thereof, most like to the Gentiles. When you hear of our lady of Walsingham, our lady of Ipswich, our lady of Wilsdon, and such other, what is it but an imitation of the Gentiles idolaters, Diana Agrotera, Diana Coriphea, Diana Ephesia, &c. Venus Cypria, Venus Paphia, Venus Gnidia? Whereby is evidently meant, that the saint for the image sake should in those places, yea, in the images themselves, have a dwelling; which is the ground of their idolatry. For where no images be, they have no such means. Terentius Varro[3] sheweth, that there were three hundred Jupiters in his time: there were no fewer Veneres and Dianæ; we had no fewer Christophers, Ladies, and Mary Magdalenes, and other saints. Œnomaus and Hesiodus[4] shew, that in their time there were thirty thousand gods. I think we had no fewer saints, to whom we gave the honour due to God. And they have not only spoiled the true living God of his due honour in temples[n], cities, coun-

[k] and such] and to such 1582, 1587, 1595.
[l] say] *wanting* 1582, 1595.
[m] their] the 1587, 1595.
[n] in temples] in the temples 1595.

[2] [Virgil. Æn. II. 351.] [3] [According to Tertull. Apolog. c. xiv.]
[4] [Vid. Hesiod. Theogon.]

tries, and lands, by such devices and inventions, as the Gentiles idolaters have done before them; but the sea and waters have as well special saints with them, as they had gods with the Gentiles, Neptune, Triton, Nereus, Castor and Pollux, Venus, and such other: in whose places be come St Christopher[o], St Clement, and divers other, and specially our Lady, to whom shipmen sing *Ave, maris stella.* Neither hath the fire scaped their idolatrous inventions: for instead of Vulcan and Vesta, the Gentiles' gods[p] of the fire, our men have placed St Agatha, and make letters on her day for to quench fire with. Every artificer and profession hath his special saint, as a peculiar god: as, for example, scholars have St Nicholas and St Gregory; painters, St Luke: neither lack soldiers their Mars, nor lovers their Venus, amongst Christians. All diseases have their special saints, as gods, the curers of them: the pox St Roche, the falling evil St Cornelis, the tooth-ache St Apollin, &c. Neither do beast and cattle lack their gods with us: for St Loy is the horse-leech, and St Anthony the swineherd, &c. Where is God's providence and due honour in the mean season; who saith, *The heavens be mine, and the earth is mine, the whole world and all that in it is; I do give victory, and I put to flight: of me be all counsels and help,* &c. Except I keep the city, in vain doth he watch that keepeth it: Thou, Lord, shalt save both men and beasts? But we have left him neither heaven, nor earth, nor water, nor country, nor city, peace nor[q] war, to rule and govern; neither men, nor beasts, nor their diseases to cure: that a godly man might justly for zealous indignation cry out, 'O heaven, O earth and seas, what madness and wickedness against God are men fallen into! What dishonour do the creatures to their Creator and Maker!' And if we remember God sometime, yet because we doubt of his ability or will to help, we join to him another helper—as he were a noun adjective—using these sayings: such as learn, 'God and St Nicholas be my speed;' such as neese, 'God help and St John;' to the horse, 'God and St Loy save thee.' Thus are we become like horses and mules, which have no understanding. For is there not one God only, who by his power and wisdom made all things, and by his providence

[Ps. lxxxix. 11; cxxvii. 1; xxxvi. 7.]

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[o] Christopher] Chrysostim 1587, 1595.

[p] gods] god 1587, 1595.

[q] nor] ne 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

governeth the same, and by his goodness maintaineth and saveth them? Be not all things of him, by him, and through him? Why dost thou turn from the Creator to the creatures? This is the manner of the Gentiles idolaters: but thou art a Christian, and therefore by Christ alone hast access to God the Father, and help of him only.

These things are not written to any reproach of the saints themselves; who were the true servants of God, and did give all honour to him, taking none unto themselves, and are blessed souls with God; but against our foolishness and wickedness, making of the true servants of God, false gods, by[r] attributing to them the power and honour which is God's, and due to him only. And for that we have such opinions of the power and ready help of saints, all our legends, hymns, sequences, and masses, did contain stories, lauds, and praises of them, and prayers to them; yea, and sermons also altogether of them, and to their praises, God's word being clean laid aside. And this we do altogether agreeable to the saints, as did the[s] Gentiles idolaters to their false gods. For these opinions which men have had of mortal persons, were they never so holy, the old most godly and learned Christians have written against the feigned gods of the Gentiles; and Christian princes have destroyed their images; who, if they were now living, would doubtless likewise both write against our false opinions of saints, and also destroy their images. For it is evident, that our image-maintainers have the same opinion of saints which the Gentiles had of their false gods, and thereby are moved to make them images, as the Gentiles did.

If answer be made, that they make saints but intercessors to God, and means for such things as they would obtain of God; that is even after the Gentiles' idolatrous usage, to make them, of saints, gods called *Dii Medioximi*, to be mean intercessors and helpers to God, as though he did not hear, or should be weary if he did all alone. So did the Gentiles teach, that there was one chief power working by other, as means; and so they made all gods subject to fate or destiny; as Lucian[1] in his Dialogues feigneth that Neptune made suit to Mercury, that he might speak with Jupiter. And there-

Medioximi Dii.

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[r] by] that 1587, 1595.

[s] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[1] [Deorum Dialog. IX.]

fore in this also it is most evident that our image-maintainers be all one in opinion with the Gentiles idolaters.

Now remaineth the third part, that their rites and ceremonies, in honouring and worshipping of the images or saints, be all one with the rites which the Gentiles idolaters used in honouring their idols. First, what meaneth it, that Christians, after the example of the Gentiles idolaters, go on pilgrimage to visit images, where they have the like at home, but that they have a more opinion of holiness and virtue in some images, than other some, like as the Gentiles idolaters had? Which is the readiest way to bring them to idolatry by worshipping of them, and directly against God's word, who saith, *Seek me, and ye shall live; and do not seek Bethel; neither*[t] *enter not into Gilgal, neither go to Beersheba.* And against such as had any superstition in the holiness of the place, as though they should be heard for the place's sake, saying, *Our fathers worshipped in this mountain, and ye say, that at Jerusalem is the place where men should worship,* our Saviour Christ pronounceth, *Believe me, the hour cometh, when you*[u] *shall worship the Father neither in this mountain, nor at Jerusalem; but true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth.* But it is too well known, that by such pilgrimage-going, Lady Venus and her son Cupid were rather worshipped wantonly in the flesh, than God the Father, and our Saviour Christ his Son, truly worshipped in the spirit. And it was very agreeable, as St Paul teacheth, that they which fell to idolatry, which is spiritual fornication, should also fall into carnal fornication and all uncleanness, by the just judgments of God delivering them over to abominable concupiscences.

Amos v. [4, 5.]

John iv. [23.]

Rom. i. [21—32.]

What meaneth it, that Christian men, after the use of the Gentiles idolaters, cap and kneel before images? Which, if they had any sense and gratitude, would kneel before men, carpenters, masons, plasterers, founders, and goldsmiths, their makers and framers; by whose means they have attained this honour, which else should have been evil-favoured and rude lumps of clay, or plaster, pieces of timber, stone, or metal, without shape or fashion, and so without all estimation and honour; as that idol in the Pagan Poet[1] confesseth, saying:

Horatius.

[t] neither] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623. [u] you] ye 1563.

[1] [Horat. Satir. Lib. I. Sat. viii.]

"I was once a vile block, but now I am become a god, &c." What a fond thing is it for man, who hath life and reason, to bow himself to a dead and unsensible image, the work of his own hand! Is not this stooping and kneeling before them adoration of them, which is forbidden so earnestly by God's word? Let such as so[x] fall down before images of saints, know and confess that they exhibit that[y] honour to dead stocks and stones, which the saints themselves, Peter, Paul, and Barnabas, would not to be given them being alive; which the angel of God forbiddeth to be given to him. And if they say they exhibit such honour not to the image, but to the saint whom it representeth, they are convicted of folly, to believe that they please saints with that honour, which they abhor as a spoil of God's honour: for they be no changelings; but now both having greater understanding, and more fervent love of God, do more abhor to deprive him of his due honour; and being now like unto the angels of God, do with angels flee to take unto them by sacrilege the honour due to God. And herewithal is confuted their lewd distinction of Latria and Dulia; where it is evident, that the saints of God cannot abide that as much as any outward worshipping be done or exhibited to them. But Satan, God's enemy, desiring to rob God of his honour, desireth exceedingly that such honour might be given to him. Wherefore those which give the honour due to the Creator to any creature, do service acceptable to no saints—who be the friends of God—but unto Satan, God's[z] and man's mortal and sworn enemy. And to attribute such desire of divine honour to saints, is to blot them with a most odious and devilish ignominy and villany; and indeed[a] of saints to make them Satans and very devils, whose property is to challenge to themselves the honour which is due to God only.

Adorare. Gen. xxiii. [7, 12.] xxxiii. [3.] 1 Kings i. [16, 23.] Acts x. [25, 26.] xiv. [14, 15.] Rev. xix. [10.] Matt. iv. [9.]

And furthermore, in that they say that they do not worship the images, as the Gentiles did their idols, but God and the saints, whom the images do represent; and therefore that their doings before images be not like the idolatry of the Gentiles before their idols; St Augustine, Lactantius, and Clemens, do prove evidently, that by this their answer they be all one with the Gentiles idolaters. "The Gentiles," saith

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[x] so] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[y] that] the 1595.
[z] God's] God 1582, 1587, 1595.
[a] indeed] instead 1587, 1595.

Augustine. Psal. cxxxv.

St Augustine[1], "which seem to be of the purer religion, say, We worship not the images, but by the corporal image we do behold the signs of the things which we ought to worship."

Lactant. Lib. ii. Inst.

And Lactantius[2] saith, "The Gentiles say, 'We fear not the images, but them after whose likeness the images be made, and to whose names they be consecrate[b]'." Thus far Lactantius.

Lib. v. ad Jacob. Domini fratrem.

And Clemens[3] saith, "That serpent the devil uttereth these words by the mouth of certain men; 'We, to the honour of the invisible God, worship visible images; which surely is most false'." See how, in using the same excuses which the Gentiles idolaters pretended, they shew themselves to be all one with them in idolatry. For, notwithstanding this excuse, St Augustine, Clemens, and Lactantius prove them idolaters. And Clemens[4] saith, "That the serpent, the devil, putteth such excuses in the mouth of idolaters." And the Scriptures saith[c], they worship the stocks and stones—notwithstanding this excuse—even as our image-maintainers do. And Ezekiel therefore calleth the gods of the Assyrians stocks and stones, although they were but images of their gods. So are our images of God and the saints named by the names of God and his saints, after the use of the Gentiles. And the same Clemens[5] saith thus in the same book, "They dare not give

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[b] consecrate] consecrated 1623.

[c] saith] say 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[1] ["Videntur autem sibi purgatioris esse religionis, qui dicunt, Nec simulacrum, nec dæmonium colo; sed effigiem corporalem ejus rei signum intueor, quam colere debeo." Enarrat. in Psalm. cxiii. Serm. II.; Opp. Tom. IV. col. 946, c.]

[2] ["Non ipsa, inquiunt, timemus, sed eos ad quorum imaginem ficta, et quorum nominibus consecrata sunt." De Origine Erroris, Instit. Lib. II. c. 2; Opp. p. 64: ed. Cant. 1685.]

[3] ["Per alios item serpens ille proferre verba hujuscemodi solet: Nos ad honorem invisibilis Dei imagines visibiles adoramus; quod certissime falsum est." Recognitiones S. Clementis ad Jacobum fratrem Domini; Lib. v. c. xxiii.; Apud Patres Apostol. ed. Coteler. Tom. I. p. 546.]

[4] ["Intelligite ergo, quia habentis intrinsecus serpentis est ista suggestio, quæ persuadet pios vos videri posse, cum insensibilia colitis." Recogn. ubi supra.]

[5] ["Sed Cæsaris quidem nomen nulli alii audetis imponere, quin reum suum statim punit: Dei vero audetis, quia reum suum punire propter pœnitentiam differt." Recognitiones, Lib. v. c. xxii.]

the name of the emperor to any other, for he punisheth his offender and traitor by and by: but they dare give the name of God to other, because he for repentance suffereth his offenders." And even so do our image-worshippers give both names of God and the saints, and also the honour due to God, to their images, even as did the Gentiles idolaters to their idols. What should it mean, that they, according as did the Gentiles idolaters, light candles at noon-time, or at midnight, before them, but therewith to honour them? For other use is there none in so doing. For in the day it needeth not; but was ever a proverb of foolishness, to light a candle at noon-time. And in the night it availeth not to light a candle before the blind; and God hath neither use nor honour thereof.

And concerning this candle-lighting, it is notable that Lactantius above[d] a thousand years ago hath written[1] after this manner. "If they would behold the heavenly light of the sun, then should they perceive that God hath[e] no need of their candles, who for the use of man hath made so goodly a light. And whereas in so little a circle of the sun, which, for the great distance, seemeth to be no greater than a man's head, there is so great brightness, that the sight of man's eye is not able to behold it, but if one stedfastly look upon it a while, his eyes will be dulled and blinded with darkness; how great light, how great clearness may we think to be with God, with whom is no night nor darkness!" And so forth. And by and by he saith[2], "Seemeth he therefore to be in

Lib. vi. Inst. cap. ii.

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[d] above] about 1595. [e] hath] had 1563.

[1] ["Si celeste lumen, quod dicimus solem, contemplari velint; jam sentiant, quod non indigeat lucernis eorum Deus, qui ipse in usum hominis tam claram, tam candidam lucem dedit. Et tamen cum in tam parvo circulo, qui propter longinquitatem, non amplius quam humani capitis videtur habere mensuram, tantum sit fulgoris, ut eum mortalium luminum acies non queat contueri; et si paulisper intenderis, hebetatos oculos caligo ac tenebræ consequantur; quid tandem luminis, quid charitatis apud ipsum Deum penes quem nulla nox est, esse arbitremur?" De Vero Cultu, Instit. Lib. VI. c. 2. p. 289.]

[2] ["Num igitur mentis suæ compos putandus est, qui auctori et datori luminis, candelarum ac cerarum lumen offert pro munere? Aliud vero ille a nobis exigit lumen, et quidem non fumidum, sed (ut ait poeta) liquidum atque clarum, mentes scilicet; propter quod a

his right mind, who offereth up to the Giver of all[f] light the light of a wax-candle for a gift? He requireth another light of us, which is not smoky, but bright and clear, even the light of the mind and understanding." And shortly after[1] he saith, "But their gods, because they be earthly, have need of light, lest they remain in darkness: whose worshippers, because they understand no heavenly thing, do draw religion, which they use, down to the earth, in the which, being dark of nature, is need of light. Wherefore they give to their gods no heavenly, but the earthly understanding of mortal men. And therefore they believe those things to be necessary and pleasant unto them, which are so to us; who hath[g] need either of meat when we be hungry, or drink when we be thirsty, or clothing when we be a cold, or, when the sun is set, candle light, that we may see."

Thus far Lactantius, and much more, too long here to write, of candle-lighting in temples before images and idols, for religion; whereby appeareth both the foolishness thereof, and also that in opinion and act we do agree altogether in our candle-religion with the Gentiles idolaters. What meaneth it that they, after the example of the Gentiles idolaters, burn incense, offer up gold to images, hang up crutches, chains, and ships, legs, arms, and whole men and women of wax, before images, as though by them, or saints, as they say, they were delivered from lameness, sickness, captivity, or shipwreck? Is not this *colere imagines*, to worship images, so earnestly forbidden in God's word? If they deny it, let them read the eleventh chapter of Daniel the prophet; who saith of
[Dan xi. 38.] Antichrist, *He shall worship God, whom his fathers knew*[h] *not, with gold, silver, and with precious stones, and other*

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[f] all] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
[g] hath] have 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[h] knew] know 1595.

poetis φῶς nuncupatur, quod exhibere non potest, nisi qui Deum agnoverit." p. 502.]

[1] ["Illorum autem dii, quia terreni sunt, egent luminibus, ne in tenebris sint; quorum cultores, quia cœleste nihil sapiunt, etiam religiones, quibus deserviunt, ad terram revocant. In ea enim lumine opus est, quia ratio ejus et natura tenebrosa est. Itaque diis non cœlestem sensum, sed humanum potius attribuunt; ideoque illis necessaria et grata credunt esse, quæ nobis; quibus aut esurientibus, opus est cibo; aut sitientibus, potu; aut veste, algentibus; aut cum sol decesserit, lumine ut videre possimus." p. 289, 290.]

things of pleasure: in which place the Latin word is *Colet.* Colere. And in the second of Paralipomenon, the twenty-ninth chapter, [2 Chron. xxix.] all the outward rites and ceremonies, as burning of incense, and such other wherewith God in the temple was honoured, is called *Cultus,* to say "worshipping;" which is forbidden Cultus. straitly by God's word to be given to images. Do not all stories ecclesiastical declare, that our holy martyrs, rather than they would bow and kneel, or offer up one crumb of incense before an image or idol, have suffered a thousand kinds of most horrible and dreadful death? And what excuses[k] soever they make, yet that all this running on pilgrimage, burning of incense and candles, hanging up of crutches, chains, ships, arms, legs, and old men and women of wax, kneeling and holding up of hands, is done to the images, appeareth by this, that where no images be, or where they have been and be taken away, they do no such things at all. But all[l] the places frequented when the images were there, now they be taken away, be forsaken and left desert: nay, now they hate and abhor the place deadly: which is an evident proof, that[m] that which they did before was done in respect of the images. Wherefore, when we see men and women on heaps to go on pilgrimage to images, kneel before them, hold up their hands before them, set up candles, burn incense before them, offer up gold and silver unto them, hang up ships, crutches, chains, men and women of wax before them, attributing health and safeguard, the gifts of God, to them, or the saints whom they represent, as they rather would have it; who, I say, who can doubt, but that our image-maintainers, agreeing in all idolatrous opinions, outward rites and ceremonies, with the Gentiles idolaters, agree also with them in committing most abominable idolatry? And to increase this madness, wicked men, which have the keeping of such images, for their more lucre and advantage, after the example of the Gentiles idolaters, have reported and spread abroad, as well by lying tales as written fables, divers miracles of images: as that such an image miraculously was sent from heaven, even like *Palladium,* or *Magna Diana Ephesiorum.* Such another was as miraculously found in the earth, as the man's head was in Capitol[n], or the horse head in Capua. Such an image was

[l] is] in 1563, of 1595.
[k] excuses] excuse 1563.
all] *wanting* 1563.
[m] that] *wanting* 1595.
[n] in Capitol] in the Capitol, 1587, 1595.

brought by angels. Such an one came itself far from the East to the West, as dame Fortune flit[o] to Rome. Such an image of our lady was painted by St Luke, whom of a physician they have made a painter for that purpose. Such an one a[p] hundred yokes of oxen could not move; like Bona Dea, whom the ship could not carry; or Jupiter Olympius, which laughed the artificers to scorn, that went about to remove him to Rome. Some images, though they were hard and stony, yet, for tender heart and pity, wept. Some, like Castor and Pollux, helping their friends in battle, sweat, as marble pillars do in dankish weather. Some spake more monstrously than ever did Balaam's ass, who had life and breath in him. Such a cripple came and saluted this saint of oak, and by and by he was made whole; and lo, here hangeth his crutch. Such an one in a tempest vowed to St Christopher, and scaped; and behold, here is a ship of wax. Such an one by St Leonard's help brake out of prison; and see where his fetters hang. And infinite thousands[q] moe miracles, by like or more shameless lies, were reported. Thus do our image-maintainers in earnest apply to their images all such miracles, as the Gentiles have feigned of their idols. And if it were to be admitted, that some miraculous acts were by illusion of the devil done where images be—for it is evident that the most part were feigned lies, and crafty jugglings of men—yet followeth it not therefore, that such images are either to be honoured, or suffered to remain, no more than Hezekiah left the brazen serpent undestroyed, when it was worshipped, although it were both set up by God's commandment, and also approved by a great and true miracle, for as many as beheld it were by and by healed. Neither ought miracles to[r] persuade us to do contrary to God's word. For the Scriptures have for a warning hereof foreshewed, that the kingdom of Antichrist shall be mighty *in miracles and wonders*, to the strong illusion of all the reprobate. But in this they pass the folly and wickedness of the Gentiles, that they honour and worship the relics and bones of our saints; which prove that they be mortal men and dead, and therefore no gods to be worshipped; which the Gentiles would never con-

[2 Kings xviii. 4.]

[Mark xiii. 22.] [Rev. xiii. 14.]

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o flit] fled 1623.

p a] an 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

q thousands] thousand 1595.

r to] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.

fess of their gods for very shame. But the relics we must kiss and offer unto, specially on *Relic-sunday*. And while we offer, that we should not be weary or repent us of our cost, the music and minstrelsy goeth merrily all the offertory time, with praising and calling upon those saints, whose relics be then in presence. Yea, and the water also, wherein those relics have been dipped, must with great reverence be reserved, as very holy and effectuous. Is this agreeable to St Chrysostom, who writeth[1] thus of relics? "Do not regard the ashes of the saints' bodies, nor the relics of their flesh and bones, consumed with time: but open the eyes of thy faith, and behold them clothed with heavenly virtue, and the grace of the Holy Ghost, and shining with the brightness of the heavenly light." But our idolaters found too much vantage of relics and relic-water, to follow St Chrysostom's counsel. And because relics were so gainful, few places were there but they had relics provided for them. And for more plenty of relics, some one saint had many heads, one in one place, and another in another place. Some had six arms and twenty-six fingers. And, where our Lord bare his cross alone, if all the pieces of the relics thereof were gathered together, the greatest ship in England would scarcely bear them; and yet the greatest part of it, they say, doth yet remain in the hands of the Infidels; for the which they pray in their beads' bidding, that they may get it also into their hands, for such godly use and purpose. And not only the bones of the saints, but every thing appertaining to them, was an holy relic. In some place they offer a sword, in some the[s] scabbard, in some a shoe, in some a saddle that had been set upon some holy horse, in some the coals wherewith St Laurence was roasted, in some place the tail of an[t] ass which our Lord Jesus Christ sate on, to be kissed and offered to[u] for a relic. For rather than they would lack a relic, they would

Homilia de septem Machabæis.

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[s] a] 1587, 1595.

[t] an] thee 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[u] to] unto 1582, 1587, 1595.

1 [Μὴ γάρ μοι τὴν κόνιν εἴπῃς, μηδὲ τὴν τέφραν λογίζου, μηδὲ τὰ χρόνῳ δαπανηθέντα ὀστᾶ, ἀλλ' ἄνοιξον τῆς πίστεως τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ βλέπε παρακαθημένην αὐτοῖς τοῦ Θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν, περιβεβλημένην αὐτοῖς τοῦ Πνεύματος τὴν χάριν, περιστέλλουσαν αὐτοὺς τοῦ οὐρανίου φωτὸς τὴν δόξαν. Homil. I. in Septem Maccabæos; Opp. Tom. II. pp. 624, 625: ed. Benedict. 1718.]

offer you a horsebone, instead of a virgin's arm, or the tail of the ass to be kissed and offered unto for relics. O wicked, impudent, and most shameless men, the devisers of these things! O silly, foolish, and dastardly daws, and more beastly than the ass whose tail they kissed, that believe such things. Now God be merciful to such miserable and silly Christians, who by the fraud and falsehood of those which should have taught them the way of truth and life, have been made not only more wicked than the Gentiles idolaters, but also no wiser than asses, horses, and mules, which have no understanding!

Of these things already rehearsed, it is evident, that our image-maintainers have not only made images, and set them up in temples, as did the Gentiles idolaters their idols; but also that they have had the same idolatrous opinions of the saints, to whom they have made images, which the Gentiles idolaters had of their false gods; and have not only worshipped their images with the same rites, ceremonies, superstition, and all circumstances, as did the Gentiles idolaters their idols, but in many points also have far exceeded them in all wickedness, foolishness, and madness. And if this be not sufficient to prove them image-worshippers, that is to say, idolaters, lo, you shall hear their own open confession; I mean, not only the decrees of the second Nicene[1] council under Irene, the Roman[2] council under Gregory III. in the which, as they teach that images are to be honoured and worshipped, as is before declared: so yet do they it warily and fearfully, in comparison to the blasphemous bold blazing of manifest idolatry to be done to images, set forth of late, even in these our days, the light of God's truth so shining, that above other abominable[x] doings and writings, a man would marvel most at their impudent, shameless, and most shameful blustering boldness, who would not at the least have chosen them a time of more darkness, as meeter to utter their horrible blasphemies in: but have now taken an harlot's face, not purposed to blush in setting abroad the furniture of their spiritual whoredom. And here the plain blasphemy of the reverend father in God, James Naclantus, bishop of Clu-

[x] abominable] their abominable 1563.

[1] [See above, p. 204.]

[2] [See above, p. 201.]

gium, written[1] in his exposition of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and the[y] first chapter, and put in print now of late at Venice, may stand instead of all, whose words of image-worshipping be these in Latin, as he did write them, not one syllable altered.

Ergo non solum fatendum est, fideles in ecclesia adorare coram imagine, (ut nonnulli ad cautelam forte loquuntur,) sed et adorare imaginem, sine quo volueris scrupulo, quin et eo illam venerantur cultu, quo et prototypon ejus. Propter quod si illud habet adorare latria, et illa latria: si dulia, vel hyperdulia, et illa pariter ejusmodi cultu adoranda est.

The sense whereof in English is this: "Therefore it is not only to be confessed, that the faithful in the church do worship before an image, (as some peradventure do warily speak,) but also do[z] worship the image itself, without any scruple or doubt at all: yea, and they worship the image with the same kind of worship, wherewith they worship the copy of the image, or the thing whereafter the image is made. Wherefore if the copy itself is to be worshipped with divine honour," (as is God the Father, Christ, and the Holy Ghost,) "the image of them is also to be worshipped with divine honour: If the copy ought to be worshipped with inferior honour or higher worship, the image also is to be worshipped with the same honour or worship." Thus far hath Naclantus, whose blasphemies let Pope Gregorius I. confute, and by his authority damn them to hell, as his successors have horribly thundered. For although Gregory[2] permitteth images to be had, yet he forbiddeth them by any means to be worshipped, and praiseth much bishop Serenus for the forbidding the worshipping[a] of them, and willeth him to teach the people to avoid by all means to worship any image. But Naclantus bloweth forth his blasphemous idolatry, willing images to be worshipped with the highest kind of adoration and worship. And lest such wholesome doctrine should lack authority, he groundeth[3] it upon Aristotle, in his book *De Somno et Vigilia*, that is, Of Sleeping

Gregor. Epist. ad Seren. Massil.

[y] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[z] do] to 1563.
[a] worshipping] worship 1563.

[1] [Opp. Tom. I. p. 204, ed. Venet. 1567.]
[2] [See above, p. 197, 198.]
[3] [Ubi supra.]

and Waking, as by his printed[b] book, noted so in[c] the margent is to be seen; whose impudent wickedness and idolatrous judgment I have therefore more largely set forth, that ye may (as Virgil[2] speaketh of Sinon[d]) of one know all these image-worshippers and idolaters, and understand to what point in conclusion the public having of images in temples and churches hath brought us; comparing the times and writings[e] of Gregory I. with our days, and the blasphemies of such idolaters, as this beast[f] of Belial, named Naclantus, is.

Of image-worshipping.

Wherefore, now it is by the testimony of the old godly fathers and doctors, by the open confession of bishops assembled in councils, by most evident signs and arguments, opinions, idolatrous acts, deeds, and worshipping done to their[g] images, and by their own open confession and doctrine set forth in their books, declared and shewed, that our[h] images have been and be commonly worshipped, yea, and that they ought so to be: I will out of God's word make this general argument against all such makers, setters-up, and maintainers of images in public places. And first of all I will begin with the words of our Saviour Christ. *Woe be to that man by whom an offence is given. Woe be to him, that offendeth one of these little ones, or weak ones. Better were it for him, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he cast into the middle of the sea, and drowned, than he should offend one of these little ones, or weak ones*[i]. And in Deuteronomy, *God himself denounceth him accursed, that maketh the blind to wander in*[k] *his way.* And in Leviticus, *Thou shalt not lay a stumbling-block, or stone, before the blind.* But images in churches and temples have been, and be, and, as afterward shall be proved, ever will be, offences and[l] stumbling-blocks, specially to the weak, simple, and blind common people, deceiving their hearts by the cunning of the artificer, as the Scripture expressly in sundry places doth testify, and so bringing them to idolatry.

Matt. xviii. [6, 7.] Luke xvii. [1, 2.]

Deut. xxvii. [18.]

Lev. xix. [14.]

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[b] printed] painted, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[c] noted so in] noted in, 1623.
[d] Sinon] Simon 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[e] writings] writing, 1595.
[f] beast] instrument, 1623.
[g] their] our 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[h] our] their 1623.
[i] weak ones] *wanting* 1595.
[k] wander in] go out of 1587, 1595.
[l] and] or 1563.

[2] [... crimine ab uno
disce omnes. Æn. II. 65.]

Therefore woe be to the erecter, setter-up, and maintainer of images in churches and temples; for a greater penalty remaineth for him than the death of the body. Wisd. xiii. [10; xiv. 8.

If answer be yet made, that this offence may be taken away by diligent and sincere doctrine and preaching of God's word, as by other means; and that images in churches and temples therefore be not things absolutely evil to all men, although dangerous to some; and therefore that it were to be holden, that the public having of them in churches and temples is not expedient, as a thing perilous rather than unlawful, as[m] a thing utterly wicked: then followeth the third article to be proved, which is this[n]: That it is not possible, if images be suffered in churches and temples, either by preaching of God's word, or by any other means, to keep the people from worshipping of them, and so to avoid idolatry. And first concerning preaching. If it should be admitted, that although images were suffered in churches, yet might idolatry by diligent and sincere preaching of God's word be avoided; it should follow of necessity, that sincere doctrine might always be had and continue as well as images, and so that wheresoever, to offence, were erected an image, there also, of reason, a godly and sincere preacher should and might be continually maintained. For it is reason, that the warning be as common as the stumbling-block; the remedy as large as is the offence; the medicine as general as the poison: but that is not possible, as both reason and experience teacheth. Wherefore preaching cannot stay idolatry, images being publicly suffered. For an image, which will last for many hundred years, may for a little be bought: but a good preacher cannot be with much[o] continually maintained. *Item*, if the prince will suffer it, there will be by and by many, yea, infinite images: but sincere[p] preachers were, and ever shall be, but a few in respect of the multitude to be taught. For our Saviour Christ saith, *The harvest is plentiful, but the workmen be but few*[q]: which hath[r] been hitherto continually true, and will be to the world's end: and in our time, and here in our country so true, that every shire should scarcely have one good preacher, if they were divided. [Matt. ix. 37.]

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[m] as] and 1623.

[n] is this] is in this 1582, 1587, 1595.

[o] be with much] without much be, 582, 1587, 1595.

[p] but sincere] but the sincere 1587, 1595.

[q] but few] but a few 1563.

[r] hath] have 1582, 1587, 1595.

Now images will continually to the beholders preach their doctrine, that is, the worshipping of images and idolatry; to the which preaching mankind is exceeding prone, and inclined to give ear and credit; as experience of all nations and ages doth too much prove. But a true preacher, to stay this mischief, is in very many places scarcely heard once in a whole year, and somewhere[s] not once in seven years, as is evident to be proved. And that evil opinion, which hath been long rooted in men's hearts, cannot suddenly by one sermon be rooted out clean. And as few are inclined to credit sound doctrine; as many, and almost all, be prone to superstition and idolatry. So that herein appeareth not only a difficulty, but also an impossibility of the remedy. Further, it appeareth not by any story of credit, that true and sincere preaching hath endured in any one place above one hundred years: but it is evident, that images, superstition, and worshipping of images and idolatry, have continued many hundred years. For all writings and experience do testify, that good things do by little and little ever decay, until they be clean banished; and, contrariwise, evil things do more and more increase, till they come to a full perfection of[t] wickedness. Neither need we to seek examples far off for a proof hereof; our present matter is an example. For preaching of God's word (most sincere in the beginning) by process of time waxed less and less pure, and after corrupt, and last of all, altogether laid down and left off, and other inventions of men crept in place of it. And on the other part, images among Christian men were first painted, and that in whole stories together, which had some signification in them; afterwards they were embossed, and made of timber, stone, plaster, and metal. And first they were only kept privately in private men's houses; and then after they crept into churches and temples, but first by painting, and after by embossing; and yet were they nowhere at the first worshipped. But shortly after they began to be worshipped of the ignorant sort of men, as appeareth by the epistle[1] that Gregory the first of that name, bishop of Rome, did write to Serenus, bishop of Marseilles. Of the which two bishops, Serenus, for idolatry committed to images, brake them and burned them. Gregory,

[s] somewhere] somewheres 1563. of] and 1582, 1587, 1595.

[1] [See above, p. 197.]

although he thought it tolerable to let them stand, yet he judged it abominable, that they should be worshipped; and thought—as is now[u] alleged—that the worshipping of them might be stayed by teaching of God's word, according as he exhorteth Serenus to teach the people, as in the same epistle appeareth. But whether Gregory's opinion or Serenus' judgment were better herein consider ye, I pray you, for experience by and by confuteth Gregory's opinion. For notwithstanding Gregory's writing and the preaching of others, images being once publicly set up in temples and churches, simple men and women shortly after fell on heaps to worshipping of them: and at the last the learned also were carried away with the public error, as with a violent stream or flood. And at the second council Nicene[1], the bishops and clergy decreed, that images should be worshipped: and so, by occasion of these stumblingblocks, not only the unlearned and simple, but the learned and wise; not the people only, but the bishops; not the sheep, but also the shepherds themselves,—who should have been guides in the right way, and light to shine in darkness,—being blinded by the bewitching of images, as blind guides of the blind, fell both into the pit of damnable idolatry. In the which all the world, as it were drowned, continued until our age, by the space of above[x] eight hundred years, unspoken against in a manner. And this success had Gregory's order; which mischief had never come to pass had bishop Serenus' way been taken, and all idols and images been utterly destroyed and abolished: for no man worshippeth that that is not. And thus you see, how from having of images privately, it came to public setting of them up in churches and temples, although without harm at the first, as was then of some wise and learned men judged; and from simple having them there, it came at the last[y] to worshipping of them; first, by the rude people, who specially, as the Scripture[z] teacheth, are in danger of superstition and idolatry, and afterwards by the bishops, the learned, and by the whole clergy. So that laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children of whole

Wisd. xiii. [10.] & xiv. [16.]

[u] is now] now is, 1587, 1595.
[x] above] about 1563.
[y] at the last] at last 1563.
[z] scripture] scriptures 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[1] [See above, p. 204.]

christendom—an horrible and most dreadful thing to think—have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God, and most damnable to man, and that by the space of eight hundred years and more. And to this end is come that beginning of[a] setting up of images in churches; then judged harmless, in experience proved not only harmful, but exitious and pestilent, and to the destruction and subversion of all good religion universally. So that I conclude, as it may be possible in some one city, or little country, to have images set up in temples and churches, and yet idolatry, by earnest and continual preaching of God's true word, and the sincere gospel of our Saviour Christ, may be kept away for a short time; so is it impossible that, images once set up and suffered in temples and churches, any great countries, much less the whole world, can any long time be kept from idolatry. And the godly will respect, not only their own city, country, and time, and the health of men of their age, but be careful for all places and times, and the salvation of men of all ages. At the least, they will not lay such stumblingblocks and snares for the feet of other countrymen and ages, which experience hath already proved to have been the ruin of the world.

Wherefore I make a general conclusion of all that I have hitherto said: if the stumblingblocks and poisons of men's souls, by setting up of images, will be many, yea, infinite, if they be suffered, and the warnings of the same[b] stumblingblocks, and remedies for the said poisons by preaching but few, as is already declared; if the stumblingblocks be easy to be laid, the poisons soon provided, and the warnings and remedies hard to know, or come by; if the stumblingblocks lie continually in the way, and poison be ready at hand everywhere, and warnings and remedies but seldom given; and if all men be more ready of themselves to stumble and be offended, than to be warned; all men more ready to drink of the poison, than to taste of the remedy,—as is before partly, and shall hereafter more fully be declared;—and so, in fine, the poison continually and deeply drunk of many, the remedy seldom and faintly tasted of a few; how can it be but that[c] infinite of the weak and infirm shall be offended,

[a] of] and 1587, 1595.
[b] same] said 1563.
[c] that] *wanting* 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

infinite by ruin shall break their necks, infinite by deadly venom be poisoned in their souls? And how is the charity of God, or love of[d] our neighbour in our hearts then, if when we may remove such dangerous stumblingblocks, such pestilent poisons, we will not remove them? What shall I say of them which will lay stumblingblocks where before was[e] none, and set snares for the feet, nay for the souls of weak[f] and simple ones, and work the danger of their eternal ruin[g] for whom our Saviour Christ[h] shed his precious[i] blood? Where better it were that the arts of painting, plastering, carving, graving, and founding, had never been found nor used, than one of them, whose souls in the sight of God are so precious, should by occasion of image or picture perish and be lost. And thus is it declared, that preaching cannot possibly stay idolatry, if images be set up publicly in temples and churches. And as true is it, that no other remedy, as writing against idolatry, councils assembled, decrees made against it, severe laws likewise, and proclamations of princes and emperors, neither extreme punishments and penalties, nor any other remedy, could or can be possibly devised for the avoiding of idolatry, if images be publicly set up and suffered.

For concerning writing against images, and idolatry to them committed, there hath been alleged unto you, in the second part of this treatise, a great many of[k] places out of Tertullian, Origen, Lactantius, St Augustin, Epiphanius, St Ambrose, Clemens, and divers other learned and holy bishops and doctors of the church. And besides these, all histories ecclesiastical, and books of other godly and learned bishops and doctors, are full of notable examples and sentences against images, and the worshipping of them. And as they have most earnestly written, so did they sincerely and most diligently in their time teach and preach according to their writings and examples. For they were then preaching bishops, and more often seen in pulpits than in princes' palaces; more often occupied in his legacy who said, *Go ye into the whole world, and preach the gospel to all men,* than in embassages, and affairs of princes of this world. And [Mark xvi. 15.]

[d] of] to 1587, 1595.

[e] before was] before there was 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[f] of weak] of the weak 1587, 1595.

[g] eternal ruin] everlasting destruction 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[h] Christ] Jesus Christ, 1587, 1595.

[i] his precious] his most precious 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[k] of] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

as they were most zealous and diligent, so were they of excellent learning and godliness of life; and by both of great authority and credit with the people, and so of more force and likelihood to persuade the people, and the people more like to believe and follow their doctrine. But if their preachings could not help, much less could their writings, which do but come to the knowledge of a few that be learned, in comparison to continual preaching, whereof the whole multitude is partaker. Neither did the old fathers, bishops, and doctors, severally only by preaching and writing, but also together, great numbers of them assembled in synods and councils, make decrees and ecclesiastical laws against images, and the worshipping of them; neither did they so once or twice, but divers times, and in divers ages and countries, assembled synods and councils, and made severe decrees against images, and worshipping of them; as hath been at large in the second part of this homily before declared. But all their writing, preaching, assembling in councils, decreeing and making of laws ecclesiastical, could nothing help, either[l] to pull down images[m], to whom idolatry was committed, or against idolatry whilst images stood. For those blind books and dumb schoolmasters, I mean images and idols,—for they call them laymen's books and schoolmasters,—by their carved and painted writings, teaching and preaching idolatry, prevailed against all their written books, and preaching with lively voice, as they call it. Well, if preaching and writing could not keep men from worshipping of images and idolatry, if pens[n] and words could not do it, you would think that penalty and swords[o] might do it: I mean, that princes by severe laws and punishments might stay this unbridled affection of all men to idolatry, though images were set up and suffered. But experience proveth that this can no more help against idolatry, than writing and preaching. For christian emperors,—whose authority ought of reason, and by God's law, to be greatest,—above eight in number, and six of them successively reigning one after another, (as is[p] in the histories before rehearsed,) making most severe laws and proclamations against idols and idolatry, images and the wor-

[l] either] neither 1595.
[m] images] image 1595.
[n] pens] pen 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[o] swords] sword 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[p] is] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

shipping of images; and executing most grievous punishments, yea, the penalty of death, upon the maintainers of images, and upon idolaters and image-worshippers, could not bring to pass, that either images once set up might throughly be destroyed, or that men should refrain from the worshipping of them, being set up. And what think you then will come to pass, if men of learning should teach the people to make them, and should maintain the setting up of them, as things necessary in religion?

To conclude: it appeareth evidently by all stories and writings[q], and experience of[r] times past, that neither preaching, neither[s] writing, neither the consent of the learned, nor authority of the godly, nor the decrees of councils, neither the laws of princes, nor extreme punishments of the offenders in that behalf, nor no[t] other remedy or means, can help against idolatry, if images be suffered publicly. And it is truly said, that times past are schoolmasters of wisdom to us that follow and live after. Therefore, if in times past the virtuest[u] and best learned, the most diligent also, and in number almost infinite, ancient fathers, bishops, and doctors, with their writing, preaching, industry, earnestness, authority, assemblies, and councils, could do nothing against images and idolatry, to images once set up; what can we, neither in learning, nor holiness of life, neither in diligence, neither authority, to be compared with them, but men in contempt, and of no estimation,—as the world goeth now,—a few also in number, in so great a multitude and malice of men; what can we do, I say, or bring to pass, to the stay of idolatry or worshipping of images, if they be allowed to stand publicly in temples and churches? And if so many, so mighty emperors, by so severe laws and proclamations, so rigorous and extreme punishments and executions, could not stay the people from setting up and worshipping of images; what will ensue, think you, when men shall commend them as necessary books of the laymen? Let us therefore of these latter days learn this lesson of the experience of ancient[x] antiquity, that idolatry cannot possibly be separated from images any long time: but that as an unseparable accident, or as a shadow followeth the body, when

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[q] writings] writing 1563.
[r] of] in 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[s] neither] nor 1587, 1595.
[t] no] any, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[u] virtuest] most virtuous 1623.
[x] ancient] the ancient 1563.

the sun shineth; so idolatry followeth and cleaveth to the public having of images in temples and churches. And finally, as idolatry is to be abhorred and avoided, so are images—which cannot be long without idolatry—to be put away and destroyed. Besides the which experiments and proofs[y] of times before, the very nature and origin of images themselves draweth to idolatry most violently, and man's[z] nature and inclination also is bent to idolatry so vehemently, that it is not possible to sever or part images, nor to keep men from idolatry, if images be suffered publicly.

That I speak of the nature and origin of images is this: even as the first invention of them is naught, and no good can come of that which had an evil beginning, for they be altogether naught, as Athanasius[1], in his book against the Gentiles, declareth, and St Jerome[2] also upon the prophet Jeremy, the sixth chapter, and Eusebius[3], the seventh book of his Ecclesiastical History, the eighteenth chapter, testifieth, that as they first came from the Gentiles, which were idolaters and worshippers of images, unto us; and as the invention of them was the beginning of spiritual fornication, as the word of God testifieth, [Wisd. xiv. 12.] (Sap. xiv.) so will they naturally, as it were and[a] of necessity, turn to their origin from whence they came, and draw us with [Wisd. xiv. 15.] them most violently to idolatry, abominable to God, and all godly men. For if the origin of images, and worshipping of them, as it is recorded in the eighth chapter of the book of Wisdom, began of a blind love of a fond father, framing for his comfort an image of his son, being dead, and so at the[b] last men fell to the worshipping of the image of him whom they did know to be dead; how much more will men and women fall to the worshipping of the images of God, our Saviour Christ, and his saints, if they be suffered to stand in churches and temples publicly? For the greater the opinion is of the majesty and holiness of the person to whom an image is made, the sooner will the people fall to the worshipping of the said images[c]. Wherefore the images of God,

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[y] proofs] proof 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[z] man's] men's 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[a] and] *wanting* 1623.
[b] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[c] images] image, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

1 [See above, p. 185.]
2 [See above, p. 193.]
3 [See above, p. 194.]

our Saviour Christ, the blessed virgin Mary, the apostles, martyrs, and other of notable holiness, are of all other images most dangerous for the peril of idolatry; and therefore greatest heed to be taken that none of them be suffered to stand publicly in churches and temples. For there is no great dread lest any should fall to the worshipping of the images of Annas, Caiaphas, Pilate, or Judas the traitor, if they were set up. But to the other, it is already at full proved, that idolatry hath been, is, and is most like continually to be committed.

Now, as was before touched, and is here more[d] largely to be declared, the nature of man is none otherwise bent to worshipping of images, if he may have them, and see them, than it is bent to whoredom and adultery in the company of harlots. And as unto a man given to the lust of the flesh, seeing a wanton harlot, sitting by her, and embracing her, it profiteth little for one to say, *Beware of fornication; God will condemn fornicators and adulterers:*—for neither will he, being overcome with greater enticements of the strumpet, give ear, or take heed to such godly admonitions; and when he is left afterwards alone with the harlot, nothing can follow but wickedness:—even so, suffer images to be set[e] in the churches and temples, ye shall in vain bid them *beware of images,* as St John doth, and flee idolatry, as all the Scriptures warn us; ye shall in vain preach and teach them against idolatry. For a number will notwithstanding fall headlongs[f] unto it, what by the nature of images, and by[g] the inclination of their own corrupt nature. Wherefore, as a[h] man given to lust, to sit down by a strumpet, is to tempt God; so is it likewise to erect an idol in this proneness of man's nature to idolatry, nothing but a tempting. Now if any will say that this similitude proveth nothing; yet I pray them let the word of God, out of the which the similitude is taken, prove something. Doth not the word of God call idolatry spiritual *fornication?* Doth it not call a gilt or painted idol, or image, *a strumpet with a painted face?* Be not the spiritual wickedness[i] of an idol's en-

1 Cor. vi. [9, 10.] 1 Thess. iv. [3.] Hebr. xiii. [4.]

1 John v. [21]

Lev. xvii. [7.] & xx. [3.] Numb. xxv. [2.] Deut. xxx. [16.] Baruch vi. [9, 39.]

[d] more] most 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[e] to be set] to be in sight 1563, to be set up, 1587, 1595.

[f] headlongs] headlong 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[g] by] what by 1623.

[h] as a] as for a, 1623.

[i] wickedness] wickednesses 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

ticing like the flatteries of a wanton harlot? Be not men and women as prone to spiritual fornication, I mean idolatry, as to[k] carnal fornication? If this be denied, let all[l] nations upon the earth, which have been idolaters,—as by all stories[m] appeareth,—prove it true. Let the Jews and the people of God, which were so often and so earnestly warned, so dreadfully threatened, concerning images and idolatry, and so extremely punished therefor, and yet fell unto[n] it, prove it to be true; as in almost all the books of the old Testament, namely, the Kings, and the Chronicles, and the prophets, it appeareth most evidently. Let all ages and times, and men of all ages and times, of all degrees and conditions, wise men, learned men, princes, idiots, unlearned, and commonalty, prove it to be true. If you require examples: for wise men, ye have the Egyptians, and the Indian Gymnosophists, the wisest men of the world; you have Solomon, the wisest of all other; for learned men, the Greeks, and namely the Athenians, exceeding all other nations in superstition and idolatry, as in the history of the Acts of the Apostles St Paul chargeth them: for princes and governors, you have the Romans, the rulers of the roast, as they say; you have the same forenamed king Solomon, and all the kings of Israel and Judah after him, saving David, Hezekiah, and Josiah, and one or two more. All these, I say, and infinite others, wise, learned princes and governors, being all idolaters[o], have you for examples and a proof of men's inclination to idolatry. That I may pass over with silence, in the mean time, infinite multitudes and millions of idiots and unlearned, the ignorant and gross people, *like unto horses and mules, in whom is no understanding*, whose peril and danger to fall on heaps to idolatry by occasion of images, the Scriptures specially foreshew and give warning of. And indeed how should the unlearned, simple, and foolish scape the nets and snares of idols and images, in the which the wisest and the[p] best learned have been so entangled, trapped, and wrapped? Wherefore the argument holdeth this ground sure, that men be as inclined[q] of their corrupt nature to spiritual fornication,

Acts xvii. [16.] Rom. i. [23.]

Psal. xxxii. [9.]

Wisd. xiii. [17—19.] & xiv. [1, 27.]

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[k] to] the 1595.
[l] all] all the 1587, 1595.
[m] stories] histories 1587, 1595.
[n] unto] into 1623.
[o] being all idolaters] being all idolatrous 1587, 1595.
[p] the] *wanting* 1563.
[q] as inclined] as much inclined 1587, 1595.

as to carnal; which the wisdom of God foreseeing, to the general prohibition, *that none should make to themselves any image or similitude*, addeth a cause depending of man's corrupt nature:—*Lest*, saith God, *thou, being deceived with error, honour and worship them.* And of this ground of man's corrupt inclination, as well to spiritual fornication as to carnal, it must needs follow, that as it is the duty of the godly magistrate, loving honesty and hating whoredom, to remove all strumpets and harlots, specially out of places notoriously suspected, or resorted unto of naughty packs[r], for the avoiding of carnal fornication; so it is[s] the duty of the same godly magistrate, after the examples of the godly kings, Hezekiah and Josiah, to drive away all spiritual harlots, I mean idols and images, specially[t] out of suspected places, churches, and temples, dangerous for idolatry to be committed to images placed there, as it were in the appointed place and height of honour and worship, as St Augustine[1] saith, where the living God only, and not dead stones and[u] stocks, is to be worshipped: it is, I say, the office of godly magistrates likewise to avoid images and idols out of churches and temples, as spiritual harlots out of suspected places for the avoiding of idolatry, which is spiritual fornication. And as he were the enemy of all honesty, that should[x] bring strumpets and harlots out of their secret corners into the public market-place, there freely to dwell and occupy[y] their filthy merchandise; so is he the enemy of the true worshipping of God that bringeth idols and images into the temple and church, the house of God, there openly to be worshipped, and to spoil the jealous[z] God of his honour, who will not give it to any other, nor his glory to carved[a] images; who is as much forsaken, and the bond of love between man and him as much broken by idolatry, which is spiritual fornication, as is the knot and bond of marriage broken by carnal fornication.

Deut. iv. [16, 19.]

August. in Psal. xxxvi. et cxiii. et Lib. iv. cap. iii. de Civ. Dei.

Let all this be taken as a lie, if the word of God enforce[b] it not to be true. *Cursed be the man*, saith God in Deuteronomy, *that maketh a carved*[a] *or molten image, and*

Deut. xxvii. [15.]

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r naughty packs] noughtipackes 1563.
s it is] is it 1563.
t specially] especially 1623.
u and] nor 1563.
x should] would 1563.
y occupy] practise 1623.
z jealous] zealous 1563.
a carved] carven 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
b enforce] force 1587, 1595.

1 [Enarrat. in Psalm. cxiii. Serm. II. § 3: See above, p. 192.]

placeth it in a secret corner: and all the people shall say, Amen. Thus saith God; for at that time no man durst have or worship images openly, but in corners only[c]: and the whole world being the great temple of God, he that in any corner thereof robbeth God of his glory, and giveth it to stocks and stones, is pronounced by God's word accursed. Now he that will bring these spiritual harlots out of their lurking corners, into public churches and temples, that spiritual fornication may there openly of all men and women without shame be committed with them, no doubt that person is cursed of God, and twice cursed, and all good and godly men and women will say, *Amen;* and their *Amen* will take effect also. Yea, and furthermore the madness of all men professing the religion of Christ, now by the space of a sort of hundred[d] years, and yet even in our time in so great light of the gospel, very many running on heaps by sea and land, to the great loss of their time, expense, and waste of their goods, destitution of their wives, children, and families, and danger of their own bodies and lives, to Compostella, Rome, Jerusalem, and other far countries, to visit dumb and dead stocks and stones, doth sufficiently prove the proneness of man's corrupt nature to the seeking of idols once set up, and the worshipping of them. And thus as well by the origin and nature of idols and images themselves, as by the proneness and inclination of man's corrupt nature to idolatry, it is evident, that neither images, if they be publicly set up, can be separated, nor men, if they see images in temples and churches, can be stayed and kept from idolatry.

Now whereas they yet allege, that howsoever the people, princes, learned, and wise, of old time, have[e] fallen into idolatry by occasion of images, that yet in our time the most part, specially the learned, wise, and of any authority, take no hurt nor offence by idols and images, neither do run into far countries to them, and worship them; and that they know well what an idol or image is, and how to be used; and that therefore it followeth, images in churches and temples to be an indifferent thing, as the which of some is not abused, and that therefore they may justly hold—as was in the beginning of this part by them alleged—that it is not unlawful or wicked, absolutely to

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[c] only] openly 1587, 1595.
[d] of hundred] of an hundred 1587, 1595.
[e] have] hath, 1595.

have images in churches and temples, though it may, for the danger of the simple sort, seem to be not altogether expedient. Whereunto may be well replied, that Solomon also, the wisest of all[f] men, did well know what an idol or image was, and neither took any harm thereof a great while himself, and also with his godly writings armed others against the danger of them. But yet afterward the same Solomon suffering his wanton paramours to bring their idols into his court and palace, was by carnal harlots persuaded, and brought at the last to the committing of spiritual fornication with idols; and, of the wisest and godliest prince, became the most foolishest and wickedest also. Wherefore it is better even for the wisest to regard this warning, *He that loveth danger shall perish therein:* and, *Let him that standeth beware lest he fall*[g], rather than wittingly and willingly to lay such a stumblingblock for his own feet and others, that may perhaps bring at last to break neck[h]. The good king Hezekiah did know well enough that the brazen serpent was but a dead image, and therefore he took no hurt himself thereby through idolatry to it. Did he therefore let it stand, because himself took no hurt thereof? No, not so: but being a good king, and therefore regarding the health of his silly subjects, deceived by that image, and committing idolatry thereto, he did not only take it down, but also brake it to[i] pieces; and this he did to that image that was set up by the commandment of God, in the presence whereof great miracles were wrought; as that which was a figure of our Saviour Christ to come, who should deliver us from the mortal sting of the old serpent, Satan. Neither did he spare it in respect of the ancientness or antiquity of it, which had continued above seven hundred years; nor for that it had been suffered, and preserved by so many godly kings before his time. How, think you, would that godly prince, if he were now living, handle our idols, set up against God's commandment directly; and being figures of nothing but folly, and for fools to gaze on, till they become as wise as the blocks themselves which they stare on, and so fall down as dared larks in that gaze; and being themselves alive, worship a dead stock or stone, gold or silver, and so become idolaters, abominable and cursed

Wisd. xiii. & xiv.

Eccius. iii. [26. & xiii. 13.]

1 Cor. x. [12.]

2 Kings xviii. [4.]

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[f] all] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[g] lest he fall] he fall not 1563.

[h] break neck] break the neck 1595.

[i] to] in 1587, 1595.

before the living God; giving the honour due unto him which made them when they were nothing, and to our Saviour Christ, who redeemed them being lost, to the dead and dumb idol, the work of man's hand, which never did nor can do any thing for them, no, is not able to stir, nor once to move, and therefore worse than a vile worm, which can move and creep? The excellent king Josiah also did take himself no hurt of images and idols, for he did know well what they were. Did he therefore, because of his own knowledge, let idols and images stand? Much less did he set any up: or rather did he not by his knowledge and authority also succour the ignorance of such as did not know what they were, by utter taking away of[k] all such stumblingblocks as might be occasion of ruin to his people and subjects? Will they, because a few took no hurt by images or idols, break the general law of God, *Thou shalt make to thee no similitude*, &c.? [Exod. xx. 4.] They might as well, because Moses was not seduced by Jethro's daughter, nor Booz by Ruth, being strangers, reason that all the Jews might break the general law of God, forbidding his people to join their children in marriage with strangers, lest they seduce their children that they should not follow God. Wherefore they which thus reason, though it be not expedient, yet it is lawful to have images publicly, and do prove that lawfulness by a few picked and chosen men; if they object that indifferently to all men, which a very few can have without hurt and offence, they seem to take the multitude for vile souls, as he saith in Virgil[2], of whose loss and[l] safeguard no reputation is to be had, for whom yet Christ paid as dearly, as for the mightiest prince[m], or the wisest and best learned in the earth. And they that will have it generally to be taken for indifferent, that[n] a very few take no hurt of it, though infinite multitudes beside[o] perish thereby, shew that they put little difference between the multitude of Christians and brute beasts, whose danger they do so little esteem. Besides this, if they be bishops, or parsons, or otherwise having charge of men's consciences, that thus reason, 'It is lawful to have

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[k] of] *wanting* 1595.
[l] and] or 1563.
[m] prince] princes 1563.
[n] that] for that 1563.
[o] beside] besides 1563, 1595.

[2] [Æn. I. 149: 'ignobile vulgus.']

images publicly, though it be not expedient,' what manner of pastors shew they themselves to be to their flock, which thrust unto them that which they themselves confess not to be expedient for them, but to the utter ruin of the souls committed to their charge, for whom they shall give a strait account before the Prince of pastors at the last day? For indeed to object to the weak, and ready to fall of themselves, such stumblingblocks, is a thing not only not expedient, but unlawful; yea, and most wicked also. Wherefore it is to be wondered how they can call images, set up in churches and temples to no profit or benefit of any, and to so great peril and danger, yea, hurt and destruction of many or rather infinite, things indifferent. Is not the public setting up of them rather a snare for all men, and the tempting of God? I beseech these reasoners to call to mind their own accustomed ordinance and decree whereby they determined that the Scripture, though by God himself commanded to be known of all men, women, and children, should not be read of the simple, nor had in the vulgar tongue; for that, as they said, it was dangerous, by bringing the simple people into errors. And will they not forbid images to be set up in churches and temples, which are not commanded, but forbidden most straitly by God, but let them still be there, yea, and maintain them also, seeing the people are brought not in danger only, but indeed into most abominable errors[p] and detestable idolatry thereby? Shall God's word, by God commanded to be read unto all, and known of all, for danger of heresy, as they say, be shut up? And idols and images, notwithstanding they be forbidden by God, and notwithstanding the danger of idolatry by them, shall they yet be set up, suffered, and maintained in churches and temples? O worldly and fleshly wisdom, ever[q] bent to maintain the inventions and traditions of men by carnal reason, and by the same to disannul or deface the holy ordinances, laws, and honour of the eternal God, who is to be honoured and praised for ever. *Amen.*

Deut. xxxi. [11, 12.]

Now it remaineth for the conclusion of this treaty[r], to declare as well the abuse of churches and temples, by too costly and sumptuous decking and adorning of them, as[s] also

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[p] errors] error 1563.
[q] ever] even 1582, 1587, 1595.
[r] treaty] treatise 1587, 1595.
[s] as] and 1563.

the lewd painting, gilding, and clothing of idols and images, and so to conclude the whole treaty.

Tertull. Apol. cap. xxxix.

In Tertullian's time, an hundred and threescore years after Christ, Christians had none other temples[1] but common houses, whither they for the most part secretly resorted. And so far off was it that they had before his time any goodly or gorgeous-decked temples, that laws[2] were made in Antoninus[t] Verus, and Commodus the emperors' times, that no Christians should dwell in houses, come in public baths, or be seen in the streets, or anywhere abroad; and that, if they were once accused to be Christians, they should by no means be suffered to escape. As was practised in[u] Apollonius[3], a noble senator of Rome, who being accused of his own bondman and slave that he was a Christian, could neither by his defence and apology, learnedly and eloquently written and read publicly in the senate; nor in respect that he was a citizen, nor for the dignity of his order; nor for the vileness and unlawfulness of his accuser, being his own slave, by likelihood of malice moved to forge lies against his lord; nor for no other respect or help, could be delivered from death. So that Christians were then[x] driven to dwell in caves and dens: so far off was it that they had any public temples adorned and decked as they now be. Which is here rehearsed to the confutation of those impudent shameless liars[y], which report such glorious glossed fables of the goodly[z] and gorgeous temples, that St Peter, Linus, Cletus, and those thirty bishops their successors had at Rome, until the time of the emperor Constantine; and which St Polycarp should have in Asia, or Irenæus in France: by such lies, contrary to all true histories, to maintain the superfluous gilding and decking

Euseb. Lib. v. Eccl. Hist.

Hieronymus.

[t] Antoninus] Antonius 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[u] in] on 1582, 1623.

[x] then] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[y] of those impudent shameless liars] *wanting* 1623.

[z] goodly] godly 1563.

[1] ["Temples," in the heathen sense: for the passage cited in the margin from Tertullian implies, and other parts of his writings shew, that Christians had their definite places of worship. See Bingham's Antiquities, Book VIII. chap. I. sect. 13. et seqq.]

[2] [Euseb. Hist. Lib. v. c. 1, Rufino Interprete, ed. Basil. 1544: also Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. p. 99.]

[3] [Vid. Hieronym. Catalog. Scriptor. Eccles. § XLII: Opp. Tom. IV. Part II. col. 114.]

of temples now-a-days, wherein they put almost the whole sum and pith of our religion. But in those times the world was won to christendom, not by gorgeous, gilded[a], and painted temples of Christians, which had scarcely houses to dwell in; but by the godly, and, as it were, golden minds and firm faith of such as in all adversity and persecution professed the truth of our religion. And after these times in Maximian and Constantius the emperors'[1] proclamation, the places where Christians resorted to public prayer, were called "conventicles." And in Galerius Maximinus[2] the emperor's epistle, they are called *oratories* and *dominica*, to say, places dedicate to the service of the Lord. And here by the way, it is to be noted, that at that time there were no churches or temples erected unto any saint, but to God only, as St Augustine also[3] recordeth, saying, "We build no temples unto our martyrs." And Eusebius himself calleth[4] churches, houses of prayer, and sheweth[5] that in Constantine the emperor's time, all men rejoiced, seeing, instead of low conventicles, which tyrants had destroyed, high temples to be builded. Lo, unto[b] the time of Constantine, by the space of above three hundred years after our Saviour Christ, when christian religion was most pure, and indeed golden, Christians had but low and poor conventicles, and simple oratories, yea, caves under the ground, called *cryptæ*, where they for fear of persecution assembled secretly together. A figure whereof remaineth in the vaults which yet are builded under great

Euseb. Lib. viii. cap. xix. et Lib. ix. cap. ix.

De Civ. Lib. viii. cap. i.

Cryptæ.

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[a] gilded] gilted 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[b] unto] until 1563.

[1] [Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. VIII. c. 19; Rufin. interpret. p. 198: "conventicula in quibus orare consueverunt." The Greek of Eusebius, who translated from the Latin, is as follows: *τοὺς οἴκους ἐν οἷς συνήγοντο.* See the edict in the original Latin in Lactantius, de Mort. Persecutor. c. 34; Opp. p. 558, ed. Cantab. 1685.]

[2] [Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. IX. c. 9; Rufin. interp. 209. In the edict as given by Eusebius, the term *κυριακὰ* only occurs: but in Lib. X. c. 3, he speaks of the new-built *προσευκτήρια*, or 'oratories.']

[3] [De Civitate Dei, Lib. XXII. c. 10. See above, p. 191.]

[4] [*Προσευκτήρια* as above, and *οἶκοι εὐκτήριοι*, in Vita Constantini, Lib. III. c. 48.]

[5] ["Αλεκτος παρῆν εὐφροσύνη, καί τις ἔνθεος ἅπασιν ἐπήνθει χαρὰ, πάντα τόπον τὸν πρὸ μικροῦ ταῖς τῶν τυράννων δυσσεβείας ἠρειπωμένον, ὥσπερ ἐκ μακρᾶς καὶ θανατηφόρου λύμης ἀναβιώσκοντα θεωμένοις, νεώς τε αὖθις ἐκ βάθρων εἰς ὕψος ἄπειρον ἐγειρομένους, κ. τ. λ. Hist. Eccl. Lib. X. c. 2.]

churches, to put us in remembrance of the old state of the primitive church before Constantine: whereas in Constantine's time, and after him, were builded great and goodly temples for Christians, called *basilicæ*[1]; either for that the Greeks used to call all great and goodly places *basilicas*, or for that the high and everlasting King, God and our Saviour Christ, was served in them. But although Constantine, and other princes, of good zeal to our religion, did sumptuously deck and adorn Christians' temples, yet did they dedicate at that time all churches and[c] temples to God, or our Saviour Christ, and to no saint; for that abuse began long after in Justinian's time[2]. And that gorgeousness then used, as it was borne with, as rising of a good zeal; so was it signified of the godly learned even at that time, that such cost might otherwise have been better bestowed. Let St Jerome—although otherwise too great a [liker[d]] and allower of external and outward things—be a proof hereof, who hath these words in his epistle to Demetriades: "Let other," saith St Jerome,[3] "build churches, cover walls with tables of marble, carry together huge pillars, and gild their tops or heads, which do not feel or understand their precious decking and adorning; let them deck the doors with ivory and silver, and set the golden altars with precious stones; I blame it not; let every man abound in his own sense; and better is it so to do, than carefully to keep their riches laid up in store. But thou

Basilicæ.

Nov. Const. 3. et 67.

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[c] and] or 1563. [d] liker] lyer 1574.

[1] [Ἀνάκτορα. Cf. de Laudibus Constantini, c. 9. In the Life of Constantine (Lib. IV. cc. 58, 59) is a circumstantial account of the church built by the emperor at Constantinople.]

[2] [Although churches were always dedicated to God or to our Saviour, it had long been customary to distinguish them by the names of Saints or of the founders. See Bingham, Bk. VIII. ch. IX. s. 8; Hooker, Eccl. Pol. Bk. v. § 13, ed. Keble.]

[3] [Epist. XCVII. ad Demetriadem: "Alii ædificent ecclesias, vestiant parietes marmorum crustis; columnarum moles advehant, earumque deaurent capita, preciosum ornatum non sentientia, ebore argentoque valvas et gemines aurata distinguant altaria. Non reprehendo, non abnuo. Unusquisque in sensu suo abundet. Meliusque est hoc facere, quam repositis opibus incubare. Sed tibi aliud propositum est: Christum vestire in pauperibus, visitare in languentibus, pascere in esurientibus, suscipere in his qui tecto indigent, et maxime in domesticis fidei." Opp. Tom. IV. Part II. col. 793: ed. Bened. Paris. 1706.]

hast another way appointed thee, to clothe Christ in the poor, to visit him in the sick, feed him in the hungry, lodge him in those who do lack harbour, and *specially*[e] *such as be of the household of faith.*" [Gal. vi. 10.] And the same St Jerome toucheth the same matter somewhat more freely in his treaty of the Life of Clerks to Nepotian[1], saying thus: "Many build walls, and erect pillars of churches; the smooth marbles do glister, the roof shineth with gold, the altar is set with precious stone[f]; but of the ministers of Christ there is no[g] election or choice. Neither let any man object and allege against me the rich temple that was in Jewry, the table, candlesticks, incense, ships, platters, cups, mortars, and other things all of gold. Then were these things allowed of the Lord, when the priests offered sacrifices, and the blood of beasts was accounted the redemption of sins. Howbeit all these things went before in figure, and they *were written for us, upon whom the end of the world is come.*" [1 Cor. x. 11.] And now when that our Lord, being poor, hath dedicate the poverty of his house, let us remember his cross, and we shall esteem riches as mire or[h] dung. What do we marvel at that which Christ calleth wicked mammon? Whereto do we so highly esteem and love that which St Peter doth for a glory testify that he had not?" Hitherto St Jerome.

Thus you[i] see how St Jerome teacheth the sumptuousness amongst the Jews to be a figure to signify, and not an example to follow, and that those outward things were suffered

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[e] specially] especially 1582, 1623.
[f] stone] stones 1582—1623.
[g] no] none 1595.
[h] or] and 1582—1623.
[i] you] ye 1563.

[1] ["Multi ædificant parietes, et columnas ecclesiæ substruunt; marmora nitent, auro splendent laquearia, gemmis altare distinguitur; et ministrorum Christi nulla electio est. Neque vero mihi aliquis opponat dives in Judæa templum, mensam, lucernas, thuribula, patellas, scyphos, mortariola, et cætera ex auro fabrefacta. Tunc hæc probabantur a Domino, quando sacerdotes hostias immolabant, et sanguis pecudum erat redemtio peccatorum. Quamquam hæc omnia præcesserint in figura: *Scripta sunt autem propter nos, in quos fines sæculorum devenerunt.* Nunc vero quum paupertatem domus suæ pauper Dominus dedicarit, cogitemus crucem ejus, et divitias lutum putabimus. Quid miramur, quod Christus vocat iniquum mammona? Quid suspicimus et amamus, quod Petrus se non habere, gloriose testatur?" Epist. xxxiv. ad Nepotianum de vita clericorum: Opp. Tom. iv. Part. ii. col. 263.]

for a time until Christ our Lord came, who turned all those outward things into spirit, faith, and truth. And the same St Jerome, upon the seventh chapter of Jeremiah[2], saith, "God commanded both the Jews at that time, and now us who are placed in the church, that we have no trust in the goodliness of building and gilt roofs, and in walls covered with tables of marble, and say, *The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord*[k]. For that is the temple of the Lord, wherein dwelleth true faith, godly conversation, and the company of all virtues." And upon the prophet Haggai, he describeth the true and right decking or[1] ornaments of the temple after this sort: "I (saith St Jerome[3]) do think the silver, wherewith the house of God is decked, to be the doctrine of the Scriptures, of the which it is spoken, *The doctrine of the Lord is a pure doctrine, silver tried in fire*[m], *purged from dross, purified seven times.* And I do take gold to be that which remaineth in the hid sense of the saints and the secret of the heart and shineth with the true light of God. Which is evident that the Apostle also meant of the saints that build upon the foundation of Christ, some silver, some gold, some precious stones: that by the gold, the hid sense; by silver, godly utterance; by precious stones, works which please God, might be signified. With these

[Jer. vii. 4.]
[Ps. xii. 6.]
[1 Cor. iii. 12.]

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[k] the temple of the Lord] *twice* only 1582—1623.

[l] or] of 1563.

[m] in fire] in the fire 1623.

[2] ["Præcepit autem et tunc populo Judæorum, et hodie nobis qui videmur in ecclesia constituti, ne fiduciam habeamus in ædificiorum splendore, auratisque laquearibus, et vestitis parietibus marmorum crustis, et dicamus: *Templum Domini, Templum Domini, Templum Domini est.* Illud enim Templum Domini est, in quo habitat vera fides, sancta conversatio, omniumque virtutum chorus." In Jerem. c. vii: Opp. Tom. III. col. 564.]

[3] ["Sed ego argentum, quo domus Dei ornatur, existimo eloquia Scripturarum, de quibus dicitur: *Eloquia Domini eloquia casta; argentum igne examinatum, probatum terræ purgatum septuplum;* et aurum quod in occulto sanctorum sensu, et in cordis versatur arcano, et splendet vero lumine Dei. Quod et Apostolum de sanctis, qui super fundamentum Christi ædificant, sensisse perspicuum est, *Aurum, argentum, lapides preciosos:* ut in auro sensus occultus sit, in argento sermo decens, in lapide pretioso opera Deo placentia. His metallis illustrior fit ecclesia Salvatoris, quam quondam synagoga fuerat; his lapidibus vivis ædificatur domus Christi, et pax ei præbetur æterna." In Aggæi Proph. c. ii: Opp. Tom. III. col. 1695.]

metals the church of our Saviour is made more goodly and gorgeous, than was the synagogue in old time. With these *lively stones* is the church and house of Christ builded, and peace is given to it for ever." All thesebe St Jerome's sayings. No more did the old godly bishops and doctors of the church allow the outrageous[n] furniture of temples and churches, with plate, vessels of gold, silver, and precious vestures[o]. St Chrysostom[1] saith, 'in the ministry of the holy sacraments there is no need of golden vessels, but of golden minds.' And St Ambrose[2] saith, "Christ sent his Apostles without gold, and gathered his church without gold. The church hath gold, not to keep it, but to bestow it on the necessities of the poor. The sacraments look for no gold, neither do they please God for the commendation of gold, which are not bought for gold. The adorning and decking of the sacraments is the redemption of captives." Thus much saith St Ambrose[p].

St Jerome[3] commendeth Exuperius, bishop of Tolose, that he carried the sacrament of the Lord's body in a wicker basket, and the sacrament of his blood in a glass, and so cast covetousness out of the church. And Bonifacius[4], bishop and martyr, as it is recorded in the Decrees, testifieth, that in old time the ministers used wooden[q], and not golden vessels. And Zephyrinus[5], the sixteenth bishop of Rome, made a decree, that they should use vessels of glass. Likewise were the

Tit. de consecra. can. Triburien.

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[n] outrageous] oversumptuous 1623.

[o] vestures] vestments 1623.

[p] saith St Ambrose] St Ambrose 1563.

[q] wooden] treen 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[1] [Φύγωμεν τοίνυν τοῦτο τὸ βάραθρον, μηδὲ νομίζωμεν ἀρκεῖν ἡμῖν εἰς σωτηρίαν, εἰ χήρας καὶ ὀρφανοὺς ἀποδύσαντες ποτήριον χρυσοῦν καὶ λιθοκόλλητον προσενέγκωμεν τῇ τραπέζῃ· εἰ γὰρ βούλει τιμῆσαι τὴν θυσίαν, τὴν ψυχὴν προσήνεγκε, δι' ἣν καὶ ἐθύθη. ταῦτην χρυσῆν ποίησον. In Matth. Homil. L. (al. LI.): Opp. Tom. VII. p. 518, A. ed. Bened.]

[2] ["Qui enim sine auro misit Apostolos, Ecclesiam suam sine auro congregavit. Aurum ecclesia habet, non ut servet, sed ut eroget, et subveniat in necessitatibus.... Aurum sacramenta non quærunt, nec in auro placent, quæ auro non emuntur. Ornatus sacramentorum, redemptio captivorum est." De Officiis, Lib. I. c. 28: Opp. Tom. IV. col. 61, D, E: ed. Paris. 1615.]

[3] [Epist. XCV. ad Rusticum Monachum: Opp. Tom. IV. Part. II coll. 777, 778.]

[4] [Vid. Corpus Juris Canon. Decret. de Consecratione, c. 44. col. 1900, ed. Lugduni, 1624.]

[5] [Ibid. col. 1901.]

vestures used in the church in old time very plain and single, and nothing costly. And Rabanus[1] at large declareth, that this costly and manifold furniture of vestments of late used in the church was fet from the Jewish usage, and agreeth with Aaron's apparelling almost altogether. For the maintenance of the which, Innocentius[2] the pope pronounceth boldly, that all the customs of the old law be not abolished, that we might in such apparel, of Christians the more willingly become Jewish. This is noted, not against churches and temples, which are most necessary and ought to have their due use and honour, as is in another homily for that[r] purpose declared; nor against the convenient cleanness[s] and ornaments thereof; but against the sumptuousness and abuses of temples[t] and churches. For it is a church or temple also that glistereth[u] with no marble, shineth with no gold nor silver, glittereth[x] with no pearls nor precious stones, but with plainness and frugality, signifieth no proud doctrine nor people, but humble, frugal, and nothing esteeming earthly and outward things; but gloriously decked with inward ornaments, according as the prophet declareth, saying, *The king's daughter is altogether glorious inwardly.*

Lib. i Inst. cap. 14.

[Ps. xlv. 13.]

Now concerning outrageous[y] decking of images and idols, with painting, gilding, adorning with precious vestures, pearl, and stone, what is it else but for the further provocation and enticement to spiritual fornication, to deck spiritual harlots most costly and wantonly; which the idolatrous church understandeth well enough. For she being indeed not only an harlot, as the scriptures[z] calleth her, but also a foul, filthy, old, withered harlot. For she is indeed of ancient years, and understanding her lack of natural[a] and true beauty, and great loathsomeness which of herself she hath, doth, after the custom of such harlots, paint herself, and deck and tire herself with gold, pearl, stone, and all kind of precious jewels; that she, shining with the outward beauty and glory of them,

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r that] their purpose 1563.
s cleanness] cleanliness 1563.
t of temples] of the temples 1582—1623.
u glistereth] glittereth 1582—1623.
x glittereth] glistereth 1582—1623.
y outrageous] excessive 1623.
z scriptures] scripture 1623.
a natural] nature 1582, 1587, 1595.

1 [De Institutione Clericorum, Lib. I. c. 14 et seqq. p. 318, ed. Colon. 1558.]

2 [Innocent. III. de Mysteriis Missæ, Lib. IV. c. 4.]

may please the foolish phantasy of fond lovers, and so entice them to spiritual fornication with her; who, if they saw her—I will not say naked—but in simple apparel, would abhor her, as the foulest and filthiest harlot that ever was seen: according as appeareth by the description of the garnishing of the great strumpet of all strumpets, the mother of whoredom, set forth by St John in his Revelation, who by her glory provoked the princes of the earth to commit whoredom with her. [Rev. xvii. 2.] Whereas, on the contrary part, the true church of God, as a chaste matron, *espoused*, as the Scripture teacheth, *to one husband, our Saviour Jesus Christ*, whom alone she is content only to please and serve, and looketh not to delight the eyes or phantasies of any other strange lovers or wooers, is content with her natural ornaments, not doubting by such sincere simplicity best to please him, which[b] can well skill of the difference between a painted visage and a[c] true natural beauty. [1 Cor. xi. 2.] And concerning such glorious gilding and decking of images, both God's word written in the tenth chapter of the prophet Jeremiah, and St Jerome's Commentaries upon the same, are most worthy to be noted. First, the words of the Scriptures be these: *The workman with his axe hewed*[d] *the timber out of the wood with the work of his hands; he decked it with gold and silver; he joined it with nails and pins, and*[e] *the stroke of an hammer, that it might hold together. They be made smooth as the palm, and they cannot speak; if they be borne, they remove, for they cannot go. Fear ye them not, for they can neither do evil nor good.* Thus saith the prophet. Upon which text St Jerome[1] hath these words: "This is the description of idols, which the Gentiles worship; their matter is vile and corruptible. And whereas the artificer is mortal, the things he maketh must needs be corruptible. He decketh it with silver and gold, that with glittering[f] or shin- [Jer. x. [3—5.]

[b] which] who 1623.
[c] a] *wanting* 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[d] hewed] heweth 1595.
[e] and] with 1587, 1595.
[f] with glittering] with the glittering 1563—1623.

[1] ["Descriptio idolorum quæ venerantur gentes. Lignum, inquit, de saltu præcidit. Materia ergo idolorum vilis atque corruptibilis; opus manuum artificis. Quum artifex mortalis sit, mortalia ergo et illa quæ fabricatur. Argento et auro decoravit illud, ut fulgore utriusque materiæ decipiat simplices. Qui quidem error ad nos usque transivit, ut religionem in divitiis arbitremur." In Jerem. cap. x; Opp. Tom. III. col. 577.]

ing of both metals he may deceive the simple. Which error indeed hath passed over from the Gentiles, that we should judge religion to stand in riches." And by and by after he[1] saith, "They have the beauty of metals, and be[g] beautified by the art of painting; but good or profit is there none in them." And shortly after again[2], "They make great promises, and devise an image of vain worshipping of their own phantasies; they make great brags to deceive every simple body; they dull and amaze the understanding of the unlearned, as it were with golden senses[h], and eloquence, shining with the brightness of silver. And of their own devisers and makers are these images advanced [and][i] magnified, in the which is no utility and[k] profit at all, and the worshipping of the which properly pertaineth to the Gentiles and heathen, and such as know not God."

Thus far of St Jerome's words. Whereupon you may note as well his judgment of images themselves, as also of the painting, gilding, and decking of them; that it is an error which came from the Gentiles; that it persuadeth religion to remain in riches; that it amazeth and deceiveth the simple and unlearned with golden senses[h], and silver-shining eloquence; and that it appertaineth properly to the Gentiles and heathens, and such as know not God. Wherefore the having, painting, gilding, and decking of images, by St Jerome's judgment, is erroneous, seducing and bringing into error, specially the simple and unlearned, heathenish, and void of the knowledge of God. Surely the prophet Daniel, in the eleventh chapter, declareth such sumptuous decking of images with gold, silver, and precious stones, to be a token of antichrist's kingdom, who, as the prophet foresheweth, shall worship God with

Dan. xi. [37, 38.]

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g be] *wanting* 1595.
h senses] sentences 1587, 1595, 1623.
i and] nor 1574.
k and] nor 1563, 1587, 1595, 1623.

1 ["In similitudinem palmæ fabricata, habent pulchritudinem metallorum et picturæ arte decorata sunt, sed utilitatem non possident qua præbeant aliquos fructus artifici." col. 587.]

2 ["Et ipsi enim ingentia pollicentur, et simulacrum vani cultus de suo corde confingunt. Jactant grandia et ad decipiendos simplices quosque, quasi aureis sensibus et eloquiis argenti splendore fulgentibus, imperitorum obstringunt aciem, et a suis inventoribus sublimantur, in quibus nulla est utilitas, et quorum cultura proprie gentium est, et eorum qui ignorant Deum." Ibid.]

such gorgeous things. Now usually such outrageous[1] adorning and decking of images hath risen and been maintained, either of offerings provoked by superstition and given in idolatry; or of spoils, robberies, usury, or goods otherwise unjustly gotten, whereof wicked men have given part to the images or saints, as they call them, that they might be pardoned of the whole: as of divers writings and old monuments concerning the cause and end of certain great gifts, may well appear. And indeed such money, so wickedly gotten, is most meet to be put to so wicked a use[m]. And that which they take to be amends for the whole before God, is more abominable in his sight than both the wicked getting, and the more wicked spending of all the rest. For how the Lord alloweth such gifts, he declareth evidently in the prophet Isaiah, saying, *I* (saith the Lord) *do love judgment, and I hate spoil and raveny offered in sacrifice:* which the very Gentiles understood. For Plato[2] sheweth, "that such men as suppose that God doth pardon wicked men, if they give part of their spoils and rapine[n] to him, take him to be like a dog, that would be entreated and hired with part of the prey, to suffer the wolves to worry[o] the sheep." And in case the goods, wherewith images[p] be decked, were justly gotten, yet it is[q] extreme madness so foolishly and wickedly to bestow goods[r] purchased by wisdom and truth. Of such lewdness Lactantius[3] writeth thus: "Men do in vain deck images of the gods with gold, ivory, and precious stone, as though they could take any pleasure in those[s] things. For what use have they of precious gifts, which understand nor feel nothing? Even

Isai. lxi. [8.]

Dial. de Leg. x.

Lib. ii. Inst. cap. 4.

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[1] outrageous] excessive 1623.

[m] a use] an use 1582.

[n] rapine] ravine 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[o] worry] werry 1563, weary 1582, 1587.

[p] wherewith images] wherewith the images 1587, 1595.

[q] yet it is] yet is it 1563.

[r] goods] goodness 1587, 1595.

[s] in those] of these 1563, of those 1582, 1587, 1595.

[2] [De Legibus, Lib. x. Opp. p. 959, B; ed. Francof. 1602.]

[3] ["Frustra igitur homines auro, ebore, gemmis deos excolunt, et exornant; quasi vero ex his rebus ullam possint capere voluptatem. Quis usus est pretiosorum munerum nihil sentientibus? An ille, qui mortuis? pari enim ratione defunctorum corpora odoribus, ac pretiosis vestibus illita, et convoluta humi condunt; qui neque, cum fierent, sentiebant; neque, cum coluntur, sciunt; nec enim sensum consecratione sumpserunt." Instit. Lib. II. de Origine Erroris, c. 4. Opp. p. 71, ed. Cantab. 1685.]

the same that dead men have. For with like reason do they bury dead bodies, farced with spices and odours, and clothed with precious vestures, and deck images, which neither felt nor[t] knew when they were made, nor understand when they be honoured, for they get no sense and understanding by their consecration." Thus far Lactantius, and much more, too long here to rehearse, declaring that as little girls play with little puppets, so be these decked images great puppets for old fools[u] to play with. And that we may know what, not only men of our religion, but ethnics also, judge of such decking of dead images, it is not unprofitable to hear what Seneca, a wise and excellent learned senator[x] of Rome, and philosopher, saith concerning the foolishness of ancient and grave men, used in his time in worshipping and decking of images: "We (saith Seneca[1]) be not twice children, as the common saying is, but always children: but this is the difference, that we being elder, play the children: and in these plays they bring in before great and well-decked puppets," (for so he calleth images) "ointments, incense, and odours. To these puppets they offer up sacrifice, which have a mouth, but not the use of teeth. Upon these they put attiring and precious apparel, which have no use of clothes. To these they give gold and silver[y], which they who receive it (meaning the images) lack, as well as they that have given it from them." And Seneca much commendeth Dionysius[2], king of Sicily, for his merry robbing of such decked and jewelled puppets. But you will ask, What doth this appertain to our images, which is written against the idols of the Gentiles? Altogether surely. For what use or pleasure have our images of their decking and precious ornaments? Did our images understand when they

[t] nor] or 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[u] fools] folks 1587, 1595.
[x] senator] doctor 1587, 1595.
[y] silver] *after this word the sentence* have no need of clothes *is by an error repeated in* 1587, 1595.

[1] [Quoted in Lactantius, ubi supra: "Non, inquit, bis pueri sumus (ut vulgo dicitur) sed semper. Verum hoc interest, quod majora nos ludimus. Ergo his ludicris et ornatis et grandibus pupis, et unguenta, et thura, et odores inferunt; his opimas et pingues hostias immolant; quibus est quidem os, sed carens officio dentium: his peplos et indumenta preciosa, quibus usus velaminis nullus est: his aurum et argentum consecrant, quæ tam non habent qui accipiunt, quam qui illa donarunt."]

[2] [Ibid.]

were made? or know when they were so trimmed and decked? Be not these things bestowed upon them as much[z] in vain, as upon dead men which have no sense? Wherefore it followeth, that there is like foolishness and lewdness in decking of our images, as great puppets for old fools, like children, to play the wicked play of idolatry before, as was among[a] the ethnics and Gentiles. Our churches stand full of such great puppets, wondrously decked and adorned; garlands and coronets be set on their heads, precious pearls hanging about their necks; their fingers shine with rings, set with precious stones: their dead and stiff bodies are clothed with garments stiff with gold. You would believe that the images of our men-saints were some princes of Persia[b]-land with their proud apparel, and the idols of our women-saints were nice and well-trimmed harlots, tempting their paramours to wantonness: whereby the saints of God are not honoured, but most dishonoured, and their godliness, soberness, chastity, contempt of riches, and of the vanity of the world, defaced and brought in doubt by such monstrous decking, most differing from their sober and godly lives. And because the whole pageant must thoroughly be played, it is not enough thus to deck idols, but at the last come in the priests themselves, likewise decked with gold and pearl, that they may be meet servants for such lords and ladies, and fit worshippers of such gods and goddesses. And with a solemn pace they pass forth before these golden puppets, and down[c] to the ground on their marrow-bones before these honourable idols; and then rising up again, offer up odours and incense unto them, to give the people an example of double idolatry, by worshipping not only the idol, but the gold also, and riches, wherewith it is garnished. Which things the most part of our old martyrs rather than they would do, or once kneel, or offer up one crumb of incense before an image, suffered most cruel and terrible deaths, as the histories of them at large do declare.

And here again their allegation out of Gregory[1] the first and Damascene[2], that images be the laymen's books, and

Gregor. Epist. ad Seren. Massil. Damas. de Fid. Orth. Lib. iv. cap. 17.

[z] as much] as much as 1587, 1595.
[a] among] amongst 1563.
[b] Persia] Persye 1563, 1582.
[c] and down] and fall down 1582—1623.

[1] [Epist. ad Serenum Massil. Lib. ix. ep. ix. See above, pp. 197, 198.]
[2] [Joan. Damascen. Orthodox. Fidei, Lib. iv. c. 17. See above, p. 221.]

that picture is[d] the scripture of idiots and simple persons, is worthy to be considered. For as it hath been touched in divers places before, how they be books teaching nothing but
[Rom. i. 25.] lies, as by St Paul[e] in the first chapter to the Romans evidently appeareth, of the images of God; so what manner of books and scriptures these painted and gilt images of saints be unto the common people, note well I pray you. For after that our preachers shall have instructed and exhorted the people to the following of the virtues of the saints, as contempt of this world, poverty, soberness, chastity, and such like virtues, which undoubtedly were in the saints; think you, as soon as they turn their faces from the preacher, and look upon the graven books and painted scripture of the glorious gilt images and idols, all shining and glittering with metal and stone, and covered with precious vestures, or else with Chærea in Terence[1], behold a painted table, wherein is set forth by the art of the painter, an image, with a nice and wanton apparel and countenance, more like to Venus or Flora, than Mary Magdalene; or if like to Mary Magdalene, it is when she played the harlot, rather than when she wept for her sins;—when, I say, they turn about from the preacher, to these books and schoolmasters, and painted scriptures, shall they not find them lying books, teaching other manner of lessons, of esteeming of riches, of pride and vanity in apparel, of niceness and wantonness, and peradventure of whoredom, as Chærea of like pictures was taught? And in Lucian[2], one learned of Venus Gnidia a lesson too abominable here to be remembered. Be not these, think you, pretty books and scriptures for simple people, and especially[f] for wives and young maidens to look in, read on, and learn such lessons of? What will they think either of the preacher, who taught them contrary lessons of the saints, and therefore by these carven[g] doctors are charged with a lie, or of the saints themselves, if they believe these graven books and painted scriptures of them, who make the saints, now reigning in heaven with God, to their great dishonour, schoolmasters of such vanity,

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[d] picture is] pictures are 1582—1623.
[e] by St Paul] by the apostle St Paul 1587, 1595.
[f] especially] specially 1563, 1582.
[g] carven] carved 1623.

1 [Eunuch. III. 5, 36.]
2 [Opp. p. 565, ed. Paris. 1615.]

which they in their life-time most abhorred? For what lessons of contempt of riches, and vanity of this world, can such books, so besmeared with gold, set with stone[h], covered with silks, teach? What lessons of soberness and chastity can our women learn of these pictured scriptures, with their nice apparel and wanton looks? But away, for shame, with these coloured cloaks of idolatry: of the books and scriptures of images and pictures to teach idiots, nay, to make idiots and stark fools and beasts, of Christians. Do men, I pray you, when they have the same books at home with them, run on pilgrimage to seek like books at Rome, Compostella, or Jerusalem, to be taught by them, when they have the like to learn of[i] at home? Do men reverence some books, and despise and set light by other of the same sort? Do men kneel before their books, light candles at noon-time, burn incense, offer up gold and silver, and other gifts, to their books? Do men either feign or believe miracles to be wrought by their books? I am sure that the New Testament of our Saviour Jesus Christ, containing the word of life, is a more lively, express, and true image of our Saviour, than all carved, graven, molten, and painted images in the world be; and yet none of all these things be done to that book or Scripture of the gospel of our Saviour, which be done to images and pictures, the books and scriptures of laymen and idiots, as they call them. Wherefore call them what they list, it is most evident by their deeds, that they make of them no other[k] books nor scripture[l], than such as teach most filthy and horrible idolatry, as the users of such books daily prove by continual practising the same[m]. O books and scriptures, in the which the devilish schoolmaster, Satan, hath penned the lewd lessons of wicked idolatry, for his dastardly disciples and scholars to behold, read, and learn, to God's most high dishonour, and their most horrible damnation! Have not we been much bound, think you, to those which should have taught us the truth out of God's book and his holy Scripture, that they have shut up that book and Scripture from us, and none of us so bold as once to open it, or read on it? and instead thereof, to spread us abroad these

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[h] stone] precious stones 1582, 1623, precious stone, 1587, 1595.

[i] to learn of] to learn 1582—1623.

[k] no other] none other 1563.

[l] scripture] scriptures 1563.

[m] the same] of the same 1563.

goodly, carven, and gilten[n] books and painted scriptures, to teach us such good and godly lessons? Have not they done well, after they ceased to stand in pulpits themselves, and to teach the people committed to their instruction, keeping silence of God's word, and become dumb dogs, (as the prophet [Isai. lvi. 10.] calleth them,) to set up in their stead, on every pillar and corner of the church, such goodly doctors, as dumb, but more wicked than themselves be? We need not to complain of the lack of one dumb parson, having so many dumb devilish vicars—I mean these idols and painted puppets—to teach in their stead. Now in the mean season, whilst the dumb and dead idols stand thus decked and clothed, contrary to God's law and commandment, the poor christian people, the lively images of God, commended to us so tenderly by our Saviour Christ, as most dear to him, stand naked, shivering for[o] cold, and their teeth chattering in their heads, and no man covereth them; are pined with hunger and thirst, and no man giveth them a penny to refresh them; whereas, pounds be ready at all times (contrary to God's word and[p] will) to deck and trim dead stocks and stones, which neither feel cold, hunger, ne thirst.

Lib. v. ad Jacob. Dom. Clemens hath a notable sentence concerning this matter, saying thus[1]: "That serpent the devil doth by the mouth of certain men utter these words, *We for the honour of the invi-*

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[n] gilten] gilted 1563, 1587, 1595.
[o] for] with 1595.
[p] word and] *wanting* 1582—1623.

[1] ["Per alios item serpens ille proferre verba hujuscemodi solet, 'Nos ad honorem invisibilis Dei imagines visibiles adoramus;' quod certissime falsum est. Si enim vere velitis Dei imaginem colere, homini benefacientes veram in eo Dei imaginem coleretis. In omni enim homine est imago Dei; non in omnibus vero similitudo, sed ubi benigna anima est, et mens pura. Si ergo vere vultis honorare imaginem Dei nos vobis quod verum est aperimus; ut homini qui ad imaginem Dei factus est benefaciatis; honorem et reverentiam deferatis; esurienti cibum, sitienti poculum, nudo indumentum, ægro ministerium, peregrino hospitium et in carcere posito necessaria ministretis: et hoc est quod vere Deo delatum reputabitur. Hæc autem in tantum ad honorem Dei imaginis cedunt, ut qui ista non fecerit, contumeliam imagini divinæ intulisse credatur. Quis ergo iste honor Dei est, per lapideas et ligneas formas discurrere, et inanes atque exanimes figuras tanquam numina venerari, et hominem, in quo vere imago Dei est spernere?" Clement. Recognitiones ad Jacobum fratrem Domini, Lib. v. c. 23: Apud Coteler. Patres Apostol. Tom. i. p. 546.]

sible God, do worship visible images: which doubtless is most false. For if you will truly honour the image of God, you should, by doing well to man, honour the true image of God, in him. For the image of God is in every man: but the likeness of God is not in every one, but in those only which have a godly heart and pure mind. If you will therefore truly honour the image of God, we do declare to you the truth, that ye do well to man, who is made after the image of God, that you give honour and reverence to him, and refresh the hungry with meat, the thirsty with drink, the naked with clothes, the sick with attendance, the stranger harbourless with lodging, the prisoners with necessaries; and this shall be accounted as truly bestowed upon God. And these things are so directly appertaining to God's honour, that whosoever doth not this shall seem to have reproached and done villany to the image of God. For what honour of God is this, to run to images of stock and stone, and to honour vain and dead figures of God[q], and to despise man, in whom is the true image of God?" And by and by after he[1] saith, "Understand ye therefore that this is the suggestion of the serpent Satan, lurking within you, which persuadeth you that you are godly, when you honour insensible and dead images, and that you be not ungodly, when you hurt or leave unsuccoured the lively and reasonable creatures." All these be the words of Clemens.

Note, I pray you, how this most ancient and learned doctor, within one hundred years of our Saviour Christ's time, most plainly teacheth, that no service of God, or[r] religion acceptable to him, can be in honouring of dead images; but in succouring of the poor, the lively images of God, according to St James, who saith, *This is the pure and true religion before God the Father, to succour fatherless and motherless children, and widows in their affliction, and to keep himself undefiled from this world.* [James i. 27.]

True religion then, and pleasing of God, standeth not in making, setting up, painting, gilding, clothing and decking of dumb and dead images,—which be but great puppets and

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q of God] as God 1563. r or] nor 1587, 1595.

1 ["Intelligite ergo, quia latentis intrinsecus serpentis est ista suggestio, quæ persuadet pios vos videri posse, cum insensibilia colitis; et non videri impios, cum sensibiles et rationabiles læditis." Ibid.]

mawmets[s] for old fools in dotage and wicked idolatry, to dally and play with,—nor in kissing of them, capping, kneeling, offering[t] to them, incensing of them, setting up of candles, hanging up of legs, arms, or whole bodies of wax before them, or praying and asking of them, or of saints, things belonging only to God to give. But all these things be vain and abominable and most damnable before God. Wherefore all such do not only bestow their money and labour in vain; but with their pains and cost purchase to themselves God's wrath and utter indignation, and everlasting damnation both of body and soul. For ye have heard it evidently proved in these homilies against idolatry, by God's word, the doctors of the church, ecclesiastical histories, reason and experience, that images have been and be worshipped, and so idolatry committed to them by infinite multitudes, to the great offence of God's majesty, and danger of infinite souls; and that idolatry cannot possibly be separated from images set up in churches and temples, gilded and decked gorgeously[u], and that therefore our images be indeed very idols, and so all the prohibitions, laws, curses, threatenings of horrible plagues, as well temporal as eternal, contained in the holy Scripture, concerning idols and the makers, maintainers[x], and worshippers of them, appertain also to our images set up in churches and temples, to the makers[y], maintainers, and worshippers of them. And all those names of abomination, which God's word in the holy Scriptures giveth to the idols of the Gentiles, appertain to our images; being idols like to them, and having like idolatry committed unto them. And God's own mouth in the holy Scriptures calleth them vanities, lies, deceits, uncleanliness[z], filthiness, dung, mischief, and abomination before the Lord. Wherefore God's horrible wrath, and our most dreadful danger cannot be avoided, without the destruction and utter abolishing of all such images and idols out of the church and temple of God; which to accomplish, God put in the minds of all Christian princes! And in the mean time, let us take heed and be wise, O ye beloved of the Lord, and let us have no strange gods, but one only God, who

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[s] mawmets] maumentes 1563, maumets 1587, mammets 1595.

[t] kneeling, offering] kneeling and offering 1587, 1595.

[u] gorgeously] gloriously 1623.

[x] maintainers] and maintainers 1623.

[y] to the makers] and to the makers 1582—1623.

[z] uncleanliness] uncleanness 1595, 1623.

made us when we were nothing, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who redeemed us when we were lost, and with his holy Spirit, who doth sanctify us. *For this is life everlasting, to know him to be the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent.* Let us honour and worship for religion sake none but him; and him let us worship and honour as he will himself, and hath declared by his word, that he will be honoured and worshipped; not in nor by images or idols, which he hath most straitly forbidden; neither in kneeling, lighting of candles, burning of incense, offering up of gifts unto images and idols, to believe that we shall please him; for all these be abomination before God: but let us honour and worship God *in spirit and truth*, fearing and loving him above all things, trusting in him only, calling upon him, and praying to him only, praising and lauding of him only, and all other in him, and for him. For such worshippers doth our heavenly Father love, who is the most purest[a] Spirit, and therefore will be worshipped *in spirit and truth.* And such worshippers were Abraham, Moses, David, Elias, Peter, Paul, John, and all other the holy patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, and all true saints of God, who all, as the true friends of God, were enemies and destroyers of images and idols, as the enemies of God and his true religion. Wherefore take heed and be wise, O ye beloved of the Lord, and that which others, contrary to God's word, bestow wickedly, and to their damnation, upon dead stocks and stones,—no images, but enemies of God and his saints,—that bestow ye, as the faithful servants of God, according to God's word, mercifully upon poor men and women, fatherless children, widows, sick persons, strangers, prisoners, and such others that be in any necessity; that ye may, at that great day of the Lord, hear that most blsssed and comfortable saying of our Saviour Christ: *Come, ye blessed, into the kingdom of my Father, prepared for you before the beginning of the world. For I was hungry, and ye gave me meat; thirsty, and ye gave me drink; naked, and ye clothed me; harbourless, and ye lodged me; in prison, and ye visited me; sick, and ye comforted me. For whatsoever ye have done for the poor and needy in my name, and for my sake, that have ye done for me.* To the which

John xvii. [3.]

John iv. [24.]

[John iv. 24.]

[Matt. xxv. 34—40.]

[a] the most purest] a most pure 1623.

his heavenly kingdom, God the Father of mercies bring us, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Saviour, Mediator, and Advocate: to whom with the Holy Ghost, one immortal, invisible, and most glorious God, be all honour, and thanksgiving, and glory, world without end. Amen.

AN HOMILY

FOR

[a]REPAIRING AND KEEPING CLEAN, AND COMELY ADORNING OF CHURCHES.

IT is a common custom used of all men, when they intend to have their friends or neighbours to come to their houses to eat or drink with them, or to have any solemn assembly to treat and talk of any matter, they will have their houses, which they keep in continual reparations, to be clean and fine; lest they should be counted sluttish, or little to regard their friends and neighbours. How much more then ought the house of God, which we commonly call the church, to be sufficiently repaired in all places, and to be honourably adorned and garnished, and to be kept clean and sweet, to the comfort of the people that shall resort thereto[b]!

It appeareth in the holy Scripture, how God's house, which was called his holy temple, and was the mother-church of all Jewry, fell sometimes into decay, and was oftentimes profaned and defiled, through the negligence and ungodliness of such as had charge[c] thereof. But when godly kings and governors were in place, then commandment was given forthwith, that the church and temple of God should be repaired, and the devotion of the people to be gathered for the reparation of the same. We read in the fourth book of the Kings, how that king Joash, being a godly prince, gave commandment to the priests to convert certain offerings of the people towards the reparation and amendment of God's temple. Like commandment gave that most godly king Josiah, concerning the reparation and re-edification of God's temple, which in his time he found in sore decay. It hath pleased Almighty God, that these histories touching the re-edifying and repairing of his holy temple, should be written at large, to the end we should be taught thereby; first, that God is well pleased, that his people should have a convenient place to resort unto, and to come together to praise and magnify God's holy name. And secondly, he is highly pleased with all those which diligently and zealously go about to amend

2 Kings xii. [4, 5.]

2 Kings xxii. [3—7.]

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[a] for repairing] for the repairing 1587.
[b] thereto] thereunto 1623.
[c] charge] the charge 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

and restore such places as are appointed for the congregation of God's people to resort unto, and wherein they humbly and jointly render thanks to God for his benefits, and with one heart and voice praise his holy name. Thirdly, God was sore displeased with his people, because they builded, decked, and trimmed up their own houses, and suffered God's house to be in ruin and decay, to lie uncomely and fulsomely. Wherefore God was sore grieved with them, and plagued them, as appeareth in the prophet Haggai. *Thus saith the Lord: Is it time for you to dwell in your ceiled houses, and the Lord's house not regarded? Ye have sowed much, and gathered in but little; your meat and your clothes have neither filled you, nor made you warm; and he that had his wages, put it in a bottomless purse.* By these plagues, which God laid upon his people for neglecting of his temple, it may evidently appear, that God will have his temple, his church, the place where his congregation shall resort to magnify him, well edified, well repaired, and well maintained. Some, neither regarding godliness, nor the place of godly exercise, will say, 'the temple in the old law was commanded to be built and repaired by God himself, because it had great promises annexed unto it, and because it was a figure, a sacrament, or a signification of Christ, and also of his church.' To this may be easily answered: first, that our churches are not destitute of promises, forasmuch as our Saviour Christ saith, *Where two or three are gathered*[d] *in my name, there am I in the midst among them.* A great number therefore coming to church together in the name of Christ, have there, that is to say, in the church, their God and Saviour Christ Jesus, presently[e] among the congregation of his faithful people, by his grace, by his favour and godly assistance, according to his most assured and comfortable promises. Why then ought not Christian people to build them temples and churches, having as great promises of the presence of God, as ever had Solomon for the material temple, which he did build? As touching the other point, that Solomon's temple was a figure of Christ; we know that now in the time of the clear light of Christ Jesus, the son of God, all shadows, figures, and significations are utterly gone, all vain and unprofitable ceremonies, both Jewish and heathenish, fully abolished. And

Hag. i. [4, 6.]

[Matt. xii. 20.]

[d] gathered] gathered together 1623.

[e] presently] present 1623.

therefore our churches are not set up for figures and significations of Messias and Christ to come, but for other godly and necessary purposes; that is to say, that like as every man hath his own house to abide in, to refresh himself in, to rest in, with such like commodities; so Almighty God will have his house and palace[f], whither the whole parish and congregation shall resort, which is called the church and temple of God, for that the church, which is the company of God's people, doth there assemble and come together to serve him. Not meaning hereby that the Lord, whom the heaven of heavens is not able to hold or comprise, doth dwell in the church of lime and stone, made with man's hands, as wholly and only contained there within, and no where else; for so he never dwelt in Solomon's temple. Moreover, the church or temple is counted and called holy, yet not of itself, but because God's people resorting thereunto are holy, and exercise themselves in holy and heavenly things.

And to the intent ye may understand further, why churches were built among Christian people, this was the greatest consideration; that God might have his place, and that God might have his time, duly to be honoured and served of the whole multitude in the parish: first, there to hear and learn the blessed word and will of the everlasting God: secondly, that there the blessed sacraments, which our Lord and Saviour Christ Jesus hath ordained and appointed, should be duly, reverently, and honourable[g] ministered: thirdly, that there the[h] whole multitude of God's people in the parish should with one voice and heart call upon the name of God, magnify and praise the name of God, render earnest and hearty thanks to our heavenly Father for his heap of benefits daily and plentifully poured upon us, not forgetting to bestow our alms upon God's poverty[i], to the intent God may bless us the more richly. Thus ye may well perceive and understand wherefore churches were built and set up amongst Christian people, and dedicated and appointed to these godly uses, and utterly[k] exempted from all filthy, profane, and worldly uses. Wherefore all they that have little mind or devotion to repair and build God's temple, are to be counted people of

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[f] palace] place 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[g] honourable] decently 1623.

[h] the] be 1595.

[i] poverty] poor 1623.

[k] utterly] wholly 1623.

much ungodliness, spurning against good order in Christ's church, despising the true honour of God, with evil example offending[l] and hindering[m] their neighbours, otherwise well and godly disposed. The world thinketh[n] but a trifle to see their church in ruin and decay; but whoso doth not lay to their helping hands, they sin against God and his holy congregation. For if it had not been sin to neglect and pass little upon[o] the re-edifying and building up again of his temple, God would not have been so much grieved, and so soon have plagued his people, because they builded and decked their own houses so gorgeously, and despised the house of God their Lord. It is sin and shame to see so many churches so ruinous, and so foully decayed, almost in every corner. If a man's private house, wherein he dwelleth, be decayed, he will never cease till it be restored up again. Yea, if his barn, where he keepeth his corn, be out of reparations, what diligence useth he to make it in perfect state again! If his stable for his horse, yea, the sty for his swine, be not able to hold out water and wind, how careful is he to do cost thereon! And shall we be so mindful of our common base houses, deputed to so low occupying[p], and be forgetful toward[q] that house of God, wherein be ministered[r] the words of our eternal salvation, wherein be entreated[s] the sacraments and mysteries of our redemption? The fountain of our regeneration is there presented to[t] us; the partaking of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ is there offered unto us; and shall we not esteem the place where so heavenly things be[u] handled? Wherefore, if ye have any reverence to the service of God, if ye have any common honesty, if ye have any conscience in keeping of necessary and godly ordinances, keep your churches in good repair, whereby ye shall not only please God, and deserve his manifold blessings, but also deserve the good report of all godly people.

The second point, which appertaineth to the maintenance of God's house, is to have it well adorned, and comely and clean kept: which things may be the more easily per-

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[l] offending] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[m] hindering] hindering of 1587.

[n] thinketh] thinketh it 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[o] pass little upon] slightly regard 1623.

[p] low occupying] vile employment, 1623.

[q] toward] towards 1623.

[r] ministered] intreated 1623.

[s] entreated] ministered 1623.

[t] to] unto 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[u] be] are 1623.

formed[x], when the church is well repaired. For like as men are well refreshed and comforted, when they find their houses having all things in good order, and all corners clean and sweet; so when God's house, the church, is well adorned, with places convenient to sit in, with the pulpit for the preacher, with the Lord's table for the ministration of his holy supper, with the font to christen in, and also is kept clean, comely, and sweetly, the people is the more[y] desirous and the more comforted to resort thither, and to tarry there the whole time appointed them. With what earnestness, with what vehement zeal did our Saviour Christ drive the buyers and sellers out of the temple of God, and hurled down the tables of the changers of money, and the seats of the dove-sellers, and could not abide that any man should [z]carry a vessel through the temple! He told them, that they had made his Father's house a den of thieves, partly through their superstition, hypocrisy, false worship, false doctrine, and insatiable covetousness, and partly through contempt abusing that place with walking and talking, with worldly matters without all fear of God, and due reverence to that place. What dens of thieves the churches of England have been made by the blasphemous buying and selling the most precious body and blood of Christ in the mass, as the world was made to believe, at diriges, at months-minds, in[a] trentalls, in abbeys and chantries, beside other horrible abuses, —God's holy name be blessed for ever,—we[b] now see and understand. All these abominations they that supply the room of Christ have cleansed and purged the churches of England of, taking away all such fulsomeness and filthiness, as through blind devotion and ignorance hath crept into the church this[c] many hundred years.

[Matt. xxi. 12. John ii. 15.]

[Mark xi. 17. Luke xix. 46.]

Wherefore, O ye good Christian people, ye dearly beloved in Christ Jesu, ye that glory not in worldly and vain religion, in fantastical adorning and decking, but rejoice in heart to see the glory of God truly set forth, and the churches restored to their ancient and godly use, render your most[d] hearty thanks

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[x] performed] reformed 1582, 1587, 1595.

[y] is the more] is more, 1582, 1587, 1595: are more, 1623.

[z] that any man should] any man to 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[a] in] at 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[b] we] which we 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[c] this] these 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[d] most] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

to the goodness of Almighty God, who hath in our days stirred up[e] the hearts, not only of his godly preachers and ministers, but also of his faithful and most Christian magistrates and governors, to bring such godly things to pass. And forasmuch as your churches are scoured and swept from the sinful and superstitious filthiness, wherewith they were defiled and disfigured, do ye your parts, good people, to keep your churches comely and clean; suffer them not to be defiled with rain and weather, with dung of doves and owls, stares and choughs, and other filthiness, as it is foul and lamentable to behold in many places of this country. It is the house of prayer, not the house of talking, of walking, of brawling, of minstrelsy, of hawks, of dogs. Provoke not the displeasure and plagues of God, for despising and abusing his holy house, as the wicked Jews did. But have God in your heart; be obedient to his blessed will; bind yourselves every man and woman to their[f] power toward the reparations and and clean keeping of the[g] church; to the intent that ye[h] may be partakers of God's manifold blessings, and that ye may be the better[i] encouraged to resort to your parish church, there to learn your duty[k] towards God and your neighbour; there to be present and partakers of Christ's holy sacraments; there to render thanks to your[l] heavenly Father for the manifold benefits, which he daily poureth upon you; there to pray together, and to call upon God's holy name, which be blessed world without end[m].

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[e] stirred up] stirred up in 1587, 1595.
[f] their] your 1623.
[g] of the] of your 1563.
[h] that ye] *wanting* 1563, 1582.
[i] be the better] the better be 1563.
[k] duty] duties 1563.
[l] your] our 1587, 1595.
[m] end] end. Amen 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

AN HOMILY

OF

GOOD WORKS. AND FIRST, OF FASTING.

THE life which we live in this world, good Christian people, is of the free benefit of God lent us, yet not to use it at our pleasure, after our own fleshly will, but to trade over the same in those works which are beseeming them that are become new creatures in Christ. These works the apostle calleth good works, saying, *We are God's workmanship, created in Christ Jesu to good works, which God hath ordained, that we should walk in them.* And yet his meaning is not by these words to induce us to have any affiance, or to put any confidence in our works, as by the merit and deserving of them to purchase to ourselves and others remission of sin, and so consequently everlasting life; for that were mere blasphemy against God's mercy, and great derogation to the bloodshedding of our Saviour Jesus Christ. For it is of[a] the free grace and mercy of God, by the mediation of the blood of his Son, Jesus Christ, without merit or deserving on our part, that our sins are forgiven us, that we are reconciled and brought again into his favour, and are made heirs of his heavenly kingdom. "Grace," saith St Augustin[1], "belongeth[b] to God, who doth call us; and then hath he good works, whosoever received grace. Good works then bring not forth grace, but are brought forth by grace. The wheel," saith he, "turneth round, not to the end that it may be made round; but because it is first made round, therefore it turneth round. So, no man doth good works, to receive grace by his good works; but because he hath first received grace, therefore consequently he doth good works."

Eph. ii. [10.]

August. de Div. Quæst. ad Simpl. Lib. i. Quæst. 28.

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[a] of] *wanting* 1587, 1595. [b] belongeth] belonging 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[1] ["Vocantis est ergo gratia, percipientis vero gratiam consequenter sunt opera bona, nec quæ gratiam pariant sed quæ gratia pariantur. Non enim ut ferveat calefacit ignis, sed quia fervet. Nec ideo bene currit rota ut rotunda sit, sed quia rotunda est. Sic nemo propterea bene operatur, ut accipiat gratiam, sed quia accepit." Ad Simplicianum, Lib. I., Quæst. II.; Opp. Tom. VI. p. 65, F.]

August. de Fid et Op. [cap. xiv.]

And in another place he[1] saith, "Good works go not before in him which shall afterward be justified; but good works do follow after, when a man is first justified." St Paul therefore teacheth, that we must do good works for divers respects: first, to shew ourselves obedient children unto our heavenly Father, who hath ordained them, that we should walk in them. Secondly, for that they are good declarations and testimonies of our justification. Thirdly, that others, seeing our good works, may the rather by them be stirred up and excited to glorify our Father which is in heaven. Let us not therefore be slack to do good works, seeing it is the will of God that we should walk in them, assuring ourselves that at the last day every man shall receive of God for his labour done in true faith, a greater reward than his works have deserved. And because somewhat shall now be spoken of one particular good work, whose commendation is both in the law and in the gospel, thus much is said in the beginning generally of all good works: first, to remove out of the way of the simple and unlearned this dangerous stumblingblock, that any man should go about to purchase or buy heaven with his works. Secondly, to take away, so nigh[c] as may be, from envious minds and slanderous tongues, all just occasion of slanderous speaking, as though good works were rejected.

This good work which now shall be entreated of is fasting, which is found in the Scriptures to be of two sorts; the one outward, pertaining to the body; the other inward, in the heart and mind. This outward fast is an abstinence from meat, drink, and all natural food, yea from all delicious pleasures and delectations worldly. When this outward fast pertaineth to one particular man, or to a few, and not the[d] whole number of the people, for causes which hereafter shall be declared, then it is called a private fast: but when the whole multitude of men, women, and children, in a township or city, yea through[e] a whole country do fast, it is called a public fast. Such was that fast which the whole multitude of the children of Israel were commanded to keep the tenth day of the seventh month, because almighty God

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[c] nigh] much 1623.
[d] not the] not to the 1563, 1582.
[e] through] though 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

[1] ["Sequuntur enim justificatum, non præcedunt justificandum."—De Fide et Operibus, c. 14; Tom. VI. p. 130, E.]

appointed that day to be a cleansing day, a day of an[f] atonement, a time of reconciliation, a day wherein the people were cleansed from their sins. The order and manner how it was done is written in the sixteenth and twenty-third chapter[g] of Leviticus. That day the people did lament, mourn, weep, and bewail their former sins. And whosoever upon that day did not humble his soul, bewailing his sins, as is said, abstaining from all bodily food until the evening, *that soul*, saith Almighty[h] God, *should be destroyed from among his people.* We do not read that Moses ordained, by order of law, any days of public fast throughout the whole year, more than that one day. The Jews, notwithstanding, had more times of common fasting, which the prophet Zachariah reciteth to be the fast of the fourth, the fast of the fifth, the fast of the seventh, and the fast of the tenth month. But for that it appeareth not in the Levitical[i] law when they were instituted[k], it is to be judged, that those other times of fasting, more than the fast of the seventh month, were ordained among the Jews by the appointment of their governors, rather of devotion, than by any open[l] commandment given from God. Upon the ordinance of this general fast, good men took occasion to appoint to themselves private fasts, at such times as they did either earnestly lament and bewail their sinful lives, or did addict themselves to more fervent prayer, that it might please God to turn his wrath from them, when either they were admonished and brought to the consideration thereof by the preaching of the prophets, or otherwise when they saw present danger to hang over their heads. This sorrowfulness of heart, joined with fasting, they uttered sometime by their outward behaviour and gesture of body, putting on sackcloth, sprinkling themselves with ashes and dust, and sitting or lying upon the earth. For when good men feel in themselves the heavy burden of sin, see damnation to be the reward of it, and behold with the eye of their mind the horror of hell, they tremble, they[m] quake, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of heart for their offences, and cannot but accuse themselves, and open this their grief unto Almighty God, and

Lev. xvi. 29, 30; xxiii. 27–32.]

[Lev. xxiii. 30.]

Zach. viii. [19.]

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[f] an] *wanting* 1623.

[g] chapter] chapters 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[h] Almighty] the Almighty 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[i] Levitical] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.

[k] instituted] justified 1595.

[l] open] express 1623.

[m] they] and 1595.

call unto him for mercy. This being done seriously, their mind is so occupied, partly with sorrow and heaviness, partly with an earnest desire to be delivered from this danger of hell and damnation, that all lust[n] of meat and drink is laid apart, and loathsomeness of all worldly things and pleasures cometh in place; so that nothing then liketh them more, than to weep, to lament, to mourn, and, both with words and behaviour of body, to shew themselves weary of this life. Thus did David fast, when he made intercession to Almighty God for the child's life, begotten in adultery of Bathsheba, Uriah's wife. King Ahab fasted after this sort, when it repented him of murdering of Naboth, bewailing[o] his own sinful doings. Such was[p] the Ninevites' fast, brought to repentance by Jonas' preaching. When forty thousand of the Israelites were slain in battle against the Benjamites, the Scripture saith, *All the children of Israel, and the whole multitude of people went out to*[q] *Bethel, and sate there weeping before the Lord, and fasted all that day until*[r] *night.* So did Daniel, Esther, Nehemias, and many others in[s] the Old Testament, fast.

[2 Sam. xii. 16.] [1 Kings xxi. 27.] [Jonah iii. 5.] Judg. xx. [26.] [Dan. x. 3.] [Esth. iv. 16.] [Neh. i. 4.]

But if any man will say, it is true, so they fasted indeed; but we are not now under that yoke of the law, we are set at liberty by the freedom of the gospel; therefore those[t] rites and customs of the old law bind not us, except it can be shewed by the Scriptures of the New Testament, or by examples out of the same, that fasting now under the gospel is a restraint of meat, drink, and all bodily food and pleasures from the body, as before. First, that we ought to fast, is a truth more manifest than that it should here need to be proved; the Scriptures which teach the same are evident. The doubt therefore that is, is whether when we fast we ought to withhold from our bodies all meat and drink during the time of our fast, or no? That we ought so to do, may be well gathered upon a question moved by the Pharisees to Christ, and by his answer again to the same. *Why*, say they, *do John's disciples fast often, and pray, and we likewise, but thy disciples eat and drink, and fast not at all?* In this smooth question they couch up subtilly this argument or reason: Whoso fasteth not, that man is not of God: for fasting

Luke v. [33.]

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[n] lust] desire 1623.
[o] bewailing] and bewailed 1563.
[p] was] were 1582, 1587, 1595.
[q] of people went out to] of the people went to 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[r] until] till 1623.
[s] in] of 1595.
[t] those] these 1595.

and prayer are works both commended and commanded of God in his Scriptures; and all good men, from Moses till this time, as well the prophets as others, have exercised themselves in these works. John also and his disciples at this day do fast oft, and pray much; and so do we the Pharisees in like[u] manner: but thy disciples fast not at all, which if thou wilt deny, we can easily prove it. For whosoever eateth and drinketh, fasteth not. Thy disciples eat and drink, therefore they fast not. Of this we conclude, say they, necessarily, that neither art thou, nor yet thy disciples, of God. Christ maketh answer, saying, *Can ye make that the children of the wedding shall fast, while the bridegroom is with them? The days shall come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them: in those days shall they fast.* Our Saviour Christ, like a good master, defendeth the innocency of his disciples against the malice of the arrogant Pharisees, and proveth that his disciples are not guilty of transgressing any jot of God's law, although as then they fasted not[x], and in his answer reproveth the Pharisees of superstition and ignorance. Superstition, because they put a religion in their doings, and ascribed holiness to the outward work wrought, not regarding to what end fasting is ordained. Of ignorance, for that they could not discern between time and time. They knew not that there is a time of rejoicing and mirth, and a time again of lamentation and mourning, which both he teacheth in his answer, as shall be touched more largely hereafter, when we shall shew what time is most fit to fast in. [Luke v. 34, 35.]

But here, beloved, let us note, that our Saviour Christ, in making his answer to their question, denied not, but confessed that his disciples fasted not, and therefore agreeth to the Pharisees in this, as unto a manifest truth, that whoso eateth and drinketh, fasteth not. Fasting then, even by Christ's assent, is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food from the body, for the determined time of fasting. And that it was used in the primitive church, appeareth most evidently by the Chalcedon council[1], one of the four

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[u] in like] in the like 1587, 1595.

[x] not] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.

[1] [The Canon here referred to is contained in the Capitula Incerti Autoris, Loci, et Temporis, printed from a MS. of C. C. C. Cambridge, in Labbe's edition of the Councils, Tom. IX. p. 1018: "Solent plures qui se jejunare putant, mox ut signum audierint, ad

first general councils. The fathers assembled there, to the number of six hundred and thirty, considering with themselves how acceptable a thing fasting is to God, when it is used according to his word; again, having before their eyes also the great abuses of the same crept into the church at those days, through the negligence of them which should have taught the people the right use thereof, and by vain glosses devised of men; to reform the said abuses, and to restore this so good and godly a work to the true use thereof, decreed in that council, 'that every person, as well in his private as public fast, should continue all the day without meat and drink, till after the evening prayer. And whosoever did eat or drink before the evening prayer was ended, should be accounted and reputed not to consider the purity of his fast.' This canon teacheth so evidently how fasting was used in the primitive church, as by words[y] it cannot be more plainly expressed.

Fasting then, by the decree of those six hundred and thirty fathers, grounding their determination in this matter upon the sacred Scriptures, and long continued usage or practice, both of the prophets and other godly persons before the coming of Christ, and also of the apostles and other devout men in the New Testament, is a withholding of meat, drink, and all natural food from the body, for the determined time of fasting. Thus much is spoken hitherto to make plain unto you what fasting is. Now hereafter shall be shewed the true and right use of fasting.

Good works are not all of one sort. For some are of themselves, and of their own proper nature, always good: as to love God above all things, to love my neighbour as myself[z], to honour father[a] and mother, to honour the higher powers, to give to every man that which is his due, and such

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[y] by words] by the words 1587, 1595.
[z] my] thy 1623 and myself.
[a] father] thy father 1623.

horam nonam manducare: qui nullatenus jejunare credendi sunt, si manducaverint antequam vespertinum celebretur officium." The author with whom the mistake in the text originated was most probably Aquinas, who, in his 'Secunda Secundæ' Quæst. CXLVII., Art. VII. § 3, quotes the above passage as a Canon of the Council of Chalcedon. It is also cited in the Canon Law, Decreti Pars III., de Consecratione, Dist. I., c. 50, as 'ex Concilio *Cabilonensi*,' which may have been a still earlier source of confusion.]

like. Other works there be, which, considered in themselves, without further respect, are of their own nature mere[b] indifferent, that is, neither good nor evil, but take their denomination of the use or end whereunto they serve. Which works having a good end, are called good works, and are so indeed; but yet that cometh not of themselves, but of the good end, whereunto they are referred. On the other side, if the end that they serve unto be evil, it cannot then otherwise be, but that they must needs be evil also. Of this sort of works is fasting, which of itself is a thing merely indifferent; but is[c] made better or worse by the end that it serveth unto. For when it respecteth a good end, it is a good work; but the end being evil, the work itself is also evil. To fast then with this persuasion of mind, that our fasting and our[d] good works can make us perfect[e] and just men, and finally bring us to heaven, this is a devilish persuasion; and that fast so far off[f] from pleasing God[g] that it refuseth his mercy, and is altogether derogatory to the merits of Christ's death, and his precious blood-shedding. This doth the parable of the Pharisee and the publican teach. *Two men,* saith Christ, *went up together*[h] *into*[i] *the temple to pray; the one a Pharisee, the other a publican. The Pharisee stood and prayed thus within*[k] *himself: I thank thee, O God, that I am not as other men are, extortioners, unjust, adulterers, and as this publican is: I fast twice in the week, I give tithes of all that I possess. The publican stood afar off, and would not lift up his eyes to heaven; but smote his breast, and said, God be merciful to me a sinner.* In the person of this Pharisee, our Saviour Christ setteth out to the eye and to the judgment of the world, a perfect, just, and righteous man, such one[l] as is not spotted with those vices that men commonly are infected with; extortion, bribery, polling and pilling their neighbour[m], robbers and spoilers of commonweals, crafty and subtil in chopping and changing, using false weights, and detestable perjury in their buying and selling, fornicators, adulterers,

Luke xviii. [10—13.]

[b] mere] merely 1623.
[c] but is] but it is 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[d] our] other 1563.
[e] perfect] good, perfect 1563.
[f] so far off] is so far off, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[g] pleasing God] pleasing of God 1582 1587, 1595, 1623.
[h] together] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[i] into] to 1563.
[k] within] with 1623.
[l] such one] such an one, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[m] neighbour] neighbours 1563.

and vicious livers. The[n] Pharisee was no such man, neither faulty in any such like notorious crime. But where other transgressed by leaving things undone, which yet the law required, this man did more than was requisite by law: for he fasted twice[o] in the week, and gave tithes of all that he had. What could the world then justly blame in this man? Yea, what outward thing more could be desired to be in him, to make him a more perfect and a more just man? Truly, nothing by man's judgment: and yet our Saviour Christ preferreth the poor publican without fasting, before him with his fast. The cause why he doth[p] so is manifest; for the publican having no good work at all to trust unto yielded up himself unto God, confessing his sins, and hoped certainly to be saved by God's free mercy only. The Pharisee gloried and trusted so much to his works, that he thought himself sure enough without mercy, and that he should come to heaven by his fasting, and other deeds. To this end serveth that parable; for it is spoken to them that *trusted in themselves that they were righteous, and despised other.* Now, because the Pharisee directed[q] his work[r] to an evil end, seeking by them justification—which indeed is the proper work of God without our merits—his fasting twice in the week, and all his other works, though they were never so many, and seemed to the world never so good and holy, yet in very deed before God they are altogether evil and abominable. The mark also, that the hypocrites shoot at with their fast, is to appear holy in the eye of the world, and so to win commendation and praise of men. But our Saviour Christ saith of them, *they have their reward;* that is, they have praise and commendation of men, but of God they have none at all. For whatsoever tendeth to an evil end is itself by that evil end made evil also. Again, so long as we keep ungodliness in our hearts, and suffer wicked thoughts to tarry there, though we fast as oft as did either St Paul or John Baptist, and keep it as straitly as did the Ninevites, yet shall it be not only unprofitable to us, but also a thing that greatly displeaseth almighty God. For he saith that *his soul abhorreth and hateth such fastings, yea, they are a burden unto him, and he is weary of bearing them.* And therefore he inveigheth most sharply against

[Luke xviii. 9.]

Matt. vi. [2.]

Isai. i. [13, 14.]

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n The] This 1563.
o twice] thrice 1623.
p doth] did 1595.
q directed] directeth 1623.
r work] works 1563.

them, saying by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah, *Behold, when you*[s] *fast, your lust remaineth still, for ye do no less violence to your debtors. Lo, ye fast to strife and debate, and to smite with the fist of wickedness. Now ye shall not fast thus, that you may*[t] *make your voice to be heard above. Think ye this fast pleaseth me, that a man should chasten himself for a day? Should that be called a fasting, or a day that pleaseth the Lord?* Isai. lviii. [3, 4, 5.]

Now, dearly beloved, seeing that almighty God alloweth not our fast for the works' sake, but chiefly respecteth our heart, how it is affected, and then esteemeth our fast either good or evil, by the end that it serveth for; it is our part to rend our hearts, and not our garments, as we are advised by the prophet Joel; that is, our sorrow and mourning must be inward in heart[u], and not in outward show only; yea, it is requisite that first, before all things, we cleanse our hearts from sin, and then to direct our fast to such an end as God will allow to be good. There be three ends, whereunto if our fast be directed, it is then a work profitable to us, and accepted of God. The first is, to chastise the flesh, that it be not too wanton, but tamed and brought in subjection to the spirit. This respect had St Paul in his fast, when he said, *I chastise my body, and bring it into subjection, lest by any mean it cometh to pass, that, when I have preached to other, I myself be found a cast-away.* The second, that the spirit may be more fervent and earnest[x] to[y] prayer. To this end fasted the prophets and teachers that were at Antioch, before they sent forth Paul and Barnabas to preach the gospel. The same two apostles fasted for the like purpose, when they commended to God, by their earnest prayers, the congregations that were at Antioch, Pisidia, Iconium, and Lystra; as we read in the Acts of the Apostles. The third, that our fast be a testimony and witness with us before God, of our humble submission to his high majesty, when we confess and acknowledge our sins unto him, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulness of heart, bewailing the same in the affliction of our bodies. These are the three ends or right uses of fasting. The first belongeth most properly to private fast: the other two are

Joel ii. [12, 13.]

1 Cor. ix. [27.]

Acts xiii. [2, 3.]

Acts xiv. [21 —23.]

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[s] you] ye 1563.
[t] you] ye 1563.
[u] in heart] in the heart 1563.
[x] fervent and earnest] earnest and fervent 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[y] to] in 1563.

common, as well to public fast as to private. And thus much for the use of fasting.

Lord, have mercy upon us, and give us grace, that while we live in this miserable world, we may through thy help bring forth this and such other fruits of the Spirit, commended and commanded in thy holy word, to the glory of thy name, and to our comforts, that, after the race of this wretched life, we may live everlastingly with thee in thy heavenly kingdom; not for the merits and worthiness of our works, but for thy mercies' sake, and the merits of thy dear Son, Jesus Christ, to whom, with thee and the Holy Ghost, be all laud, honour, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY OF FASTING.

IN the former homily, beloved, was shewed, that among the people of the Jews, fasting, as it was commanded them from God by Moses, was to abstain the whole day, from morrow[a] till night, from meat, drink, and all manner of food that nourisheth the body; and that whoso tasted aught before the evening on the day appointed to fasting, was accounted among them a breaker of his fast. Which order, though it seemeth strange to some in these our days, because it hath not been so used generally[b] in this realm of many years past; yet that it was so among God's people, I mean the Jews, whom, before the coming of our Saviour Christ, God did vouchsafe to choose unto himself, a peculiar people above all other nations of the earth; and that our Saviour Christ so understood it, and the apostles after Christ's ascension did so use it, was there sufficiently proved by the testimonies and examples of the holy Scriptures, as well of the New Testament as of the Old. The true use of fasting was there also shewed. In this second part of this homily shall be shewed, that no constitution or law made by man, for things which of their own proper nature be mere indifferent, can bind the conscience of Christian men to a perpetual observation and keeping thereof; but that the higher powers hath[c] full liberty to alter and change every such law and ordinance,

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[a] morrow] morning 1623.

[b] used generally] generally used 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[c] hath] have 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

either ecclesiastical or political, when time and place shall require. But first an answer shall be made to a question that some may make, demanding what judgment we ought to have of such abstinences as are appointed by public order and laws made by princes, and by authority of the magistrates, upon policy, not respecting any religion at all in the same:—as when any realm, in consideration of the maintaining[d] of fisher-towns bordering upon the seas, and for the increase of fishermen, of whom do spring mariners to go upon the sea, to the furnishing of the navy of the realm, whereby not only the[e] commodities of other countries may be transported, but also may be a necessary defence to resist the invasion of the adversary.

For the better understanding of this question, it is necessary that we make a difference between the policies of princes, made for the ordering of their commonweals, in provision of things serving to the more[f] sure defence of their subjects and countries, and between ecclesiastical policies, in prescribing such works, by which, as by secondary means, God's wrath may be pacified, and his mercy purchased. Positive laws made by princes for conservation of their policy, not repugnant unto God's law, ought of all Christian subjects with reverence of the magistrate to be obeyed, not only for fear of punishment, *but also*, as the apostle saith, *for conscience sake.* Conscience, I say, not of the thing, [Rom. xiii. 5.] which of the[g] own nature is indifferent, but of our obedience, which by the law of God we owe unto the magistrate, as unto God's minister. By which positive laws, though we subjects, for certain times and days appointed, be restrained from some kinds of meats and drink, which God by his holy word hath left free to be taken and used of all men, with thanksgiving, in all places, and at all times; yet for that such laws of princes and other magistrates are not made to put holiness in one[h] kind of meat and drink more than another, to make one day more holy than another, but are grounded[i] merely upon policy, all subjects are bound in conscience to keep them by God's commandment, who by the apostle willeth all, without exception, to submit themselves unto the authority of the [Rom. xiii. 1.]

[d] maintaining] maintenance 1595.
[e] the] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[f] more] most 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[g] the] it 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[h] one] no 1595.
[i] grounded] granted 1595.

higher powers. And in this point concerning our duties which be here dwelling in England, environed with the sea, as we be, we have great occasion in reason to take the commodities of the water, which almighty God by his divine providence hath laid so nigh unto us, whereby the increase of victuals upon the land may the better be spared and cherished to the sooner reducing of victuals to a more moderate price, to the better sustenance of the poor. And doubtless he seemeth to be too dainty an Englishman, which[k] considering the great commodities which may ensue, will not forbear some piece of his licentious appetite upon the ordinance of his prince, with the consent of the wise of the realm. What good English heart would not wish[l] the old ancient glory should return to the realm, wherein it hath with great commendations excelled before our days, in the furniture of the navy of the same? What will more daunt the hearts of the adversary[m], than to see us as[n] well fenced and armed on the sea, as we be reported to be on the land? If the prince requested our obedience to forbear one day from flesh more than we do, and to be contented with one meal in the same day, should not our own commodity thereby persuade us to subjection? But now that two meals be permitted on that day to be used, which sometime our elders in very great numbers in the realm did use with one only spare meal, and that in fish[o] only; shall we think it so great a burden that is prescribed?

Furthermore, consider the decay of the towns nigh the seas, which should be most ready by the number of the people there to repulse the enemy; and we which dwell further off upon the land, having them as our buckler to defend us, should be the more in surety[p]. If they be our neighbours, why should we not wish them to prosper? If they be our defence, as nighest at hand to repel the enemy, to keep out the rage of the seas, which else would break upon our fair pastures, why should we not cherish them? Neither do we urge that in the ecclesiastical policy, prescribing a form of fasting, to humble ourselves in the sight of almighty God, that that order, which was used among the Jews, and practised by Christ's apostles after his ascension,

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[k] which] who 1623.

[l] wish] wish that 1582,1587,1595,1623.

[m] adversary] adversaries 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[n] as] *wanting* 1582, 1587: us *wanting* 1595.

[o] fish] flesh 1595.

[p] surety] safety 1623.

is of such force and necessity, that that only ought to be used among Christians, and none other; for that were to bind God's people unto the yoke and burden of Moses' policy; yea, it were the very way to bring us, which are set at liberty by the freedom of Christ's gospel, into the bondage of the law again, which God forbid that any man should attempt or purpose. But to this end it serveth, to shew how far the order of fasting now used in the church at this day differeth from that which was then[q] used. God's church ought not, neither may it be so tied to that or any other order now made, or hereafter to be made and devised by the authority of man, but that it may lawfully, for just causes, alter, change, or mitigate those ecclesiastical decrees and orders, yea, recede wholly from them, and break them, when they tend either to superstition or to impiety; when they draw the people from God, rather than work any edification in them. This authority Christ himself used, and left it unto[r] his church. He used it, I say, for the order or decree made by the elders for washing ofttimes which was diligently observed of the Jews, yet tending to superstition, our Saviour Christ altered and changed the same in his church, into a profitable sacrament, the sacrament of our regeneration, or new birth. This authority to mitigate laws and decrees ecclesiastical, the apostles practised, when they, writing from Jerusalem unto the congregation that was at Antioch, signified unto them that they would not lay any further burden upon them, but these necessaries: that is, *that they should abstain from things offered unto idols, from blood, from that which is strangled, and from fornication,* notwithstanding that Moses' law required many other observances. Acts xv. [20.]

This authority to change the orders, decrees, and constitutions of the church, was after the apostles' time used of the fathers about the manner of fasting, as it appeareth in the Tripartite History, where it is thus written[1]: "Touching fasting, we find that it was diversely used in divers places, Tripart. Hist. Lib. ix. cap. xxxviii.

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q which was then] which then was 1563, 1582.

r unto] to 1582.

1 ["Nam in ipsis jejuniis aliter apud alios invenis observari. Romani enim sex ante pascha septimanas præter sabbatum et dominicam sub continuatione jejunant... nihilominus Quadragesimam vocant." Cassiodori Historia Tripartita, Lib. IX. c. xxxviii.; ed. 1497.]

by divers men. For they at Rome fast three weeks together before Easter, saving upon the Saturdays and Sundays, which fast they call Lent." And after a few lines in the same place it followeth[1]: "They have not all one uniform order in fasting. For some do fast and abstain both from fish and flesh. Some, when they fast, eat nothing but fish. Others there are, which, when they fast, eat of all water-fowls, as well as of fish, grounding themselves upon Moses, that such fowls have their substance of the water, as the fishes have. Some others, when they fast, will neither eat herbs nor eggs. Some fasters there are, that eat nothing but dry bread. Others, when they fast, eat nothing at all, no, not so much as dry bread. Some fast from all manner of food till night, and then eat, without making any choice or difference of meat. And a thousand such like divers kinds of fasting may be found in divers places of the world, of divers men diversely used." And for all this great diversity in fasting[2], yet charity, the very true bond of Christian peace, was not broken, neither did the diversity of fasting break at any time their agreement and concord in faith. "To abstain sometime from certain meats, not because the meats are evil, but because they are not necessary, this abstinence," saith St Augustin[3], "is not evil. And to restrain the use of meats when necessity and time shall require, this," saith he, "doth properly pertain to Christian men."

Euseb. Lib. v. cap. xxiv.

Dogma Eccles. cap. lvi.

Thus ye have heard, good people, first that Christian

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[1] ["Sed etiam ciborum abstinentiam non similem habent: nam alii omnino ab animatis observant; alii animantium pisces solummodo comedunt. Quidam cum piscibus vescuntur et volatilibus dicentes hæc secundum Moysen ex aqua habere substantiam. Alii vero etiam caulibus et ovis abstinere noscuntur: quidam sicco tantummodo pane vescuntur. Alii neque hoc. Alii usque ad nonam jejunantes horam sine discretione ciborum reficiuntur: et innumeræ consuetudines apud diversos inveniuntur." Cassiodori Historia Tripartita, Lib. IX. c. xxxviii.; ed. 1497.]

[2] ["Καὶ οὐδὲν ἔλαττον πάντες οὗτοι εἰρήνευσάν τε, καὶ εἰρηνεύομεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, καὶ ἡ διαφωνία τῆς νηστείας τὴν ὁμόνοιαν τῆς πίστεως συνίστησι." Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. v. cap. 24: Tom. I. p. 370; ed. Oxon. 1838.]

[3] ["Abstinere autem ab aliquibus, non quasi malis, sed quasi non necessariis, non est malum. Moderari vero eorum usum pro necessitate et tempore, proprie Christianorum est." Gennadius, de Ecclesiasticis Dogmatibus, c. xxxii. (al. LXI.); ad calc. S. Augustin. Opp. Tom. VII. p. 75.]

subjects are bound even in conscience to obey princes' laws, which are not repugnant to the laws of God. Ye have also heard that Christ's church is not so bound to observe any order, law, or decree made by man, to prescribe a form in religion, but that the church hath full power and authority from God to change and alter the same, when need shall require; which hath been shewed you by the example of our Saviour Christ, by the practice of the apostles, and of the fathers since that time.

Now shall be shewed briefly what time is meet for fasting, for all times serve not for all things: but, as the wise man saith, *All things have their times. There is a time to weep, and a time again to laugh, a time to mourn, and a time to rejoice, &c.* Our Saviour Christ excused his disciples, and reproved the Pharisees, because they neither regarded the use of fasting, nor considered what time was meet for the same. Which both he teacheth in his answer, saying, *The children of the marriage cannot mourn, while the bridegroom is with them.* Their question was of fasting, his answer is of mourning, signifying unto them plainly, that the outward fast of the body is no fast before God, except it be accompanied with the inward fast, which is a mourning and a lamentation in[s] the heart, as is before declared. Concerning the time of fasting, he saith, *The days will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them; in those days they shall fast.* By this it is manifest, that it is no time of fasting while the marriage lasteth, and the bridegroom is there present. But when the marriage is ended, and the bridegroom gone, then is it a meet time to fast. Now to make plain unto you what is the sense and meaning of these words, *We are at the marriage*, and again, *The bridegroom is taken from us;* ye shall note, that so long as God revealeth his mercy unto us, and giveth us of his benefits, either spiritual or corporal, we are said to be with the bridegroom at the marriage. So was that good old father Jacob at the marriage, when he understood that his son Joseph was alive, and ruled all Egypt under king Pharaoh. So was David in the marriage with the bridegroom, when he had gotten the victory of great Goliah, and had smitten off his head. Judith, and all the people

Eccles. iii. [1, 4.]

Matt. ix. [15.]

Matt. ix. [15.] Luke v. [34, 35.]

[s] in] of 1623.

of Bethulia, were the children of the wedding, and had the bridegroom with them, when God had by the hand of a woman slain Holofernes, the grand captain of the Assyrians' host, and discomfited all their enemies. Thus were the apostles the children of the marriage, while Christ was corporally present with them, and defended them from all dangers, both spiritual and corporal. But the marriage is said then to be ended, and the bridegroom to be gone, when almighty God smiteth us with affliction, and seemeth to leave us in the midst of a number of adversities. So God sometime striketh private men privately with sundry adversities, as trouble of mind, loss of friends, loss of goods, long and dangerous sicknesses, &c. Then is it a fit time for that man to humble himself to almighty God by fasting, and to mourn and bewail[t] his sins with a sorrowful heart, and to pray unfeignedly, saying with the prophet David, *Turn away thy face, O Lord, from my sins, and blot out of thy remembrance all mine offences.* Again, when God shall afflict a whole region or country with wars, with famine, with pestilence, with strange diseases and unknown sicknesses, and other such like calamities; then is it time for all states and sorts of people, high and low, men, women, and children, to humble themselves by fasting, and bewail their sinful living before God, and pray with one common voice, saying thus, or some other such like prayer: *Be favourable, O Lord, be favourable unto thy people, which turneth unto thee, in weeping, fasting, and praying: spare thy people, whom thou hast redeemed with thy precious blood, and suffer not thine inheritance to be destroyed, and brought to confusion.*

Psal. li. [9.]

Fasting thus used with prayer is of great efficacy, and weigheth much with God. So the angel Raphael told Tobias. It also appeareth by that which our Saviour Christ answered to his disciples, demanding of him why they could not cast forth the evil spirit out of him that was brought unto them. *This kind,* saith he, *is not cast out but by fasting and prayer.* How available fasting[u] is, how much it weigheth with God, and what it is able to obtain at his hand, cannot better be set forth, than by opening unto you, and laying before you some of those notable things that hath[x] been brought to

Tob. xii. [8.]

[Mark ix. 29. Matt. xvii. 21.]

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[t] and bewail] and to bewail 1582, 1623.

[u] fasting] fast 1563.

[x] hath] have 1563, 1623.

pass by it. Fasting was one of the means, whereby almighty God was occasioned to alter the thing which he had purposed concerning Ahab, for murdering the innocent man Naboth, to possess his vineyard. *God spake unto Elijah, saying, Go thy way, and say unto Ahab, Hast thou killed, and also gotten possession? Thus saith the Lord, In the place where dogs licked the blood of Naboth, shall dogs even lick thy blood also. Behold, I will bring evil upon thee, and will take away thy posterity: yea, the dogs shall eat him of Ahab's stock that dieth in the city, and him that dieth in the field shall the fowls of the air eat.* This punishment had almighty God determined for Ahab in this world, and to destroy all the male-kind that was begotten of Ahab's body, besides that punishment which should have happened unto him in the world to come. *When Ahab heard this, he rent his clothes, and put sackcloth upon him, and fasted, and lay in sackcloth, and went barefooted. Then the word of the Lord came to Elijah, saying, Seest thou how Ahab is humbled before me? Because he submitteth himself before me, I will not bring that evil in his days; but in his son's days will I bring it upon his house.* Although Ahab, through the wicked counsel of Jezabel his wife, had committed shameful murder, and against all right disinherited[y] and dispossessed for ever Naboth's stock of that vineyard; yet upon his humble submission in heart unto God, which he declared outwardly by putting on sackcloth and fasting, God changed his sentence, so that the punishment which he had determined fell not upon Ahab's house in his time, but was deferred unto the days of Joram his son. Here we may see of what force our outward fast is, when it is accompanied with the inward fast of the mind, which is—as is said—a sorrowfulness of heart, detesting and bewailing our sinful doings. The like is to be seen in the Ninevites: for when God had determined to destroy the whole city of Nineveh, and the time which he had appointed was even now at hand, he sent the prophet Jonas to say unto them, *Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown. The people by and by believed God, and gave themselves to fasting; yea, the king, by the advice of his council, caused to be proclaimed, saying, Let neither man nor beast, bullock nor sheep taste any*

1 Kings xxi. [17—24.]

[1 Kings xxi. 27—29.]

Jonah iii. [4—9.]

[y] disinherited] disherited 1563.

thing, neither feed nor drink water: but let man and beast put on sackcloth, and cry mightily unto God; yea, let every man turn from his evil way, and from the wickedness that is in their hands. Who can tell if God will turn and repent, and turn away from his fierce wrath, that we perish not? And upon this their hearty repentance, thus declared outwardly with fasting, renting of their clothes, putting on sackcloth, and sprinkling themselves with dust and ashes, the Scripture saith, *God saw their works, that they turned from their evil ways; and God repented of the evil that he had said that he would do unto them, and he did it not.*

[Jonah iii. 10.]

Now, beloved, ye have heard first what fasting is, as well that which is outward in the body, as that which is inward in the heart. Ye have heard also that there are three ends or purposes, whereunto if our outward fast be directed, it is a good work that God is pleased with. Thirdly, hath been declared, what time is most meet for to fast, either privately or publicly. Lastly of all, what things fasting hath obtained of God, by the examples of Ahab and the Ninevites. Let us therefore, dearly beloved, seeing there are many more causes of fasting and mourning in these our days than hath been of many years heretofore in any one age, endeavour ourselves both inwardly in our hearts, and also outwardly with our bodies, diligently to exercise this godly exercise of fasting, in such sort and manner, as the holy prophets, the apostles, and divers other devout persons for their time used the same. God is now the same God that was[z] then; God that loveth righteousness, and that hateth iniquity; God which willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he turn from his wickedness and live; God that hath promised to turn to us, if we refuse not to turn to[a] him: yea, *if we turn our evil works from before his eyes, cease to do evil, learn to do well, seek to do right, relieve the oppressed, be a right judge to the fatherless, defend the widow, break our bread to the hungry, bring the poor that wander into our house, clothe the naked, and despise not our brother which is our own flesh: Then shalt thou call,* saith the prophet, *and the Lord shall answer; thou shalt cry, and he shall say, Here am I*[b]: yea, God which heard Ahab and the Ninevites, and spared them,

[Isai. i. 16, 17.]

[Isai. lviii. 9.]

[z] that was] that he was 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[a] to] unto 1563.

[b] Here am I] Here I am 1563.

will also hear our prayers, and spare us, so that we, after their example, will unfeignedly turn unto him: yea, he will bless us with his heavenly benedictions, the time that we have to tarry in this world, and, after the race of this mortal life, he will bring us to his heavenly kingdom, where we[c] shall reign in everlasting blessedness with our Saviour Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

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[c] we] he 1563.

AN HOMILY

AGAINST

GLUTTONY AND DRUNKENNESS.

YE have heard in the former sermon, well-beloved, the description and the virtue of fasting, with the true use of the same. Now ye shall hear how foul a thing gluttony and drunkenness is before God, the rather to move you to use fasting the more diligently. Understand ye therefore, that almighty God—to the end that we might keep ourselves undefiled, and serve him in holiness and righteousness, according to his word—hath charged in his Scriptures so many as look for the glorious appearing of our Saviour Christ, to *lead their lives in all sobriety, modesty, and temperancy*[a]. Whereby we may learn how necessary it is for every Christian, that will not be found unready at the coming of our Saviour Christ, to live sober-minded in this present world, forasmuch as otherwise being unready he cannot enter with Christ into glory; and being unarmed in this behalf, he must needs be in continual danger of that cruel adversary, the roaring lion, against whom the apostle Peter warneth us to prepare ourselves in continual sobriety, that we may *resist, being stedfast in faith.* To the intent therefore that this soberness may be used in all our behaviour, it shall be expedient for us to declare unto you how much all kind of excess offendeth the majesty of almighty God, and how grievously he punisheth the immoderate abuse of those his creatures, which he ordaineth[b] to the maintenance of this our needy life, as meats, drinks, and apparel; and again, to shew the noisome diseases and great mischiefs, that commonly do follow them that inordinately give up themselves to be carried headlong with such pleasures as are joined either with dainty and over-large fare, or else with costly and sumptuous apparel.

Tit. ii. [12, 13, 14.]

1 Pet. v. [8.]

And first, that ye may perceive how detestable and hateful all excess in eating and drinking is before the face of almighty God, ye shall call to mind what is written by St Paul to the Galatians, where he numbereth gluttony and

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[a] temperancy] temperance 1563. [b] ordaineth] ordained 1563.

drunkenness among those horrible crimes, with the which (as he saith) *no man shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.* [Gal. v. [21.]
He reckoneth them among the *deeds of the flesh*, and coupleth them with idolatry, whoredom, and murder, which are the greatest offences that can be named among men. For the first spoileth God of his honour; the second defileth his holy temple, that is to wit, our own bodies; the third maketh us companions to Cain in the slaughter of our brethren; and whoso committeth them, as St Paul saith, *cannot inherit the kingdom of God.* Certainly, that sin is very odious and loathsome before the face of God, which causeth him to turn his favourable countenance so far from us, that he should clean bar us out of the doors, and disherit us of his heavenly kingdom. But he so much abhorreth all beastly banqueting, that, by his Son our Saviour Christ in the gospel, he declareth his terrible indignation against all belly-gods, in that he pronounceth them accursed, saying, *Woe be to you that are full, for ye shall hunger.* And by the prophet Isaiah he crieth out, *Woe be to you that rise up early, to give yourselves to drunkenness, and set all your mind so on drinking, that ye sit swearing*[c] *thereat until it be night. The harp, the lute, the shalm, and plenty of wine are at your feasts: but the works of the Lord ye do not behold, neither consider the works of his hands. Woe be unto you that are strong to drink wine, and are mighty to advance drunkenness.* Here the prophet plainly teacheth, that feasting[d] and banqueting maketh men forgetful of their duty towards God, when they give themselves to all kinds of pleasures[e], not considering nor regarding the works of the Lord, who hath created meats and drinks, as St Paul saith, to *be received thankfully of them that believe and know the truth.* So that the very beholding of these creatures, being the handy work of almighty God, might teach us to use them thankfully, as God hath ordained. Therefore they are without excuse before God, which either filthily feed themselves, not respecting the sanctification which is by the word of God and prayer, or else unthankfully abuse the good creatures of God by surfeiting and drunkenness, forasmuch as God's ordinances[f] in his creatures plainly forbiddeth[g] it. They that give themselves therefore to bibbing and [Gal. v. 19.] [1 Cor. vi. 10.] [Luke vi. [25.] [Isai. v. [11, 12.] [Isai. v. 22.] [1 Tim. iv. [3.]

[c] swearing] swilling 1623.
[d] feasting] fasting 1582.
[e] pleasures] pleasure 1563.
[f] ordinances] ordinance 1563.
[g] forbiddeth] forbid 1623.

banqueting, being altogether without[h] consideration of God's judgments, are suddenly oppressed in the day of vengeance. And therefore[i] our Saviour Christ warneth his disciples, saying, *Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcome with surfeiting and drunkenness, and cares of this world, and so that day come on you unawares.* Whosoever then will take warning at Christ, let him take heed to himself, lest his heart being overwhelmed by surfeiting, and drowned in drunkenness, he be taken unawares with that unthrifty servant, *which, thinking not on his master's coming, began to smite his fellow-servants, and to eat, and drink*[k], *and to be drunken;* and being suddenly taken, hath his just reward with unbelieving hypocrites; they that use to drink deeply, and to feed at full, (wallowing themselves in all kind of wickedness,) are brought asleep in that slumbering forgetfulness of God's holy will and commandments. Therefore almighty God crieth by the prophet Joel, *Awake ye drunkards, weep and howl all ye drinkers of wine, because the new wine shall be pulled from your mouth.* Here the Lord terribly threateneth to withdraw his benefits from such as abuse them, and to pull the cup from the mouth of drunkards. Here we may learn, not to sleep in drunkenness and surfeiting, lest God deprive us of the use of his creatures, when we unkindly abuse them. For certainly the Lord our God will not only take away his benefits when they are unthankfully abused, but also, in his wrath and heavy displeasure, take vengeance on such as immoderately abuse them. If our first parents, Adam and Eve, had not obeyed their greedy appetite in eating the forbidden fruit, neither had they lost the fruition of God's benefits which they then enjoyed in Paradise; neither had they brought so many mischiefs both to themselves, and to all their posterity. But when they passed the bonds that God had appointed them, as unworthy of God's benefits, they are expelled and driven out of Paradise; they may no longer eat the fruits of that garden which by excess they had so much abused. As transgressors of God's commandment, they and their posterity are brought to a perpetual shame and confusion; and as accursed of God,

Luke xxi. [34]

Luke xii. [45.]

Joel i. [5.]

Gen. iii. [6.]

Gen. iii. [23.]

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[h] altogether without] without all 1582, 1623.

[i] And therefore] And thereof 1563, Therefore Christ saith to his disciples 1582, 1623.

[k] and drink] and to drink 1623.

they must now sweat for their living, which before had abundance at their pleasure: even so if we, in eating and drinking exceed, when God of his large liberality sendeth plenty, he will soon change plenty into scarceness. And whereas we gloried in fulness, he will make us empty, and confound us with penury; yea, we shall be compelled to labour and travail with pains in seeking for that which we sometime enjoyed at ease. Thus the Lord will not leave them unpunished, which[l], regarding his works, follow the lusts and appetites[m] of their own hearts. The patriarch Noah, whom the apostle calleth the preacher of righteousness, a man exceedingly in God's favour, is in holy Scripture made an example whereby we may learn to avoid drunkenness. For when he had poured in wine more than was convenient, in filthy manner he lay naked in his tent, his privities discovered. And whereas sometime he was so[n] much esteemed, he is now become a laughing-stock to his wicked son Ham, no small grief to Shem and Japhet, his other two sons, which were ashamed of their father's beastly behaviour. Here we may note that drunkenness bringeth with it shame and derision, so that it never escapeth unpunished. Lot, in like manner being overcome with wine, committed[o] abominable incest with his own daughters. So will almighty God give over drunkards to the shameful lusts of their own[p] hearts. Here is Lot by drinking fallen so far beside himself, that he knoweth not his own daughters. Who would have thought that an old man in that heavy case, having lost his wife and all that he had, which had seen even now God's vengeance in fearful manner declared on the five cities for their vicious living, should be so far past the remembrance of his duty? But 'men overcome with drink are altogether mad,' as Seneca saith[2]. He was deceived by his daughters: but now many deceive themselves, never thinking that God by his terrible[q] punishments will be avenged on them that offend by excess! It is no small plague that Lot purchased by his drunkenness.

Noah. 2 Pet. ii. [5.]

Lot. [Gen. xix. 33, 34.]

Epist. 84.

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[l] which] who 1623.
[m] appetites] appetite 1563.
[n] so] *wanting* 1563.
[o] committed] committeth 1563.
[p] own] lewd 1563.
[q] terrible] horrible 1563.

2 ["Non est animus in sua potestate, ebrietate devinctus." Epist. LXXXIII.; Opp. Tom. II. p. 343, ed. Amstel. 1672.]

For he had copulation most filthily[r] with his own daughters, which conceived thereby, so that the matter is brought to light; it can no longer be hid. Two incestuous children are born, Ammon and Moab, of whom came two nations, the Ammonites and Moabites, abhorred of God, and cruel adversaries to his people the Israelites. Lo, Lot hath gotten to himself by drinking sorrow and care, with perpetual infamy and reproach unto the world's end. If God spared not his servant Lot, being otherwise a godly man, nephew unto Abraham, one that entertained the angels of God; what will he do to these beastly belly-slaves, which, void of all godliness or virtuous behaviour, not once but continually day and night, give themselves wholly to bibbing and banqueting?

[Gen. xix. 1—23.]

But let us yet further behold the terrible examples of God's indignation against such as greedily follow their unsatiable lusts. Amnon the son of David, feasting himself with his brother Absalom, is cruelly murdered of his own brother. Holofernes, a valiant and mighty captain, being overwhelmed with wine, had his head striken from his shoulders by that silly woman Judith. Simon the high priest, and his two sons, Mattathias and Judas, being entertained of[s] Ptolemy the son of Abobus, who had before married Simon's daughter, after much eating and drinking were traitorously murdered of their own kinsmen. If the Israelites had not given themselves to belly-cheer, they had never so often fallen to idolatry. Neither would we at this day be so addict to superstition, were it not that we so much esteemed the filling of our bellies. The Israelites, when they served idols, *sat down to eat and drink, and rose again to play*, as the Scripture reporteth; therefore seeking to serve their bellies, they forsook the service of the Lord their God. So are we drawn to consent unto wickedness when our hearts are overwhelmed by drunkenness and feasting. So Herod setting his mind on banqueting, was content to grant, that the holy man of God, John Baptist, should be beheaded at the request of his whore's daughter. Had not the rich glutton been so greedily given to the pampering of his belly, he would never have been so unmerciful to the poor Lazarus, neither had he felt the torments of the unquenchable[t] fire. What was the

Amnon. 2 Sam. xiii. [28, 29.] Judith xiii. [2. 8.]

[1 Mac. xvi. 16.]

Exod. xxxii. [6.]

1 Cor. x. [7.]

Matt. xiv. [6—10.]

Luke xvi. [19—25.] Ezek. xvi. [49.]

[r] filthily] filthy 1563.
[s] of] by 1563.
[t] of the unquenchable] of unquenchable 1563.

cause that God so horribly punished Sodom and Gomorrha? was it not their proud banqueting and continual idleness, which caused them to be so lewd of life, and so unmerciful towards the poor? What shall we now think of the horrible excess, whereby so many have perished, and been brought to destruction? The great Alexander[1], after that he had conquered the whole world, was himself overcome by drunkenness, insomuch that, being drunken, he slew his faithful friend, Clitus, whereof when he was sober he was so much ashamed, that for anguish of heart he wished death. Yet notwithstanding, after this he left not his banqueting; but in one night swilled in so much wine, that he fell into a fever; and when as by no means he would abstain from wine, within few days after in miserable sort he ended his life. The conqueror of the whole world is made a slave by excess, and becometh so mad, that he murdereth his dear friend; he is plagued with sorrow, shame, and grief of heart for his intemperancy; yet can he not leave it; he is kept in captivity; and he, which sometime had subdued many, is become a subject to the vile belly. So are drunkards and gluttons altogether without power of themselves; and the more they drink, the drier they wax; one banquet provoketh another; they study to fill their greedy stomachs. Therefore it is commonly said, *A drunken man is always dry*, and, *A glutton's gut is never filled.* Unsatiable truly are the affections and lusts of man's heart, and therefore we must learn to bridle them with the fear of God, so that we yield not to our own lusts, lest we kindle God's indignation against ourselves, when we seek to satisfy our beastly appetite. St Paul teacheth us, *whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, to do all to the glory of God.* Where he appointeth, as it were by a measure, how much a man may eat and drink: that is to wit, so much that the mind be not made sluggish by cramming in meat, and pouring in drink, so that it cannot lift up itself to the glory and praise[u] of God. Whatsoever he be then, that by eating and drinking makes himself unlusty[x] to serve God, let him not think to escape unpunished.

Alexander.

1 Cor. x. [31.]

Ye[y] have heard how much almighty God detesteth the

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[u] glory and praise] praise and glory 1563.

[x] unlusty] unfit 1623.

[y] Ye] You 1563.

[1] [Senec. Epist. LXXXIII. p. 344.]

abuse of his creatures, as he himself declareth, as well by his holy word, as also by the fearful examples of his just judgment[z]. Now if neither the word of God can restrain our raging lusts and greedy appetites, neither the manifest examples of God's vengeance fear us from riotous and excessive eating and drinking, let us yet consider the manifold mischiefs that proceed thereof, so shall we know the tree by the fruits. It hurteth the body, it infecteth the mind, it wasteth the substance, and is noyful[a] to the neighbours. But who is able to express the manifold dangers and inconveniences that follow of intemperate diet? Oft cometh sudden death by banqueting; sometime the members are dissolved, and so the whole body is brought into a miserable state. He that eateth and drinketh unmeasurably, kindleth oft-times such an unnatural heat in his body, that his appetite is provoked thereby to desire more than it should, or else it overcometh his stomach, and filleth all the body full of sluggishness, makes it unlusty[b] and unfit to serve either God or man; not nourishing the body, but hurting it; and last of all, bring[c] many kinds of incurable diseases, whereof ensueth sometimes desperate death. But what should I need to say any more in this behalf? For except God bless our meats, and give them strength to feed us; again, except God give strength to nature to digest, so that we may take profit by them; either shall we filthily vomit them up again, or else shall they lie stinking in our bodies, as in a loathsome sink or channel[d], and so diversely infect the whole body. And surely the blessing of God is so far from such as use riotous banqueting, that in their faces be sometimes seen the express tokens of this intemperancy; as Solomon noteth in his Proverbs. *To whom is woe?* saith he; *to whom is sorrow? to whom is strife? to whom is brawling? to whom are wounds without cause? and for whom is the redness of eyes? Even to them that tarry long at the wine.* Mark, I beseech you, the terrible tokens of God's indignation: woe and sorrow, strife and brawling, wounds without cause, disfigured face, and redness of eyes, are to be looked for, when men set themselves to excess and gormandize, devising all means to increase their greedy appetites by tempering the wine, and saucing it in such

Prov. xxiii. [29, 30.]

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[z] judgment] judgments 1563.
[a] noyful] noisome 1623.
[b] unlusty] unfit 1623.
[c] bring] bringeth 1563, 1623.
[d] channel] canell 1563.

sort, that it may be more delectable and pleasant unto them. It were expedient that such delicate persons should be ruled by Solomon, who, in consideration of the aforesaid[e] inconveniences, forbiddeth the very sight of wine. *Look not upon the wine*, saith he, *when it is red, and when he*[f] *sheweth his colour in the cup, or goeth down pleasantly: for in the end thereof it will bite like a serpent, and hurt like a cockatrice. Thine eyes shall look upon strange women, and thine heart shall speak lewd things; and thou shalt be as one that sleepeth in the midst of the sea, and as he that sleepeth in the top of the mast. They have stricken me, thou shalt say*[g]*, but I was not sick; they have beaten me, but I felt it not; therefore will I seek it yet still.* Certainly that must needs be very hurtful which biteth and infecteth like a poisoned serpent, whereby men are brought to filthy fornication, which causeth the heart to devise mischief. He doubtless is in great danger that sleepeth in the midst of the sea, for soon he is[h] overwhelmed with waves. He is like to fall suddenly that sleepeth in the top of the mast. And surely he hath lost his senses, that cannot feel when he is stricken, that knoweth not when he is beaten. So surfeiting and drunkenness bites by the belly, and causeth continual gnawing in the stomach, brings men to whoredom and lewdness of heart, with dangers unspeakable; so that men are bereaved and robbed of their senses, and are altogether without power of themselves. Who seeth not now the miserable estate, whereunto men are brought by these foul filthy monsters, gluttony and drunkenness? The body is so much disquieted by them, that as Jesus the son of Sirach affirmeth, *the unsatiable feeder never sleepeth quietly, such an unmeasurable heat is kindled, whereof ensueth continual ache and pain to the whole body.* And no less truly the mind is[i] also annoyed by surfeiting banquets: for sometimes men are stricken with phrensy of mind, and are brought in manner[k] to mere[l] madness; some wax so brutish and blockish, that they become altogether void of understanding. It is an horrible thing that any man should maim himself in any member; but for a man of his own accord to bereave himself of his wits, is a mischief intolerable. The prophet

Prov. xxiii. [31—35]

Eccles. xxxi. [20.

[e] aforesaid] foresaid 1563, 1582.
[f] he] it 1563—1623.
[g] thou shalt say] shalt thou say 1563.
[h] he is] is he 1563.
[i] the mind is] is the mind 1563.
[k] in manner] in like manner 1623.
[l] mere] neere 1563.

Hos. iv. [11.] Hosea, in the fourth chapter, saith, that *wine and drunkenness taketh away the heart.* Alas, then, that any man should yield unto that, whereby he might bereave himself of the pos-
Eccles. xix. [2.] session of his own heart. *Wine and women lead wise men out of the way, and bring men of understanding to reproof*
Eccles. xxxi. [27, 29.] *and shame,* saith Jesus, the son of Sirach. Yea, he asketh, *what is the life of man that is overcome with drunkenness. Wine drunken with excess maketh bitterness of mind, and causeth brawling and strife.* In magistrates it causeth cruelty instead of justice, as that wise philosopher Plato[1] perceived right well, when he affirmed, that a drunken man hath a tyrannous heart, and therefore will rule all[m] at his pleasure, contrary to right and reason. And certainly drunkenness maketh
Prov. xxxi. [4.] men forget both law and equity, which caused king Solomon so straitly to charge that no wine should be given unto rulers, lest peradventure by drinking they forget what the law appointeth them, and so change the judgment of all the children of the poor. Therefore among all sorts of men, "excessive drinking is most intolerable in a magistrate or man of author-
De Repub. Lib. iii. ity," as Plato[2] saith: "for a drunkard knoweth not where he is himself." If then a man of authority should be a drunkard, alas! how might he be a guide unto other men, standing in need of a governor himself? Besides this, a drunken man can keep nothing secret; many fond, foolish, and filthy words are spoken, when men are at their banquets. "Drunkenness," as Seneca[3] affirmeth, "discovereth all wickedness, and bringeth it to light; it removeth all shamefacedness, and increaseth all mischief. The proud man, being drunken, uttereth his pride, the cruel man his cruelty, and the envious man his envy, so that no vice can lay hid in a drunkard." Moreover, in that he knoweth not himself, he[n] fumbleth and stammereth in his speech, staggereth to and

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[m] all] *wanting* 1582—1623. [n] he] *wanting* 1563.

[1] [Οὐκοῦν, ὦ φίλε, εἶπον, καὶ μεθυσθεὶς ἀνὴρ τυραννικόν τι φρόνημα ἴσχει; Ἴσχει γάρ. De Republica, Lib. IX. Opp. p. 729, D: ed. Francof. 1602.]

[2] [Μέθης μὲν δὴ εἴπομεν ὅτι ἀφεκτέον αὐτοῖς· παντὶ γάρ που μᾶλλον ἐγχωρεῖ ἢ φύλακι μεθυσθέντι, μὴ εἰδέναι ὅπη γῆς ἐστι. Ibid. Lib. III. p. 621, A.]

[3] ["Ubi possedit animum nimia vis vini, quidquid mali latebat emergit... Crescit insolenti superbia, crudelitas sævo, malignitas livido: omne vitium laxatur et prodit." Epist. LXXXIII. p. 345.]

fro in his going, beholding[o] nothing stedfastly with his staring eyes, believeth that the house runneth round about him. It is evident that the mind is brought clean out of frame by excessive drinking, *so that whosoever is deceived by wine or strong drink, becometh,* as Solomon saith, *a mocker, or a madman, so that he can never be wise.* "If any man think that he may drink much wine, and yet be well in his wits, he may as well suppose," as Seneca[1] saith, "that when he hath drunken poison, he shall not die." For wheresoever excessive drinking is, there must needs follow perturbation of mind; and where the belly is stuffed with dainty fare, there the mind is oppressed with slothful sluggishness. "A full belly maketh a gross understanding," saith St Bernard[2], and much meat maketh a weary mind. But alas, now-a-days, men pass little either for body or mind; so they have worldly wealth and riches abundant to satisfy their unmeasurable lusts, they care not what they do. They are not ashamed to shew their drunken faces, and to play the madman[p] openly. They think themselves in good case, and that all is well with them, if they be not pinched by lack and poverty. Lest any of us therefore might take occasion to flatter himself in this beastly kind of excess, by the abundance of riches, let us call to mind what Solomon writeth in the twenty-first of his Proverbs, *He that loveth wine and fat fare shall never be rich,* saith he. And in the twenty-third chapter he maketh a vehement exhortation on this wise: *Keep not company with drunkards and gluttons, for the glutton and drunkard shall come to poverty.*

Prov. xx. [1.]

Ad Sororem, serm. 24.

Prov. xxi. [17.]

Prov. xxiii. [20, 21.]

He that draweth his patrimony through his throat, and eateth and drinketh more in one hour, or in one day, than he is able to earn in a whole week, must needs be an unthrift, and come to beggary.

But some will say, what need any to find fault with this? He hurteth no man but himself, he is no man's foe but his own. Indeed I know this is commonly spoken in defence of

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[o] beholding] beholdeth 1563, 1582. [p] madman] madmen, 1563, 1582.

[1] ["Nam si illud argumentaberis, sapientem multo vino inebriari et retinere rectum tenorem, etiam si temulentus sit; licet colligas, nec veneno poto moriturum," etc. Ibid. p. 347.]

[2] ["Pinguis venter non gignit subtilem sensum." Ad Sororem Serm. xxiv. ad calc. S. Bernard. Opp. fol. 88, c: ed. Antv. 1576.]

these beastly belly-gods: but it is easy to see how hurtful they are, not only to themselves, but also to the commonwealth, by their example. Every one that meeteth them is troubled with brawling and contentious language, and oft-
[Jer. v. 8.] times raging in beastly lusts, *like fed*[q] *horses, they neigh on their neighbour's wives,* as Jeremiah saith, *and defile their children and daughters.* Their example is evil to them among whom they dwell; they are an occasion of offence to many; and whiles they waste their substance in banqueting, their own household is not provided of things necessary, their wives and their children are evil intreated, they have not wherewith to relieve their poor neighbours in time of necessity, as they might have if they lived soberly. They are unprofitable to the commonwealth: for a drunkard is neither fit to rule, nor to be ruled. They are a slander to the church
1 Cor. v. [11.] or congregation of Christ, and therefore St Paul doth excommunicate them among whoremongers, idolaters, covetous persons, and extortioners, forbidding Christians to eat with any such.

Let us therefore, good people, eschew, every one of us, all intemperancy, let us love sobriety and moderate diet, oft give ourselves to abstinence[r] and fasting, whereby the mind of man is more lift up to God, more ready to all godly exercises, as prayer, hearing and readings of God's word, to his spiritual comfort. Finally, whosoever regardeth the health and safety of his own body, or wisheth always to be well in his wits, or desireth quietness of mind, and abhorreth fury and madness, he that would be rich, and escape poverty, he that is willing to live without the hurt of his neighbour, a profitable member of the commonwealth, a Christian without slander of Christ and his church, let him avoid all riotous and excessive
[1 Cor. x. 31.] banqueting, let him learn to keep such measure as behoveth him that professeth true godliness, let him follow St Paul's rule, and so eat and drink to the glory and praise of God, who hath created all things to be soberly used with thanksgiving, to whom be all honour and glory for ever. Amen.

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[q] fed] high-fed 1623.

[r] abstinence] abstinency 1563.

AN HOMILY

AGAINST

EXCESS OF APPAREL.

WHERE ye have heretofore been excited and stirred to use temperance of meats and drinks, and to avoid the excess thereof, many ways hurtful to the state of the commonwealth, and also[a] odious before Almighty God, being the author and giver of such creatures, to comfort and stablish our frail nature with thanks unto him, and not by abusing of them to provoke his liberality to severe punishing of that disorder; in like manner it is convenient, that ye be admonished of another foul and chargeable excess: I mean of apparel, at these days so outrageous[b], that neither Almighty God by his word can stay our proud curiosity in the same, neither yet godly and necessary laws, made of our princes, and oft repeated with the penalties, can bridle this detestable abuse, whereby both God is openly contemned, and the prince's laws manifestly disobeyed, to the great peril of the realm. Wherefore, that sobriety also in this excess may be espied among us, I shall declare unto you both the moderate use of apparel, approved by God in his holy word, and also the abuses thereof, which he forbiddeth and disalloweth, as it may appear by the inconveniences which daily increase, by the just judgment of God, where that measure is not kept, which he himself hath appointed.

If we consider the end and purpose whereunto Almighty God hath ordained his creatures, we shall easily perceive that he alloweth us apparel, not only for necessities' sake, but also for an honest comeliness. Even as in herbs, trees, and sundry fruits, we have not only divers necessary uses, but also the pleasant sight and sweet smell, to delight us withal; wherein we may behold the singular love of God towards mankind, in that he hath provided both to relieve our necessities, and also to refresh our senses with an honest and moderate recreation. Therefore David, in the hundred and fourth Psalm, confessing God's careful providence, sheweth that God not only provideth things necessary for men, as herbs and other meats, but also such things as may rejoice and comfort, *as wine to* Psal. civ. [14, 15.]

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[a] and also] and so, 1582—1623.

[b] outrageous] gorgeous 1623.

make glad the heart, oils and ointments to make the face to shine. So that they are altogether past the limits of humanity, which[c], yielding only to necessity, forbid the lawful fruition of God's benefits. With whose traditions we may not be led, if we give ear to St Paul, who[d] writing to the Colossians willeth[e] them not to hearken unto such men as shall say, *Touch not, taste not, handle not;* superstitiously bereaving them of the fruition of God's creatures. And no less truly ought we to beware, lest, under pretence of Christian liberty, we take licence to do what we list, advancing ourselves in sumptuous apparel, and despising other, preparing ourselves in fine bravery, to wanton, lewd, and unchaste behaviour. To the avoiding whereof, it behoveth us to be mindful of four lessons, taught in holy Scripture, whereby we shall learn to temper ourselves, and to restrain our immoderate affections, to that measure which God hath appointed.

Col. ii. [21.]

4 Lessons.

1. The first is, that *we make not provision for the flesh, to accomplish the lust thereof,* with costly apparel, as that harlot did, of whom Solomon speaketh (Proverbs vii.) which *perfumed her bed, and decked it with costly ornaments of Egypt, to the fulfilling of her lewd lust:* but rather ought we by moderate temperance to cut off all occasions, whereby the flesh might get the victory.

Rom. xiii. [14.]

Prov. vii. [16, 17.]

2. The second is written by St Paul, in the seventh chapter of his first Epistle to the Corinthians, where he teacheth us to *use this world as though we used it not:* whereby he cutteth away not only all ambition, pride, and vain pomp in apparel; but also all inordinate care and affection, which withdraweth us from the contemplation of heavenly things, and consideration of our duty towards God. They that are much occupied in caring for things pertaining to the body, are most commonly negligent and careless in matters concerning the soul. Therefore our Saviour Christ willeth us *not to take thought what we shall eat, or what we shall drink, or wherewith we shall be clothed; but rather to seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof.* Whereby we may learn to beware, lest we use those things to our hinderance, which God hath ordained for our comfort and furtherance towards his kingdom.

1 Cor. vii. [31—33.]

Matt. vi. [31, 33.]

3. The third is, that we take in good part our estate and condition, and

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[c] which] who 1623.

[d] who] *wanting* 1623.

[e] willeth] willing 1582—1623.

content ourselves with that which God sendeth, whether it be much or little. He that is ashamed of base and simple attire, will be proud of gorgeous apparel, if he may get it. We must learn therefore of the apostle St Paul both to *use plenty*, Phil. iv. [12.] *and also to suffer penury;* remembering that we must yield accounts of those things which we have received unto him who abhorreth all excess, pride, ostentation, and vanity, who also utterly condemneth and disalloweth whatsoever draweth us from our duty towards[f] God, or diminisheth our charity towards our neighbours and brethren[g], whom we ought to love as ourselves. The fourth and last rule is, that every 4. man behold and consider his own vocation, in as much as God hath appointed every man his degree and office, within the limits whereof it behoveth him to keep himself. Therefore all may not look to wear like apparel, but every one according to his degree, as God hath placed him. Which, if it were observed, many one doubtless should be compelled to wear a russet-coat, which now ruffleth in silks and velvets, spending more by the year in sumptuous apparel than their fathers received for the whole revenue of their lands. But alas, now-a-days, how many may we behold occupied wholly in pampering the flesh, taking no care at all, but only how to deck themselves, setting their affection altogether on worldly bravery, abusing God's goodness when he sendeth plenty, to satisfy their wanton lusts, having no regard to the degree wherein God hath placed them. The Israelites were contented with such apparel as God gave them, although it were base and simple. And God so blessed them, that their shoes Deut. xxix. [5.] and clothes lasted them forty years; yea, and those clothes, which their fathers had worn, their children[h] were content[i] to use afterward. But we are never contented, and therefore we prosper not; so that most commonly he that ruffleth in his sables, in his fine furred gown, corked slippers, trim buskins, and warm mittens, is more ready to chill for cold than the poor labouring man, which can abide in the field all the day long, when the north wind blows, with a few beggarly clouts about him. We are loth to wear such as our fathers have[k] left us; we think not that sufficient or good enough for us. We must have one gown for the day, an-

[f] towards] toward 1623.
[g] brethren] children 1582.
[h] their children] the children 1563.
[i] content] contented 1582—1623.
[k] have] hath 1563.

other for the night; one long, another short; one for winter, another for summer; one through furred, another but faced; one for the working-day, another for the holy-day; one of this colour, another of that colour; one of cloth, another of silk or damask. We must have change of apparel, one afore dinner, and another[1] after; one of the Spanish fashion, another Turkey: and to be brief, never content with sufficient.

Matt. x. [10.] Our Saviour Christ bade his disciples they should not have two coats: but the most men, far unlike to his scholars, have their presses so full of apparel, that many knoweth not[m] how many sorts they have. Which thing caused St James to pronounce this terrible curse against such wealthy worldlings:

James v. [1, 2, 5.] *Go to, ye rich men; weep and howl on your wretchedness that shall come upon you: your riches are corrupt, and your garments are moth-eaten: ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and in wantonness; ye have nourished your hearts, as in the day of slaughter.* Mark, I beseech you, St James calleth them miserable, notwithstanding their riches and plenty of apparel, forasmuch as they pamper their bodies to their own destruction. What was the rich glutton the better for his fine fare and costly apparel? Did not he

Luke xvi. [19—25.] nourish himself to be tormented in hell-fire? Let us learn therefore to content ourselves, having food and raiment, as St

1 Tim. vi. [9.] Paul teacheth, lest, desiring to be enriched with abundance, we *fall into temptations, snares, and many noisome lusts, which drown men in perdition and destruction.* Certainly, such as delight in gorgeous apparel are commonly puffed up with pride, and filled with divers vanities. So were the

Isai. iii. [16—23.] daughters of Sion and people of Jerusalem, whom Isaiah the prophet threateneth, because they walked with stretched-out necks and wandering eyes, mincing as they went, and nicely treading with their feet, that almighty God would[n] make their heads bald, and discover their secret shame. *In that day,* saith he, *shall the Lord take away the ornament of the slippers, and the cauls, and the round attires, and the sweet balls, and the bracelets, and the attires of the head, and the slops, and the head-bands, and the tablets, and the earrings, the rings, and the mufflers, the costly apparel, and the veils, and wimples, and the crisping-pin, and the glasses, and the*

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[1] and another] another 1563, 1582.

[m] knoweth not] know not 1582—1623.

[n] would] should 1563.

fine linen, and the hoods, and the lawns. So that almighty God would not suffer his benefits to be vainly and wantonly abused, no not of that people whom he most tenderly loved, and had chosen to himself before all other. No less truly is the vanity that is used among° us in these days. For the proud and haughty stomachs of the daughters of England are so maintained with divers disguised sorts of costly apparel, that, as Tertullian[1], an ancient father, saith: "there is left no difference in apparel between an honest matron and a common strumpet." Yea, many men are become so effeminate, that they care not what they spend in disguising themselves, ever desiring new toys, and inventing new fashions. Therefore a certain man[2], that would picture every countryman in his accustomed apparel, when he had painted other nations he pictured the Englishman all naked, and gave him cloth under his arm, and bade him make it himself as he thought best, for he changed his fashion so often, that he knew not how to make it. Thus with our fantastical devices we make ourselves laughing-stocks to other nations; while one spendeth his patrimony upon pounces and cuts, another bestoweth more on a dancing shirt, than might suffice to buy him honest and comely apparel for his whole body. Some hang their revenues about their necks, ruffling in their ruffs, and many a one jeopardeth his best joint, to maintain himself in sumptuous raiment. And every man, nothing considering his estate and condition, seeketh to excel other in costly attire. Whereby it cometh to pass, that, in abundance and plenty of all things, we yet complain of want and penury, while one man spendeth that which might serve a multitude, and no man distributeth of the abundance which he hath received, and all men excessively waste that which should serve to supply the necessities of other. There hath been very good provision made against such abuses, by divers good and wholesome laws[3]; which if they were practised as they ought to be of all true subjects, they might in some part serve to diminish this

Apol. con. Gentes. cap. vi.

The cause of dearth.

° among] amongst 1563.

[1] ["Video et inter matronas atque prostibulas nullum de habitu discrimen relictum." Apolog. adversus Gentes, c. vi.]

[2] [Andrew Borde: see D'Israeli's 'Curiosities of Literature,' p. 81; ed. 1838.]

[3] [See 'Statutes of the Realm,' 1° Hen. VIII. c. 14; 6° Hen. VIII. c. 1; 24° Hen. VIII. c. 13.]

raging and riotous excess in apparel: but, alas! there appeareth amongst us little fear and obedience, either of God or man. Therefore must we needs look for God's fearful vengeance from heaven, to overthrow our presumption and pride, as he overthrew Herod, who in his royal apparel, forgetting God, was smitten of an angel, and eaten up of worms. By which terrible example, God hath taught us, that we are but worms' meat, although we pamper ourselves never so much in gorgeous apparel.

Acts xii. [21—23.]

Here we may learn that which Jesus the son of Sirach teacheth, *not to be proud of clothing and raiment, neither to exalt ourselves in the day of honour, because the works of the Lord are wonderful and glorious, secret and unknown, teaching us with humbleness of mind, every one to be mindful of the vocation whereunto God hath called him.* Let Christians therefore endeavour themselves to quench the care of pleasing the flesh, let us use the benefits of God in this world, in such wise, that we be not too much occupied in providing for the body. Let us content ourselves quietly with that which God sendeth, be it never so little. And if it please him to send plenty, let us not wax proud thereof, but let us use it moderately, as well to our own comfort, as to the relief of such as stand in necessity. *He that in abundance and plenty of apparel hideth his face from him that is naked, despiseth his own flesh,* as Isaiah the prophet saith. Let us learn to know ourselves, and not to despise other; let us remember that we stand all before the majesty of almighty God, who shall judge us by his holy word, wherein he forbiddeth excess, not only to men, but also to women. So that none can excuse themselves, of what estate or condition soever they be. Let us therefore present ourselves before his throne, as Tertullian[1] exhorteth, "with the ornaments which the apostle speaketh of, Ephesians the sixth chapter, *having our loins girt about with verity*[p], *having the breastplate of righteousness, and shod with shoes prepared by the gospel of peace.* Let us take unto us simplicity, chastity, and comeliness, submitting our necks to the sweet yoke of Christ."

Ecclus. xi. [4.]

[Ephes. iv. 1, 2.]

Isai. lviii. [7.]

Ephes. vi. [14, 15.]

Matt. xi. [30.]

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p verity] the verity 1563, 1582.

1 ["Prodite vos jam medicamentis et ornamentis extructæ Apostolorum, sumentes de simplicitate candorem, de pudicitia ruborem ... annectentes cervicibus jugum Christi." De Cultu Fœminarum, c. xiii.]

"Let women be subject to their husbands, and they are sufficiently attired," saith Tertullian[1]. The wife of one Philo[2] an heathen philosopher, being demanded why she ware no gold, she answered, that "she thought her husband's virtues sufficient ornaments." How much more ought Christian women, instructed by the word of God, to[q] content themselves in their husbands! Yea, how much more ought every Christian to content himself in our Saviour Christ, thinking himself sufficiently garnished with his heavenly virtues! But it will be here objected, and said of some nice and vain women, that all which we do in painting our faces, in dying our hair, in embalming our bodies, in decking us with gay apparel, is to please our husbands, to delight his eyes, and to retain his love towards us. O vain excuse, and most shameful answer, to the reproach of thy husband. What couldest thou more say to set out his foolishness, than to charge him to be pleased and delighted with the devil's tire? Who can paint her face, and curl her hair, and change it into an unnatural colour, but therein doth work reproof to her Maker, who made her? As though she could make herself more comely than God hath appointed the measure of her beauty. What do these women, but go about to reform that which God hath made? not knowing that all things natural is[r] the work of God, and things disguised and unnatural be the works of the devil: and as though a wise and Christian[s] husband should delight to see his wife in such painted and flourished visions[t], which common harlots mostly[u] do use, to train therewith their lovers to naughtiness; or, as though an honest woman could delight to be like an harlot for pleasing of her husband. Nay, nay, these be but vain[x] excuses of such as go about to please rather others than their husbands. And such attires be but to provoke her to shew herself abroad, to entice others: a worthy matter. She must keep debate with her husband to maintain such apparel, whereby she is the worse housewife, the seldomer at home to see her charge, and so to[y] neglect his thrift, by giv-

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[q] to] *wanting* 1563.
[r] is] are 1563.
[s] Christian] a Christian 1563.
[t] visions] visages 1623.
[u] mostly] most 1623.
[x] vain] the vain 1563.
[y] to] *wanting* 1582—1623.

1 ["Caput maritis subjicite, et satis ornate eritis." Ibid.]

2 [Αὐτάρκης κόσμος μοι ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετή. Apud Stobæ Nuptialia Præcepta, Serm. LXXII.: Opp. p. 443, ed. Tigur. 1543.]

ing great provocation to her household to waste and wantonness, while she must wander abroad to shew her own vanity, and her husband's foolishness. By which her pride, she stirreth up much envy of others, which be so[z] vainly delighted as she is. She doth but deserve mocks and scorns, to set out all her commendations in Jewish and ethnic apparel, and yet brag of her Christianity. She doth but waste superfluously her husband's stock by such sumptuousness, and sometimes is[a] the cause of much bribery, extortion, and deceit, in her husband's occupying[b], that she may be the more gorgeously set out to the sight of the vain world, to please the devil's eyes, and not God's, who giveth to every creature sufficient and moderate comeliness, wherewith we should be contented, if we were of God. What other thing dost thou by those means, but provokest other[c] to tempt thee, to deceive thy soul, by the bait of thy pomp and pride? What else dost thou, but settest out thy pride, and makest of thy[d] undecent apparel of thy body, the devil's net, to catch the souls of them which behold thee? O thou woman, not a Christian, but worse than a paynim, thou minister of the devil! why pamperest thou that carrion flesh so high, which sometime doth stink and rot on the earth as thou goest? Howsoever thou perfumest thyself, yet cannot thy beastliness be hidden, or overcome with thy smells and savours, which do rather deform and misshape thee, than beautify thee. What meant Solomon to say of such trimming of vain women[e], when he said, *A fair woman, without good manners and conditions, is like a sow which hath a ring of gold upon her snout;* but that the more thou garnish thyself with these outward blazings, the less thou carest for the inward garnishing of thy mind, and so dost but defoul[f] thyself by such array, and not beautify thyself? Hear, hear, what Christ's holy apostles do write: *Let not the outward apparel of women,* saith St Peter, *be decked with the braiding of hair, with wrapping on of gold, or goodly clothing: but let the mind and the conscience, which is not seen with the eyes, be pure and clean; that is,* saith he, *an acceptable and an excellent thing before God. For so the old ancient holy*

Prov. xi. [22.]

1 Pet. iii. [3–5.]

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[z] so] as 1623.
[a] is] she is 1623.
[b] occupying] dealings 1623.
[c] other] others 1563.
[d] thy] the 1582, 1623.
[e] women] woman 1563.
[f] defoul] defile 1587, 1595, deform 1623.

women attired themselves, and were obedient to their husbands. And St Paul saith, that *women should apparel themselves with shamefacedness and soberness, and not with braids of their hair, or gold, or pearl, or precious clothes, but as women should do, which will express godliness by their good outward works.* 1 Tim. 2. [9, 10.]

If ye[g] will not keep the apostles' precepts, at the least let us hear what pagans, which were ignorant of Christ, have said in this matter: [1]Democrates[h] saith, "The ornament of a woman standeth in scarcity of speech and apparel." Sophocles[2] saith of such apparel thus; "It is not an ornament, O thou fool, but a shame and a manifest shew of thy folly." Socrates[3] saith, "That that is a garnishing to a woman which declareth out her honesty." The Grecians[4] use it in a proverb, "It is not gold or pearl which is a beauty to a woman, but good conditions." And Aristotle[5] biddeth that a woman should use less apparel than the law doth suffer. For it is not the goodliness of apparel, nor the excellency of beauty, nor the abundance of gold, that maketh a woman to be esteemed, but modesty, and diligence to live honestly in all things. This outrageous vanity is now grown so far, that there is no shame taken of it. We read in histories, that when king Dionysius[6] sent to the women of Lacedæmon rich robes, they answered and said, "that they shall do us more shame than honour;" and

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[g] If ye] If we, 1623.

[h] Democrates] Democritus, 1623.

[1] [Κόσμος ὀλιγομυθίη γυναικί· καλὸν δὲ καὶ κόσμου λιτότης: a saying of Democritus, apud Stobæum, Nuptial. Præcept. Serm. LXXII.; Opp. p. 441.]

[2] [Οὐκ κόσμος, οὐκ, ὦ τλῆμον, ἀλλ' ἀκοσμία. Apud Plutarch. Conjugal. Præcept. Opp. Tom. I. p. 141, E. ed. Xyland.]

[3] [Plutarch quotes a saying of Socrates somewhat like this. Ibid.]

[4] [The reference is probably to a saying of Crates: Κοσμεῖ δὲ τὸ κοσμιωτέραν γυναῖκα ποιοῦν· ποιεῖ δὲ τοιαύτην οὔτε χρυσος, οὔτε σμάραγδος οὔτε κόκκος· ἀλλ' ὅσα σεμνότητος, εὐταξίας, αἰδοῦς ἔμφασιν περτίθησι. Apud. Plutarch. Ibid.]

[5] ["Quos ipsa (*sc.* proba mulier) sumptus faciet, et quo ornatu utetur, ejus apparatum infra etiam leges publicas abducet." Œconomic. Lib. I. c. 6; Opp. Tom. III. p. 675; ed. Paris. 1639.]

[6] [Plutarch attributes the reply to Lysander, and not to his daughters: Ταῦτα τὰ κόσμια καταισχυνεῖ μοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ κοσμήσει τὰς θυγατέρας. Ibid.]

therefore refused them. The women in Rome[2] in old time abhorred that gay apparel which king Pyrrhus sent to them, and none were so greedy and vain to accept them. And a law was openly made of the senate[3], and a long time observed, "that no woman should wear over half an ounce of gold, nor should wear clothes of divers colours."

But perchance some dainty dame will say and answer me, that they must do something to shew their birth and blood, to shew their husband's riches: as though nobility were chiefly seen by these things, which be common to those which be most vile; as though thy husband's riches were not better bestowed than in such superfluities; as though, when thou were[i] christened, thou didst not renounce the pride of this world[k], and the pomp of the flesh. I speak not against convenient apparel for every state agreeable, but against the superfluity, against the vain delight to covet such vanities, to devise new fashions to feed thy pride with, to spend so much upon thy carcase, that thou and thy husband are compelled to rob the poor to maintain thy costliness. Hear how that noble holy woman, queen Esther, setteth out these goodly ornaments, (as they be called,) when, in respect of saving God's people, she was compelled to put on such glorious apparel, knowing that it was a fit stale[l] to blind the eyes of carnal fools. Thus she prayed: *Thou knowest, O Lord, the necessity, which I am driven to, to put on this apparel, and that I abhor this sign of pride and of this glory which I bear on my head, and that I defy it as a filthy cloth, and that I wear it not when I am alone.* Again, by what means was Holofernes deceived, but by the glittering shew of apparel, which that holy woman Judith did put on her, not as delighting in them, nor seeking vain voluptuous pleasure by them? But she ware it of pure necessity by God's dispensation, using this vanity to overcome the vain eyes of God's enemy. Such desire was in those noble[m] women, being very loth and unwilling otherwise to wear such sumptuous apparel, by the

[Esth. xiv. 16.]

[Judith x. 3, 23.]

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[i] were] wast 1623.
[k] this world] the world 1563.
[l] stale] stable 1582—1623.
[m] noble] holy noble 1563.

[2] [See Valerius Max. Lib. IV. cap. III. §. 14.]

[3] [The reference is to the Oppian Law, which was repealed after twenty years. Liv. Lib. XXXIV. capp. 1, 8.]

which others should be caused to forget themselves. These be commended in scripture for abhorring such vanities, which by constraint and great necessity, against their hearts' desire, they[n] were compelled to wear them for a time. And shall such women be worthy commendations, which neither be comparable with these women aforesaid in nobility, nor comparable to them in their good zeals[o] to God and his people, whose daily delight and seeking is to flourish in such gay shifts and changes, never satisfied, nor regarding who smarteth for their apparel so they may come by it? O vain men, which be subjects to their wives in these inordinate affections! O vain women, to procure so much hurt to themselves, by the which they come the sooner to misery in this world, and in the mean time be abhorred of God, hated and scorned of wise men, and in the end like to be joined with such, who in hell, too late repenting themselves, shall openly complain with these words: 'What hath our pride profited us? Or what profit hath the pomp of riches brought us? All these[p] things are passed away like a shadow. As for virtue, we did never shew any sign thereof: and thus we are consumed in our wickedness.'—If thou sayest that the custom is to be followed, and the use of the world doth compel thee to such curiosity; then I ask of thee, whose custom should be followed? Wise folks' manners, or fools? If thou sayest, the wise; then I say, follow them: for fools' customs, who should follow but fools? Consider that the consent of wise men ought to be alleged for a custom. Now if any lewd custom be used, be thou the first to break it, labour to diminish it and lay it down: and more laud afore[q] God, and more commendation shalt thou win by it than by all the glory of such superfluity.

Thus ye have heard declared unto you, what God requireth by his word concerning the moderate use of his creatures. Let us learn to use them moderately, as he hath appointed. Almighty God hath taught us to what end and purpose we should use our apparel. Let us therefore learn so to behave ourselves in the use therefore, as becometh Christians, always shewing ourselves thankful to our heavenly Father for his great and merciful benefits, who giveth

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[n] they] *wanting* 1563, 1582.
[o] zeals] zeal 1582.
[p] those] these 1582—1623.
[q] afore] before, 1582—1623.

unto us our daily bread, that is to say, all things necessary for this our needy life; unto whom we shall render accounts for all his benefits, at the glorious appearing of our Saviour Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour, praise, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

AN HOMILY OR SERMON

CONCERNING PRAYER.

THERE is nothing in all man's life, well-beloved in our Saviour Christ, so needful to be spoken of, and daily to be called upon, as hearty, zealous, and devout prayer; the necessity whereof is so great, that without it nothing may be well obtained at God's hand. For as the apostle James saith, *Every good and perfect gift cometh from above, and proceedeth from the Father of lights;* who is also said to be *rich and liberal towards all them that call upon him*, not because he either will not or cannot give without asking, but because he hath appointed prayer as an ordinary means between him and us. There is no doubt but he always knoweth what we have need of, and is always most ready to give abundance of those things that we lack.

James i. [17.] Rom. x. [12.] Matt. vi. [32.]

Yet, to the intent we might acknowledge him to be the giver of all good things, and behave ourselves thankfully towards him in that behalf, loving, fearing, and worshipping him sincerely and truly, as we ought to do, he hath profitably and wisely ordained that in time of necessity we should humble ourselves in his sight, pour out the secrets of our heart before him, and crave help at his hands, with continual, earnest, and devout prayer. By the mouth of his holy prophet David he saith on this wise: *Call upon me in the days of thy trouble, and I will deliver thee.* Likewise in the gospel, by the mouth of his well-beloved son Christ, he saith, *Ask, and it shall be given you; knock, and it shall be opened: for whosoever asketh, receiveth; whosoever seeketh, findeth; and to him that knocketh, it shall be opened.* St Paul also most agreeably consenting hereunto, *willeth men to pray every where, and to continue therein with thanksgiving.* Neither doth the blessed apostle St James in this point any thing dissent, but earnestly exhorting all men to diligent prayer, saith, *If any man lack wisdom, let him ask it of God, which giveth liberally to all men, and reproacheth no man.* Also in another place, *Pray one for another*, saith he, *that ye may be healed: for the*

Psal. l. [15.] Matt. vii. [7, 8.] 1 Tim. ii. [8.] Phil. iv. [6.] Col. iv. [2, 3.] James i. [5.] James v. [16.]

righteous man's prayer availeth much, if it be fervent. What other thing are we taught by these and such other places, but only this, that almighty God, notwithstanding his heavenly wisdom and foreknowledge, will be prayed unto, that he will be called upon, that he will have us no less willing on our part to ask, than he on his part is willing to give? Therefore most fond and foolish is the opinion and reason of those men, which therefore think all prayer to be superfluous and vain, because God *searcheth the heart* and the reins, and knoweth the meaning of the spirit before we ask. For if this fleshly and carnal reason were sufficient to disannul prayer, then why did our Saviour Christ so often cry to his disciples, *Watch and pray?* Why did he prescribe them a form of prayer, saying, *When ye pray, pray after this sort: Our Father, which art in heaven, &c.?* Why did he pray so often and so earnestly himself before his passion? Finally, why did the apostles, immediately after his ascension, gather themselves together into one several place, and there continue a long time in prayer? Either they must condemn Christ and his apostles of extreme folly, or else they must needs grant, that prayer is a thing most necessary for all men, at all times, and in all places. Sure it is, that there is nothing more expedient or needful for mankind in all the world, than prayer. *Pray always*, saith St Paul, *with all manner prayer and supplication, and watch thereto with all diligence.* Also in another place, *he willeth us to pray continually, without any intermission or ceasing;* meaning thereby that we ought never to slack or faint[a] in prayer, but to continue therein to our lives' end. A number of other such places might here be alleged of like effect, I mean, to declare the great necessity and use of prayer: but what need many proofs in a plain matter, seeing there is no man so ignorant but he knoweth, no man so blind but he seeth, that prayer is a thing most needful in all estates and degrees of men? For only by the help hereof we attain to those heavenly and everlasting treasures, which God our heavenly Father hath reserved and laid up for his children[b] in his dear and well-beloved Son Jesus Christ, with this covenant and promise most assuredly confirmed and sealed unto us that, if we ask, we shall receive.

[Rom. viii. 27.]
[Luke xxi. 36.]
[Luke xxii. 46.]
[Mark xiv. 38.]
Matt. vi. [9—13.]
Acts i. [14.]
Ephes. vi. [18.]
1 Thess. v. [17.]
[John xiv. 13, 14.]
John xvi. [23—27.]

[a] or faint] nor faint 1563.

[b] for his children] of us his children 1563.

Now the great necessity of prayer being sufficiently known, that our minds and hearts may be the more provoked and stirred thereunto, let us briefly consider what wonderful strength and power it hath to bring strange and mighty things to pass. We read in the book of Exodus that Josua, fighting against the Amalekites, did conquer and overcome them, not so much by virtue of his own strength, as by the earnest and continual prayer of Moses, who as long as he held up his hands to God, so long did Israel prevail; but when he fainted, and let his hands down, then did Amalek and his people prevail: insomuch that Aaron and Hur, being in the mount with him, were fain to stay up his hands until the going down of the sun, otherwise had the people of God that day been utterly discomfited and put to flight. Also we read in another place of Joshua himself, how he at the besieging of Gibeon, making his humble petition to almighty God, caused the sun and the moon to stay their course, and to stand still in the midst of heaven for the space of a whole day, until such time the people[c] were sufficiently avenged upon their enemies. And was not Jehosaphat's prayer of great force and strength, when God at his request caused his enemies to fall out among themselves, and wilfully to destroy one another? Who can marvel enough at the effect and virtue of Elias' prayer? *He, being a man subject to affections as we are, prayed to the Lord that it might not rain, and there fell no rain upon the earth for the space of three years and six months. Again, he prayed that it might rain, and there fell great plenty, so that the earth brought forth her increase most abundantly.*

Exod. xvii. [11, 12.]

Joshua x. [12, 13.]

2 Chron. xx. [18, 23.]

[James v. 17, 18.]

It were too long to tell of Judith, Esther, Susanna, and of divers other godly men and women, how greatly they prevailed in all their doings, by giving their minds earnestly and devoutly to prayer. Let it be sufficient at this time to conclude with the sayings of Augustine[1] and Chrysostom[2], whereof the one calleth prayer "the key of heaven;" the

[Judith xiii. 4—9.] [Esth. iv. 16; v. 2, 3.] [Susanna 42, 44.]

Aug. Ser. 126. de Temp. Chrys. sup. Matt. xxii.

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[c] the people] as the people 1623.

[1] ["Oratio justi clavis est cœli." Serm. XLVII. Opp. Tom. V. in Append. col. 63, C.]

[2] [Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνθρώπου γνησίως εὐχομένου δυνατώτερον. Homil. LVII. (al. LVIII.) in Matth. Opp. Tom. VII. 581, C.]

other plainly affirmeth, that "there is nothing in all the world more strong than a man that giveth himself to fervent prayer."

Now then, dearly beloved, seeing prayer is so needful a thing, and of so great strength before God, let us, according as we are taught by the example of Christ and his apostles, be earnest and diligent in calling on the name of the Lord. Let us never faint, never slack, never give over: but let us daily and hourly, early and late, in season and out of season, be occupied in godly meditations and prayers. What if we obtain not our petitions at the first? Yet let us not be discouraged, but let us continually cry and call upon God; he will surely hear us at length, if for no other cause, yet for very importunity[d] sake. Remember the parable of the unrighteous judge and the poor widow, how she by her importunate means caused him to do her justice against her adversary, although otherwise he feared neither God nor man. *Shall not God much more avenge his elect,* saith our Saviour Christ, *which cry unto him day and night?* Thus he taught his disciples, and in them all other true Christian men, to pray always, and never to faint or shrink. Remember also the example of the woman of Canaan, how she was rejected of Christ, and called dog, as one most unworthy of any benefit at his hands: yet she gave not over, but followed him still, crying and calling upon him to be good and merciful unto her daughter. And at length, by very importunity, she obtained her request. O let us learn by these examples to be earnest and fervent in prayer; assuring ourselves, that whatsoever we ask of God the Father, in the name of his Son Christ, and according to his will, he will undoubtedly grant it. He is truth itself: and as truly as he hath promised it, so truly will he perform it. God, for his great mercies' sake, so work in our hearts by his holy Spirit, that we may always make our humble prayers unto him, as we ought to do, and always obtain the thing which we ask, through Jesus Christ our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Luke xviii. [1—7.]

Matt. xv. [22—28.]

John xvi. [23.]

[d] importunity] importunities 1563, 1582.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY CONCERNING PRAYER.

IN the first part of this sermon ye heard the great necessity, and also the great force, of devout and earnest prayer declared and proved unto you, both by divers weighty testimonies, and also by sundry good examples of holy scripture. Now shall you learn whom you ought to call upon, and to whom ye[a] ought always to direct your prayers. We are evidently taught in God's holy Testament, that almighty God is the only fountain and well-spring of all goodness; and that whatsoever we have in this world, we receive it only at his hands: to this effect serveth the place of St James: *Every good and perfect gift*, saith he, *cometh from above, and proceedeth from the Father of lights.* To this effect also serveth the testimony of Paul, in divers places of his epistles, witnessing that the spirit of wisdom, the spirit of knowledge and revelation, yea, every good and heavenly gift, as faith, hope, charity, grace, and peace, cometh only and solely of God. In consideration whereof, he bursteth out into a sudden passion, and saith, *O man, what thing hast thou which thou hast not received?* Therefore, whensoever we need or lack anything pertaining either to the body or to the soul, it behoveth us to run only unto God, who is the only giver of all good things. Our Saviour Christ in the gospel, teaching his disciples how they should pray, sendeth them to the Father in his name, saying, *Verily, verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever ye ask the Father in my name, he will give it unto you.* And in another place, *When ye pray, pray after this sort: Our Father which art in heaven, &c.* And doth not God himself, by the mouth of his prophet David, will and command us to call upon him? The apostle wisheth grace and peace to all them that call on the name of our[b] Lord, and of his Son Jesus Christ, as doth also the prophet Joel, saying, *And it shall come to pass, that whosoever shall call on the name of the Lord shall be saved.*

James i. [17.]
1 Cor. iv. [7.]
John xvi. [23.] Matt. vi. [9.]
Luke xi. [2.]
Ps. l. [14—23.]
[1 Cor. xiii.] [Phil. i. 2.] [Ephes. vi. 24.] [1 Thess. i. 1.]
Joel ii. [32.] Acts ii. [21.]

Thus then it is plain by the infallible word of truth and life, that in all our necessities we must flee unto God, direct our prayers unto him, call upon his holy name, desire help

[a] ye] you 1582, 1623. [b] our] the 1563.

at his hands, and at no[c] others; whereof if ye[d] will yet have a further reason, mark that which followeth. There are certain conditions most requisite to be found in every such a one that must be called upon, which if they be not found in him unto whom we pray, then doth our prayer avail us nothing, but is altogether in vain.

The first is this, that he to whom we make our prayers be able to help us. The second is, that he will help us. The third is, that he be such a one as may hear our prayers. The fourth is, that he understand better than we ourselves what we lack, and how far we have need of help. If these things be to be found in any other saving only God, then may we lawfully call upon some other besides God. But what man is so gross, but he well understandeth that these things are only proper to him which is omnipotent, and knoweth all things, even the very secrets of the heart, that is to say, only and to God alone? Whereof it followeth that we must call neither upon angel, nor yet upon saints, but only and solely upon God, as St Paul doth write: *How*

Rom. x. [14.] *shall men call upon him in whom they have not believed?* So that invocation or prayer may not be made without faith in him on whom they[e] call; but that we must first believe in him, before we can make our prayers[f] unto him, whereupon we must only and solely pray unto God. For to say that we should believe either in angel or saint, or in any other living creature, were more[g] horrible blasphemy against God and his holy word; neither ought this fancy to enter into the heart of any Christian man, because we are expressly taught in the word of the Lord only to repose our faith in the blessed Trinity, in whose only name we are also baptized, according to the express commandment of our Saviour Jesus

Matt. xxviii. [19.] Christ, in the last of Matthew[h].

But that the truth hereof may the better appear, even to them that be most simple and unlearned, let us consider

De Spir. et Anim. cap. l. what prayer is. St Augustine[1] calleth it "a lifting up of the

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[c] no] none 1582, 1623.
[d] if ye] if we 1623.
[e] they] we 1563.
[f] prayers] prayer 1582, 1587.
[g] more] most 1563, mere 1582, 1623.
[h] Matthew] St Matthew 1582, 1623.

[1] ["Oratio est mentis devotio, id est, conversio in Deum per pium et humilem affectum." De Spiritu et Anima. cap. L. Opp. Tom. VI. Append. 535, D.]

mind to God; that is to say, an humble and lowly pouring out of the heart to God." Isidorus[2] saith, that "it is an affection of the heart, and not a labour of the lips." So that, by these places, true prayer doth consist not so much in the outward sound and voice of words, as in the inward groaning and crying of the heart to God.

De Sum. Bona, cap. viii. Lib. iii.

Now then, is there any angel, any virgin, any patriarch or prophet among the dead, that can understand or know the meaning of the heart? The scripture saith, *It is God that searcheth the heart and reins*[i], *and that he only knoweth the hearts of the children of men.* As for the saints, they have so little knowledge of the secrets of the heart, that many of the ancient fathers greatly doubt whether they know any thing at all that is commonly done on earth. And albeit some think they do, yet St Augustine[3], a doctor of great authority, and also antiquity, hath this opinion of them, that they know no more what we do on earth, than we know what they do in heaven. For proof whereof, he allegeth the words of Isaiah the prophet, where it is said, *Abraham is ignorant of us, and Israel knoweth us not.* His mind therefore is this[4], not that we should put any religion in worshipping them[k], or praying unto them; but that we should honour them by following their virtuous and godly life. For, as he witnesseth in another place[5], "the martyrs, and holy men in times past, were wont after their death to

Ps. vii. [9.] Rev. ii. [23.] Jer. xvii. [10.] 2 Chron. vi. [30.]

Lib. de Cur. pro Mort. agenda, c. xvi. De vera Rel. c. xxii.

Isaiah lxiii. [16.]

Lib. xxii. de Civ. Dei, cap. x.

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[i] reins] the reins 1623.

[k] worshipping them] worshipping of them 1582, 1587, 1595.

2 ["Oratio cordis est non labiorum; neque enim verba deprecantis Deus intendit, sed orantis cor aspicit." Sentent. Lib. III. c. 7; Opp. p. 460, A. ed. Colon. 1617.]

3 ["Si parentes non intersunt, Isaias propheta dicit, *Tu es enim Pater noster, quia Abraham nescivit nos, et Israel non cognovit nos.* Si tanti patriarchæ quid erga populum ex his procreatum ageretur ignoraverunt, quibus Deo credentibus populus ipse de illorum stirpe promissus est, quomodo mortui vivorum rebus atque actibus cognoscendis adjuvandisque miscentur?" De Cura agend. pro Mortuis, c. XIII. Opp. Tom. VI. col. 384, B.

4 ["Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum... Honorandi ergo sunt propter imitationem, non adorandi propter religionem." De Vera Religione, c. 108. Opp. Tom. I. col. 587, C.]

5 ["Nos autem martyribus nostris non templa sicut diis, sed memorias sicut hominibus mortuis.... qui mundum in ejus confessione vicerunt, suo loco et ordine nominantur; non tamen a sacerdote qui sacrificat invocantur. Deo quippe non ipsis sacrificat, quamvis in

be remembered and named of the priest at divine service; but never to be invocated or called upon." And why so? "Because the priest," saith he, "is God's priest, and not theirs: whereby he is bound to call upon God, and not upon them."

Thus you see, that the authority both of the scripture[1], and also of Augustine, doth not permit that we should pray unto them. O that all men would studiously read and search the scriptures! then should they not be drowned in ignorance, but should easily perceive the truth, as well of this point of doctrine, as of all the rest. For there doth
John v. [44.] the Holy Ghost plainly teach us, that Christ is our only mediator and intercessor with God, and that we must seek
1 John ii. [1, 2.] and run to no other[m]. *If any man sinneth*, saith St John, *we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins.* St Paul
1 Tim. ii. [5.] also saith, *There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, even the man Jesus Christ.* Whereunto agreeth
John xlv. [6.] the testimony of our Saviour himself, witnessing that no man
John x. [9.] cometh to the Father, but only by him, who is *the way, the truth, the life*, yea, and the only door, whereby we must
Matt. xvii. [5.] enter into the kingdom of heaven, because God is pleased in no other but in him. For which cause also he crieth, and
Matt. xi. [28.] calleth unto us, that we should come unto him, saying, *Come unto me, all ye that labour and be heavy laden, and I shall refresh you.* Would Christ have us so necessarily come unto him? and shall we most unthankfully leave him, and run unto other? This is even that which God so greatly complaineth
[Jer. ii. 13.] of by his prophet Jeremiah, saying, *My people have committed two great offences; they have forsaken me the fountain of the waters of life, and have digged to themselves broken pits, that can hold no water.* Is not that man, think you, unwise that will run for water to a little brook, when he may as well go to the head-spring? Even so may his wisdom be justly suspected, that will flee unto saints in time of necessity, when he may boldly and without fear declare his grief, and direct his prayer unto the Lord himself. If God were strange, or dangerous to be talked withal, then might we
Ps. cxlv. [18.] justly draw back, and seek to some other. *But the Lord is*

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[1] of the scripture] of scripture 1563.

[m] seek and run to no other] not seek and run to another 1587, 1595, 1623, not *wanting* 1563.

memoria sacrificet eorum; quia Dei sacerdos est, non illorum." De Civitate Dei, Lib. XXII. c. 10. Opp. Tom. VII. col. 508, E.]

nigh unto them[n] *that call upon him in faith and truth.* And the prayer of the humble and meek hath always pleased him. What if we be sinners, shall we not therefore pray unto God? Or shall we despair to obtain any thing at his hands? Why did Christ then teach us to ask forgiveness of our sins, saying, *And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us?* Shall we think that the saints are more merciful in hearing sinners than God? David saith, that *the Lord is full of compassion and mercy, slow to anger, and of great kindness.* St Paul saith, that *he is rich in mercy towards*[o] *all them that call upon him.* And he himself by the mouth of his prophet Isaiah saith, *For a little while have I forsaken thee, but with great compassion will I gather thee: for a moment in mine anger I have hid my face from thee, but with everlastiny mercy have I had*[p] *compassion upon thee.* Therefore the sins of any man ought not to withhold him from praying unto the Lord his God. But if he be truly penitent and stedfast in faith, let him assure himself that the Lord will be merciful unto him, and hear his prayers.

Judith ix. [11.] Matt. vi. [12.] Ps. ciii. [8.] Ephes. ii. [4.] Isaiah liv. [7, 8.]

'O but I dare not,' will some man say, 'trouble God at all times with my prayers: we see that in kings' houses, and courts of princes, men cannot be admitted, unless they first use the help and mean[q] of some special nobleman, to come unto the speech of the king, and to obtain the thing that they would have.' To this reason doth St Ambrose answer very well, writing upon the first chapter to the Romans: "Therefore," saith he, "we use to go unto the king by officers and noblemen, because the king is a mortal man, and knoweth not to whom he may commit the government of the commonwealth. But to have God our friend, from whom nothing is hid, we need not any helper, that should further us with his good word, but only a devout and godly mind[1]." And if it be so, that we need one to entreat for us, why may we not content ourselves with that one mediator, which is

Ambros. super cap. i. Rom.

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[n] unto them] unto all them 1582, 1623.

[o] towards] toward 1582, 1623.

[p] have I had] I have had 1623.

[q] mean] means 1623.

[1] ["Nam et ideo ad regem per tribunos aut comites itur, quia homo ubique est rex et nescit quibus debeat rempublicam credere. Ad Deum autem, quem ubique nihil latet (omnium enim merita novit) promerendum suffragatore non opus est sed mente devota." Pseudo-Ambros. Opp. Tom. II. Append. col. 33. ed. Paris. 1690.]

Heb. vii. [25.] at the right hand of God the Father, and there liveth for ever to make intercession for us? As the blood of Christ did redeem us on the cross, and cleanse us from our sins; even so it is now able to save all them that come unto God by it. For Christ, sitting in heaven, hath an everlasting priesthood, and always prayeth to his Father for them that be penitent, Matt. vi. [33.] obtaining by virtue of his wounds, which are evermore in James v. [15.] the sight of God, not only perfect remission of our sins, but 1 Tim. ii. [5.] also all other necessaries that we lack in this world; so that [Coloss. iv. 12.] [this] only[r] mediator is sufficient in heaven, and needeth no others to help him[s].

Why then do we pray one for another in this life? some man perchance will here demand. Forsooth we are willed so to do, by the express commandment both of Christ and his disciples, to declare therein, as well the faith that we have in Christ towards God, as also the mutual charity that we bear one towards another, in that we pity our brother's case, and make our humble petition to God for him. But that we should pray unto saints, neither have we any commandment in all the scripture, nor yet example[t] which we may safely follow. So that being done without authority of God's word, it lacketh the ground of faith, and therefore cannot be accept- Heb. xi. [6.] able before God. *For whatsoever is not of faith is sin.* Rom. xiv. [23.] And the apostle saith, that *faith cometh by hearing, and* Rom. x. [17.] *hearing by the word of God.* Yet thou wilt object further, that the saints in heaven do pray for us, and that their prayer proceedeth of an earnest charity that they have towards their brethren on earth. Whereto it may be well answered, first, that no man knoweth whether they do pray for us, or no. And if any will go about to prove it by the nature of charity, concluding that because they did pray for men on earth, therefore they do much more the same now in heaven; then may it be said by the same reason, that as oft as we do weep on earth, they do also weep in heaven, because while they lived in this world, it is most certain and sure they did so. And[u] for that place which is [Rev. viii. 3.] written in the Apocalypse, namely, that the angel did offer up the prayers of the saints upon the golden altar, it is properly meant, and ought properly to be understood, of

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[r] this only] his only 1574.
[s] him] them 1587, 1595.
[t] yet example] yet an example 1587; any example 1595.
[u] And] As 1563.

those saints that are yet living on earth, and not of them that are dead; otherwise what need were it that the angel should offer up their prayers, being now in heaven before the face of almighty God? But admit the saints do pray for us, yet do we not know how, whether specially for them which call upon them, or else generally for all men, wishing well to every man alike. If they pray specially for them which call upon them, then it is like they hear our prayers, and also know our hearts' desire. Which thing to be false, it is already proved, both by the scriptures, and also by the authority of Augustine.

Let us not therefore put our trust or confidence in the saints or martyrs that be dead. Let us not call upon them, nor[x] desire help at their hands: but let us always lift up our hearts to God, in the name of his dear son Christ, for whose sake as God hath promised to hear our prayer, so he will truly perform it. Invocation is a thing proper unto God, which if we attribute unto the saints, it soundeth to their reproach, neither can they well bear it at our hands. When Paul had healed a certain lame man, which was impotent in his feet, at Lystra, the people would have done sacrifice to him and Barnabas; who renting their clothes refused it, and exhorted them to worship the true God. Likewise in the Revelation, when St John fell before the angel's feet to worship him, the angel would not permit him to do it, but commanded him that he should worship God. Which examples declare unto us, that the saints and angels in heaven will not have us to do any honour unto them, that is due and proper unto God. He only is our Father, he only is omnipotent; he only knoweth and understandeth all things[y]; he only can help us at all times, and in all places; he suffereth the sun to shine upon the good and the bad; he feedeth the young ravens that cry unto him; he saveth both man and beast; he will not that any one hair of our head shall perish, but is always ready to help and preserve all them that put their trust in him, according as he hath promised, saying, *Before they call, I will answer; and whiles they speak, I will hear.* Let us not therefore any thing mistrust his goodness; let us not fear to come before the throne of his mercy;

Acts xiv. [8—18.]

Rev. xix. [10; xxii. 9, 10.]

[Luke xii. 24.]

Isai. lxv. [24.]

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x nor] or 1587, 1595.

y he only knoweth and understandeth all things] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

let us not seek the aid and help of saints; but let us come boldly ourselves, nothing doubting but God for Christ's sake, in whom he is well pleased, will hear us without a spokesman, and accomplish our desire in all such things as shall be agreeable to his most holy will. So saith Chrysostom[1], an ancient doctor of the church, and so must we stedfastly believe, not because he saith it, but much more because it is the doctrine of our Saviour Christ himself, who hath promised, that if we pray to the Father in his name, we shall certainly be heard, both to the relief of our necessities, and also to the salvation of our souls, which he hath purchased unto us, not with gold or silver, but with his precious blood shed once for all upon the cross.

Chrysos. vi. Hom. de Profect. Evang.

John xvi. 23.]

To him therefore, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, be all honour, praise, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

THE THIRD PART OF THE HOMILY CONCERNING PRAYER.

YE were taught in the other part of this sermon, unto whom ye ought to direct your prayers in time of need and necessity, that is to wit, not unto angels or saints, but unto the eternal and ever-living God, who, because he is merciful, is always ready to hear us, when we call upon him in true and perfect faith. And because he is omnipotent, he can easily perform and bring to pass the thing that we request to have at his hands. To doubt of his power, it were a plain point of infidelity, and clean against the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, which teacheth that he is all in all. And as touching his goodwill in this behalf, we have express testimonies in scripture, how that he will help us, and also deliver us, if we call upon him in time of trouble. So that, in both these respects, we ought rather to call upon him than upon any other. Neither ought any man therefore to doubt to come boldly unto God, because he is a sinner. *For the Lord*, as the prophet David saith, *is gracious and mer-*

Ps. l. [15.]

Ps. cvii. [1.]

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[a] concerning prayer] of prayer 1563.

[1] [Οὐ χρεία σοι μεσιτῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ, οὐδὲ πολλῆς τῆς περιδρομῆς καὶ τοῦ κολακεῦσαι ἑτέρους· ἀλλὰ κἂν ἔρημος ᾖς, κἂν ἀπροστάτευτος, αὐτὸς διὰ σαυτοῦ παρακαλέσας τὸν Θεὸν ἐπιτεύξῃ πάντως. De Profectu Evangel. § 11; Opp. Tom. III. 309, A.]

ciful; yea, his mercy and goodness endureth for ever. He that sent his own Son into the world to save sinners, will he not also hear sinners, if with a true penitent heart and a stedfast faith they pray unto him? Yes, *if we acknowledge our sins, God is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteouss,* as we are plainly taught by the examples of David, Peter, Mary Magdalene, the publican, and divers other. And whereas we must needs use the help of some mediator and intercessor, let us content ourselves with him that is the true and only Mediator of the new Testament, namely, the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. For, as St John saith, *If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, who is the propitiation for our sins.* And St Paul in his first Epistle to Timothy saith, *There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, even the man Jesus Christ; who gave himself a ransom for all men, to be a testimony in due time.*

1 Tim. i. [16.] 1 John i. [9.] [2 Sam. xii. 13.] [Luke vii. 50; xviii. 14.] 1 John ii. [1, 2.] 1 Tim. ii. [5, 6.]

Now after this doctrine established, you shall be instructed for what kind of things, and what kind of persons, ye ought to make your prayers unto God. It greatly behoveth all men, when they pray, to consider well and diligently with themselves what they ask and require at God's hands, lest if they desire the[b] thing which they ought not, their petitions be made void, and of none effect. There came on a time unto Agesilaus[2] the king, a certain importunate suitor, who requested him in a matter earnestly, saying, "Sir, and it please your grace, you did once promise me." "Truth," quoth the king, "if it be just that thou requirest, then I promised thee; otherwise I did only speak it, and not promise it." The man would not so be[c] answered at the king's hand; but still urging him more and more, said, "It becometh a king to perform the least word he hath spoken, yea, if he should only beck with his head." "No more," saith the king, "than it behoveth one, that cometh to a king, to speak and ask those things which are rightful and honest." Thus the king cast off this unreasonable and importunate suitor. Now, if so great consideration be to be had, when we kneel before an earthly king, how much more ought to be had, when we

[b] the] that 1587, 1595. [c] so be] be so 1582, 1623.

[2] [Plutarch. Apophtheg. Lacon. p. 208, c, ed. Xyland.]

kneel before the heavenly King, who is only delighted with justice and equity, neither will admit any vain, foolish, or unjust petition! Therefore it shall be good and profitable, throughly to consider and determine with ourselves, what things we may lawfully ask of God without fear of repulse, and also what kind of persons we are bound to commend unto God in our daily prayers.

Two things are chiefly to be respected in every good and godly man's prayer:—his own necessity, and the glory of almighty God. Necessity belongeth either outwardly to the body, or else inwardly to the soul. Which part of man, because it is much more precious and excellent than the other, therefore we ought first of all to crave such things as properly belong to the salvation thereof; as the gift of repentance, the gift of faith, the gift of charity and good works, remission and forgiveness of sins, patience in adversity, lowliness in prosperity, and such other like *fruits of the Spirit*, as *hope, love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, meekness, and temperancy;* which things God requireth of all them that profess themselves to be his children, saying unto them in this wise[d]; *Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.* And in another place he also[e] saith, *Seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness, and then all other things shall be given unto you.* Wherein he putteth us in mind, that our chief and greatest care ought to be for those things which pertain to the health and safeguard of the soul, because *we have here,* as the apostle saith, *no continuing city, but do seek after another in the world to come.*

Gal. v. [22, 23.]

Matt. v. [16.]

Matt vi. [33.]

Heb. xiii. [14.]

Now when we have sufficiently prayed for things belonging to the soul, then may we lawfully, and with safe conscience, pray also for our bodily necessities, as meat, drink, clothing, health of body, deliverance out of prison, good luck in our daily affairs, and so forth, according as we shall have need. Whereof what better example can we desire to have, than of Christ himself, who taught his disciples, and all other Christian men, first to pray for heavenly things, and afterward for earthly things, as is to be seen in that prayer which he left unto his church, commonly called the Lord's prayer? In the third book of Kings, and third chapter, it is written, that

Matt. vi. [9–13.] Luke xi. [2–4.]

[d] in this wise] on this wise 1563. [e] he also] also he 1582, 1623.

God appeared by night in a dream unto Solomon the king, saying, Ask of me whatsoever thou wilt, and I will give thee[f]. Solomon made his humble prayer, and asked a wise and prudent heart, that might judge and understand what were good, and what were ill; what were godly and what were ungodly; what were righteous, and what were unrighteous in the sight of the Lord. *It pleased God wondrously that he had asked this thing. And God said unto him, Because thou hast requested this word, and hast not desired many days and long years upon the earth, neither abundance of riches and goods, nor yet the life of thine enemies which hate thee, but hast desired wisdom to sit in judgment; behold I have done unto thee according to thy words; I have given thee a wise heart, full of knowledge and understanding, so that there was never none*[g] *like thee before time, neither shall be in time to come. Moreover, I have besides this given thee that which thou hast not required, namely, worldly wealth and riches, princely honour and glory, so that thou shalt therein also pass all kings that ever were.* Note this example[h], how Solomon being put to his choice to ask of God whatsoever he would, requested not vain and transitory things, but the high and heavenly treasures of wisdom; and that, in so doing, he obtained[i] as it were in recompense, both riches and honour. Wherein is given us[k] to understand, that, in our daily prayers, we should chiefly and principally ask those things which concern the kingdom of God, and the salvation of our own souls, nothing doubting but all other things shall (according to the promise of Christ) be given unto us.

[1 Kings iii. 5—13.]

[2 Chron. i. 11, 12.]

But here we must take heed that we forget not that[l] other end, whereof mention was made before, namely, the glory of God. Which unless we mind, and set before our eyes in making our prayers, we may not look to be heard, or to receive any thing of the Lord. In the twentieth chapter of Matthew, the mother of the two sons of Zebedee came unto Jesus, worshipping him, and saying, *Grant that my two sons may sit in thy kingdom, the one at thy*[m] *right hand, and the other at thy left hand.* In this petition she

[Matt. xx. 21.] [Mark x. 37.]

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[f] give thee] give it 1562, 1623.
[g] never none] never any 1623.
[h] this example] in this example 1563.
[i] obtained] obtaineth 1623.
[k] us] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[l] that] the 1587, 1595.
[m] at thy] on the 1582, 1623.

did not respect the glory of God, but plainly declared the ambition and vain-glory of her own mind; for which cause she was also most worthily repelled and rebuked at the Lord's hand. In like manner we read in the Acts of one Simon Magus, a sorcerer, *how that he, perceiving that through laying on of the apostles' hands the Holy Ghost was given, offered them money, saying, Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay my hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost.* In making this request, he sought not the honour and glory of God, but his own private gain and lucre, thinking to get great store of money by this feat; and therefore it was justly said unto him, *Thy money perish with thee, because thou thinkest that the gift of God may be obtained with money.* By these and such other examples we are taught, whensoever we make our prayers unto God, chiefly to respect the honour and glory of his name. Whereof we have this general precept in the apostle Paul[n]; *Whether ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye[o] do, look that you[p] do it to the glory of God.* Which thing we shall best of all do, if we follow the example of our Saviour Christ, who praying that the bitter cup of death might pass from him, would not therein have his own will fulfilled, but referred the whole matter to the goodwill and pleasure of his Father.

Acts viii. [18, 19.]

[Acts viii. 20]

1 Cor. x. [31.] Coloss. iii. [17.]

Matt. xxvi. [39.] Luke xxii. [42. Mark xiv. 36. Heb. v. 7.]

And hitherto concerning those things that we may lawfully and boldly ask of God.

Now it followeth, that we declare what kind of persons we are bound in conscience to pray for. St Paul, writing to Timothy, exhorteth him to make prayers and supplications for all men, exempting none, of what degree or state soever they be. In which place he maketh mention by name of kings and rulers which are in authority, putting us thereby to knowledge how greatly it concerneth the profit of the commonwealth, to pray diligently for the higher powers. Neither is it without good cause, that he doth so often in all his epistles crave the prayers of God's people for himself. For in so doing, he declareth to the world how expedient and needful it is daily to call upon God for the ministers of his holy word and sacraments, that they may have the door of utterance opened unto them, that they may truly understand

[1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.]

Coloss. iv. [3.] Rom. xv. [30.] 2 Thess. iii. [1.] Ephes. vi. [19.] 1 Thess. v. 25. 2 Cor. i. 11.]

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[n] apostle Paul] apostle St Paul 1587, 1595.

[o] ye] you 1563.

[p] you] ye 1582, 1623.

the Scriptures, that they may effectually preach the same unto the people, and bring forth the true fruits thereof, to the example of all other. After this sort did the congregation continually pray for Peter at Jerusalem, and for Paul among the Gentiles, to the great increase and furtherance of Christ's gospel. And if we, following their good example herein, will study to do the like, doubtless it cannot be expressed how greatly we shall both help ourselves, and also please God. [Acts xii. 5.]

To discourse and run through all degrees of persons it were too long. Therefore ye shall briefly take this one conclusion for all;—whomsoever we are bound by express commandment to love, for those also are we bound in conscience to pray. But we are bound by express commandment to love all men as ourselves: therefore we are also bound to pray for all men even as well as if it were for ourselves, notwithstanding we know them to be our extreme and deadly enemies: for so doth our Saviour Christ plainly teach us in his gospel[q], saying, *Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, pray for them that persecute you, that ye may be the children of your Father which is in heaven.* And as he taught his disciples, so did he practise himself in his life-time, praying for his enemies upon the cross, and desiring his Father to forgive them, because they knew not what they did. As did also that holy and blessed martyr Stephen, when he was cruelly stoned to death of the stubborn and stiff-necked Jews; to the example of all them that will truly and unfeignedly follow their Lord and Master Christ in this miserable and mortal life. [Luke vi. 27, 28.] [Matt. v. [44.]] [Luke xxiii. [34.]] [Acts vii. [60.]]

Now, to entreat of that question, Whether we ought to pray for them that are departed out of this world, or no? Wherein, if we will cleave only unto the word of God, then must we needs grant, that we have no commandment so to do. For the Scripture doth acknowledge but two places after this life: the one proper to the elect and blessed of God, the other to the reprobate and damned souls; as may be well gathered by the parable of Lazarus and the rich man: which place St Augustine[1] expounding, saith in[r] this [Luke xvi. [19 —26.]]

[q] gospel] holy gospel 1563.

[r] in] on 1563.

[1] ["Quod autem dicit ad ea loca, in quibus torquentur impii, justos,

Lib. ii. Evang. quæst. i. cap. 38.

wise, "That which Abraham speaketh unto the rich man in Luke's gospel, namely, that the just cannot go into those places where the wicked are tormented; what other things doth it signify, but only this, that the just, by reason of God's judgment, which may not be revoked, can shew no deed of mercy in helping them which after this life are cast into prison, until they pay the uttermost farthing?" These words, as they confound the opinion of helping the dead by prayer, so they do clean confute and take away the vain error of purgatory, which is grounded upon this saying of the [Matt. v. 26.] gospel, *Thou shalt not depart thence, until thou hast paid the uttermost farthing.* Now doth St Augustine say, that those men which are cast into prison after this life, on that condition, may in no wise be holpen, though we would help them never so much. And why? Because the sentence of God is unchangeable, and cannot be revoked again. Therefore let us not deceive ourselves, thinking that either we may help other, or other may help us by their good and charitable prayers in time to come. For, as the preacher saith, Eccles. xi. [3.] *When the tree falleth, whether it be toward the south, or toward the north, in what place soever the tree falleth, there it lieth:* meaning thereby, that every mortal man dieth either in the state of salvation or damnation, according as the words John iii. [36.] of the evangelist John do also plainly import, saying, *He that believeth on the Son of God hath eternal life: but he that believeth not on the Son shall never see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him.* Where is then the third place which they call purgatory? Or where shall our prayers help and profit the dead? St Augustine[1] doth only acknowledge "two places" after this life, heaven and hell. As for the third place, he doth plainly deny that there is any such

Lib. v. Hypognost.

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etiam si velint, non posse transire, quid aliud significat nisi post hanc vitam ita receptis in carcere ut non inde exeant donec reddant novissimam quadrantem, per incommutabilitatem divinæ sententiæ, nullum auxilium misericordiæ posse præberi a justis etiamsi eam velint præbere?" Quæst. Evangel. Lib. II. c. 38; Opp. Tom. III. Part II. col. 191, C.]

[1] ["Sed hæc dicens, non divisiones locorum multorum dedi nisi duorum tantum, quoniam ad duo, regnum, videlicet, et gehennam, hæc omnia referuntur, etiam si plura dicantur." Hypognost. Lib. v. c. 5. Opp. Tom. X. Append. col. 26, B.]

to be found in all Scripture[s]. Chrysostom[1] likewise is of this mind, that, "unless we wash away our sins in this present world, we shall find no comfort afterward." And St Cyprian[2] saith, that, after death, "repentance and sorrow of pain shall be without fruit; weeping also shall be in vain, and prayer shall be to no purpose." Therefore he counselleth all men to make provision for themselves while they may, because, "when they are once departed out of this life, there is no place for repentance, nor yet for satisfaction[3]."

Chrysost. in Heb. ii. Homil. iv.

Cyprian. contra Demetrianum.

Let these and such other places be sufficient to take away the gross error of purgatory out of our heads; neither let us dream any more that the souls of the dead are anything at all holpen by our prayers: but, as the Scripture teacheth us, let us think that the soul of man, passing out of the body, goeth straightways either to heaven, or else to hell, whereof the one needeth no prayer, and the other is without redemption. The only purgatory wherein we must trust to be saved, is the death and blood of Christ, which if we apprehend with a true and stedfast faith, it purgeth and cleanseth us from all our sins, even as well as if he were now hanging upon the cross. *The blood of Christ*, saith St John, *hath cleansed us from all sin. The blood of Christ*, saith St Paul, *hath purged our consciences from dead works, to serve the living God.* Also, in another place, he saith, *We be sanctified and made holy by the offering up of the body of Jesus Christ, done once for all.* Yea, he addeth more, saying, *With the one oblation of his blessed body and precious blood, he hath made perfect for ever and ever all them that are sanctified.* This then is that purgatory, wherein all Christian men must[t] put their whole trust and confidence[u], nothing doubting, but if they truly repent them of their sins, and die in perfect

1 John i. [7.] Heb. ix. [14.]

Heb. x. [10.]

Ibid. [ver. 14.]

[s] all Scripture] all the Scripture 1587, 1595.

[t] must] *wanting* 1582, 1623.

[u] confidence] confidences 1563.

[1] [Οὐδὲ γὰρ οἷόν τε λοιπὸν εὑρεῖν τινα παραμυθίαν ἐκεῖ τὸν μὴ ἐν τῷ παρόντι βίῳ ἀπονιψάμενον τὰ ἡμαρτημένα. Homil. in Genes. v.; Opp. Tom. IV. p. 33, D. See also Homil. IV. in Heb. Tom. XII. p. 45.]

[2] ["Erit tunc sine fructu pœnitentia, dolor pœnæ, inanis ploratio et inefficax deprecatio. In æternam pœnam sero credent qui in vitam æternam credere noluerunt." Ad Demetrian. sub fine; Opp. p. 155, ed. Fell.]

[3] ["Quando istinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam pœnitentiæ locus est, nullus satisfactionis effectus." Ibid. p. 156.]

faith, that then they shall forthwith pass from death to life. If this kind of purgation will not serve them, let them never hope to be released by other men's prayers, though they should continue therein unto the world's end. He that cannot be saved by faith in Christ's blood, how shall he look to be delivered by man's intercessions? Hath God more respect
1 John ii. [1.] to man on earth, than he hath to Christ in heaven? *If any man sin,* saith St John, *we have an advocate with the Father, even Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiation for our sins.* But we must take heed that we call upon this advocate while we have space given us in this life, lest, when we are once dead, there be no hope of salvation left unto us. For as every man sleepeth with his own cause, so every man shall rise again with his own cause. And look in what state he dieth, in the same state he shall be also judged, whether it be to salvation or damnation. Let us not therefore dream either of purgatory, or of prayer for the souls of them that be dead; but let us earnestly and diligently pray for them which are expressly commanded in holy Scripture, namely, for kings and rulers; for ministers of God's holy word and sacraments; for the saints of this world, otherwise called the faithful; to be short, for all men living, be they never so great enemies to God and his people, as Jews, Turks, pagans, infidels, heretics, &c. Then shall we truly fulfil the commandment of God in that behalf, and
[Matt. v. 45.] plainly declare ourselves to be the true *children of our heavenly Father, which*[x] *suffereth the sun to shine upon the good and the bad, and the rain to fall upon the just and the unjust.* For which and all other benefits most abundantly bestowed upon mankind from the beginning, let us give him hearty thanks, as we are most bound, and praise his name for ever and ever. Amen.

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[x] which] who 1623.

AN HOMILY

OF THE

PLACE AND TIME OF PRAYER.

GOD, through his almighty power, wisdom, and goodness, created in the beginning heaven and earth, the sun, the moon, the stars, the fowls of the air, the beasts of the earth, the fishes in the sea, and all other creatures, for the use and commodity of man, whom also he had created to his own image and likeness, and given him the use and government over them all, to the end he should use them in such sort as he had given him in charge and commandment; and also that he should declare himself thankful and kind for all those benefits so liberally and so graciously bestowed upon him, utterly without any deserving on his behalf. And although we ought at all times, and in all places, to have in remembrance, and to be thankful to our gracious Lord, according as it is written, *I will magnify the Lord at all times:* and again, *Wheresoever the Lord beareth rule, O my soul, praise the Lord:* yet it appeareth to be God's good will and pleasure, that we should at special times and in special places gather ourselves together, to the intent his name might be renowned[a], and his glory set forth in the congregation and assembly[b] of his saints. As concerning the time which almighty God hath appointed his people to assemble together solemnly, it doth appear by the fourth commandment of God: *Remember*, saith God, *that thou keep holy the sabbath-day.* Upon the which day, as is plain in the Acts of the Apostles, the people accustomably resorted together, and heard diligently the law and the prophets read among them. And albeit this commandment of God doth not bind Christian people so straitly to observe and keep the utter ceremonies of the sabbath-day, as it was given unto the Jews, as touching the forbearing of work and labour in time of great necessity, and as touching the precise keeping of the seventh day, after the manner of the Jews; for we keep now

Psal. xxxiv. [1.] Psal. ciii. [22.]

[Exod. xx. 8.]

Acts xiii. [14.]

[a] renowned] renowmed 1563, 1574, 1595.

[b] and assembly] and the assembly 1563.

the first day, which is our Sunday, and make that our sabbath, that is, our day of rest, in the honour of our Saviour Christ; who as upon that day rose from death, conquering the same most triumphantly: yet notwithstanding, whatsoever is found in the commandment appertaining to the law of nature, as a thing most godly, most just, and needful for the setting forth of God's glory, it ought to be retained and kept of all good Christian people. And therefore, by this commandment, we ought to have a time, as one day in the[c] week wherein we ought to rest, yea, from our lawful and needful works. For like as it appeareth by this commandment, that no man in the[d] six days ought to be slothful or idle, but diligently to labour in that state wherein God hath set him; even so, God hath given express charge to all men, that upon the sabbath-day, which is now our Sunday, they should cease from all weekly and work-day labour, to the [Gen. ii. 2, 3.] intent that like as God himself wrought six days, and rested the seventh, and blessed and sanctified it, and consecrated it to quietness and rest from labour; even so God's obedient people should use the Sunday holily, and rest from their common and daily[e] business, and also give themselves wholly to heavenly exercises of God's true religion and service. So that God doth not only command the observation of this holy day, but also by his own example doth stir and provoke us to the diligent[f] keeping of the same. Good natural children will not only become obedient to the commandment of their parents, but also have a diligent eye to their doings, and gladly follow the same. So if we will be the children of our heavenly Father, we must be careful to keep the Christian sabbath-day, which is the Sunday; not only for that it is God's express commandment, but also to declare ourselves to be loving children, in following the example of our gracious Lord and Father.

Thus it may plainly appear, that God's will and commandment was to have a solemn time and standing day in the week, wherein the people should come together and have in remembrance his wonderful benefits, and to render him thanks for them, as appertaineth to loving, kind, and obedient

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[c] the] a 1563.
[d] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[e] common and daily] daily and common 1587, 1595.
[f] to the diligent] to diligent 1563.

people. This example and commandment of God the godly Christian people began to follow immediately after the ascension of our Lord Christ, and began to choose them a standing day of the week to come together in: yet not the seventh day, which the Jews kept, but the Lord's day, the day of the Lord's resurrection, the day after the seventh day, which is the first[g] of the week. Of the[h] which day mention is made of[i] St Paul on this wise: *In the first day of the sabbath, let every man lay up what he thinketh good;* meaning for the poor. By the first day of the sabbath is meant our Sunday, which is the first day after the Jews' seventh day. And in the Apocalypse it is more plain, where as[k] St John saith, *I was in the Spirit upon the Sunday*[l]. Sithence which time God's people hath always, in all ages, without any gainsaying, used to come together upon the Sunday, to celebrate and honour the Lord's blessed name, and carefully to keep that day in holy rest and quietness, both man, woman[m], child, servant, and stranger. For the transgression and breach of which day God hath declared himself much to be grieved, as it may appear by him, who, for gathering of sticks on the sabbath-day, was stoned to death. But alas, all these notwithstanding, it is lamentable to see the wicked boldness of those that will be counted God's people, who pass nothing at all of keeping and hallowing the Sunday. And these people are of two sorts. The one sort, if they have any business to do, though there be no extreme need, they must not spare for the Sunday, they must ride and journey on the Sunday; they must drive and carry on the Sunday; they must row and ferry on the Sunday; they must buy and sell on the Sunday; they must keep markets and fairs on the Sunday. Finally, they use all days alike, work-days and holydays all are[n] one. The other sort is worse[o]. For although they will not travel nor labour on the Sunday, as they do on the week-day; yet they will not rest in holiness, as God commandeth; but they rest in ungodliness and filthiness[p], prancing in their pride, pranking

1 Cor. xvi. [2.]

Rev. i. [10.]

Numb. xv. [32—36.]

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g first] first day 1623.
h the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
i of] by, 1563.
k as] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
l Sunday] Lord's day 1623.
m man, woman] men, women 1563.
n all are] are all 1563, 1587, 1595.
o is worse] yet is worse 1563, 1587, 1595.
p and filthiness] and in filthiness 1563.

and pricking, pointing and painting themselves, to be gorgeous and gay: they rest in excess and superfluity, in gluttony and drunkenness, like rats and swine: they rest in brawling and railing, in quarrelling and fighting: they rest in wantonness, in toyish talking, in filthy fleshliness; so that it doth too evidently appear that God is more dishonoured, and the devil better served on the Sunday than upon all the days in the week beside[q]. And I assure you, the beasts, which are commanded to rest on the Sunday, honour God better than this kind of people: for they offend not God, they break not their holy-day[r]. Wherefore, O ye people of God, lay your hands upon your hearts, repent and amend this grievous and dangerous wickedness, stand in awe of the commandment of God, gladly follow the example of God himself, be not disobedient to the godly order of Christ's church, used and kept from the apostles' time until this day. Fear the displeasure and just plagues of almighty God, if ye be negligent and forbear not labouring and travailing on the sabbath-day or Sunday, and do not resort together to celebrate and magnify God's blessed name, in quiet holiness and godly reverence.

Now concerning the place where the people of God ought to resort together, and where especially they ought to celebrate and sanctify the sabbath-day, that is the Sunday, the day of holy rest,—that place is called God's temple, or the church; because the company and congregation of God's people, which is properly called the church, doth there assemble themselves on the days appointed for such assemblies and meetings. And forasmuch as almighty God hath appointed a special time to be honoured in, it is very meet, godly, and also necessary, that there should be a place appointed, where these people should meet and resort, to serve their gracious God and merciful Father. Truth it is, the holy patriarchs for a great number of years had neither temple nor church to resort unto. The cause was, they were not staid in any place, but were in continual[s] peregrination and wandering, that they could not conveniently build any church. But so soon as God had delivered his people from their enemies, and set them in some liberty in the wilderness, he set them up a costly and

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q beside besides 1623.

r holy-day] holy-days 1623.

s continual] a continual, 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

curious[t] tabernacle, which was as it were the parish-church; [Exod. xl. 1.] a place to resort unto of the whole multitude; a place to have his sacrifices made in, and other observances and rites to be used in. Furthermore, after that God, according to the truth of his promise, had placed and quietly settled his people in the land of Canaan, now called Jewry, he commanded a great and a magnificent[u] temple to be builded by king Solomon, as [1 Kings v. 5.] seldom the like hath been seen; a temple so decked and adorned, so gorgeously garnished, as was meet and expedient for people of that time, which would be allured and stirred with nothing so much, as with such outward goodly gay things. This was now the temple of God, endued also with many gifts and sundry promises. This was the parish-[x]church, and the mother-church of all Jewry. Here was God honoured and served. Hither was the whole realm of all the Israelites bound to come at three solemn feasts in the year, to serve their Lord God here. But let us proceed further. In the time of Christ and his apostles, there was[z] yet no temples nor churches for christian men. For why? They were always for the most part in persecution, vexation, and trouble, so that there could be no liberty nor license obtained for that purpose. Yet God delighted much that they should often resort together in a place, and therefore after his ascension they remained together in an upper chamber; sometime they entered into the temple, [Acts i. 13; ii. 46; v. 18, 42; xiii. 5; xvi. 13.] sometime into the synagogues, sometime[a] they were in prison, sometimes in their houses, sometimes[b] in the fields, &c. And this continued so long till the faith of Christ Jesus[c] began to multiply in a great part of the world. Now when divers realms were established in God's true religion, and God had given them peace and quietness, then began kings, noblemen, and the people also, stirred up with a godly zeal and ferventness, to build up temples and churches, whither the people might resort, the better to do their duty towards God, and to keep holy their sabbath-day, the day of rest. And to these temples have the Christians customably used to resort from time to time, as unto meet places, where they might with common consent praise and magnify God's name, yielding him

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t curious] a curious 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

u and a magnificent] and magnificent 1582, 1623: a great magnificent 1587, 1595.

x parish] public 1623.

z was] were 1623.

a sometime] sometimes 1623.

b sometimes] sometime 1563.

c Jesus] Jesu 1563.

thanks for the benefits that he daily poureth upon them, both mercifully and abundantly: where they might also hear his holy word read, expounded, and preached sincerely; and receive his holy sacraments ministered unto them duly and purely. True it is, that the chief and special temples of God, wherein he hath greatest pleasure, and most delighteth to dwell[d], are the bodies and minds of true Christians, and the chosen people of God, according to the doctrine of holy Scriptures, declared by St Paul, *Know ye not,* saith he, *that ye be the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God doth dwell in you? The temple of God is holy, which ye are.* And again, in the same epistle, *Know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost dwelling in you, whom you have given you of God, and that ye be not your own?* Yet this notwithstanding, God doth allow the material temple made with[e] lime and stone—so oft as his people come[f] together into it, to praise his holy name—to be his house, and the place where he hath promised to be present, and where he will hear the prayers of them that call upon him. The which thing both Christ and his apostles, with all the rest of the holy fathers, do sufficiently declare by this:—that albeit they certainly knew that their prayers were heard in what place soever they made them, though it were in caves, in woods, and in deserts; yet, so oft as they could conveniently, they resorted to the material temples, there with the rest of the congregation to join in prayer and true worship.

1 Cor. iii. [16, 17.]

1 Cor. vi. [19.]

Wherefore, dearly beloved, you that profess yourselves to be Christians, and glory in that name, disdain not to follow the example of your master Christ, whose scholars you say ye[g] be: shew you to be like them whose schoolmates you take upon you to be, that is, the apostles and disciples of Christ. Lift up pure hands, with clean hearts, in all places and at all times. But do the same in the temples and churches upon the sabbath-days also. Our godly predecessors, and the ancient fathers of the primitive church, spared not their goods to build churches; no, they spared not their lives[h] in time of persecution, and to hazard their blood, that

[d] delighteth to dwell] delight to dwell in 1563.

[e] with] of 1563.

[f] come] do come 1563.

[g] ye] you 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[h] spared not their lives] spared not to venture their lives 1563.

they might assemble themselves together in churches. And shall we spare a little labour to come to[i] churches? Shall neither their example, nor our duty, nor the commodities that thereby should come unto us, move us? If we will declare ourselves to have the fear of God, if we will shew ourselves true Christians, if we will be the followers of Christ our master, and of those godly fathers that have lived before us, and now have received the reward of true and faithful Christians, we must both willingly, earnestly, and reverently come unto the material churches and temples to pray, as unto fit places appointed for that use; and that upon the sabbath-day, as at most convenient time for God's people to cease from bodily and worldly business, to give themselves to holy rest and godly contemplation, pertaining to the service of almighty God: whereby we may reconcile ourselves to God, be partakers of his reverent[k] sacraments, and be devout hearers of his holy word, so to be established in faith to God-ward, in hope against all adversity, and in charity towards[l] our neighbours. And thus running our course as good Christian people, we may at the last attain the reward of everlasting glory, through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory. Amen.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY OF THE PLACE AND TIME OF PRAYER.

IT hath been declared unto you, good Christian people, in the former sermon read unto you, at what time, and into what place ye shall come together to praise God. Now I intend to set before your eyes, first, how zealous and desirous ye ought to be to come to your church. Secondly, how sore God is grieved with them that do despise, or little regard to come to the church upon the holy restful day. It may well appear by the scriptures, that many of the godly Israelites, being now in captivity for their sins among the Babylonians, full often wished and desired to be again at Jerusalem. And at their return, through God's goodness, though many of

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[i] to] unto 1563.

[k] reverent] holy 1623.

[l] towards] toward 1563, 1582, 1587, 1623.

the people were negligent, yet the fathers were marvellous devout to build up the temple, that God's people might repair thither to honour him. And king David, when he was a banished man out of his country, out of Jerusalem the holy city, from the sanctuary, from the holy place, and from the tabernacle of God; what desire, what ferventness was in him towards[a] the[b] holy place! What wishings and prayers made he to God to be a dweller in the house of the Lord! *One thing,* saith he, *have I asked of the Lord, and this will I still crave, that I may resort and have my dwelling in the house of the Lord so long as I live.* Again, *O how I joyed when I heard these*[c] *words: We shall go into the Lord's house.* And in other places of the Psalms he declareth for what intent and purpose he hath such a fervent desire to enter into the temple and church of the Lord: *I will fall down,* saith he, *and worship in the holy temple of the Lord.* Again, *I have appeared in thy holy place, that I might behold thy might and power, that I might behold thy glory and magnificence.* Finally, he saith, *I will shew forth thy name to my brethren, I will praise thee in the midst of the congregation.* Why then had David such an earnest desire to the house of God? First, because there he would worship and honour God. Secondly, there he would have a contemplation and a sight of the power and glory of God. Thirdly, there he would praise the name of God, with all the congregation and company of the people. These considerations of this blessed prophet of God ought to stir up and kindle in us the like earnest desire to resort to the church, especially upon the holy restful days, there to do our duties, and to serve God; there to call to remembrance how God even of his mere mercy, and for the glory of his name's sake, worketh mightily to conserve us in health, wealth, and godliness, and mightily preserveth us from the assaults and rages of our fierce and cruel enemies; and there joyfully in the number of his faithful people to praise and magnify the Lord's holy name. Set before your eyes also that ancient father Simeon, of whom the Scripture speaketh thus, to his great commendation, and an encouragement[d] for us to do the like. *There was a man at Jerusalem, named Simeon, a just man, fearing God:*

[Ps. xxvii. 4.]
Ps. cxxii. [1, 9.]
[Ps. v. 7.] Ps. lxiii. [1, 2.]
Ps. xxii. [22.]
Luke ii. [25—38.]

[a] towards] toward 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[b] the] that 1563.
[c] these] those 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595 1623.
[d] encouragement] couragement 1563.

he came by the Spirit of God into the temple, and was told by the same Spirit, that he should not die before he saw the anointed of the Lord. In the temple his promise was fulfilled; in the temple he saw Christ, and took him in his arms; in the temple he brast[e] out into the mighty praise of God his Lord. *Anna a prophetess, an old widow, departed not out of the temple, giving herself to prayer and fasting day and night: and she coming about the same time, was likewise inspired, and confessed, and spake of the Lord to all them that*[f] *looked for the redemption of Israel.* This blessed man and this blessed woman were not disappointed of wonderful fruit, commodity and comfort, which God sent them, by their diligent resorting to God's holy temple.

Now ye shall hear how grievously God hath been offended with his people, for that they passed so little upon his holy temple, and foully either despised or abused the same. Which thing may plainly appear by the notable plagues and punishments, which God hath laid upon his people; especially in this, that he stirred up their adversaries horribly to beat down, and utterly to destroy his holy temple with a perpetual desolation. Alas, how many churches, countries, and kingdoms of christian people have of late years been plucked down, over-run[g], and left waste, with grievous and intolerable tyranny and cruelty of the enemy of our Lord Christ, the great Turk, who hath so universally scourged the Christians, that never the like was heard or[h] read of! Above thirty years past, the great Turk had over-run, conquered, and brought into his dominion and subjection, twenty christian kingdoms; turning away the people from the faith of Christ; poisoning them with the devilish religion of wicked Mahomet; and either destroying their churches utterly, or filthily abusing them with their wicked and detestable errors. And now this great Turk, this bitter and sharp scourge of God's vengeance, is even at hand in this part of christendom, in Europe, at the borders of Italy, at the borders of Germany; greedily gaping to devour us, to over-run our country, to destroy our churches also, unless we repent our sinful life, and resort more diligently to the church to honour God, to learn his blessed will, and to fulfil the same. The Jews in their time provoked justly the vengeance of God,

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[e] brast] brake, 1623.
[f] that] who 1563.
[g] over-run] and over-run 1623.
[h] or] and 1563.

for that partly they abused his holy temple with the detestable idolatry of the heathen, and superstitious vanities of their own inventions, contrary to God's commandment; partly they resorted unto it as hypocrites, spotted, imbrued, and foully defiled with all kind of wickedness and sinful life; partly many of them passed little upon the holy temple, and forced[i] not whether they came thither or no. And have not the Christians of late days, and even in our days also, in like manner provoked the displeasure and indignation of almighty God? Partly because they have profaned and defiled their churches with heathenish and Jewish abuses; with images and idols; with numbers of altars, too superstitiously and intolerably abused; with gross abusing and filthy corrupting of the Lord's holy supper, the blessed sacrament of his body and blood; with an infinite number of toys and trifles of their own devices, to make a godly[k] outward show, and to deface the homely[l], simple and sincere religion of Christ Jesus: partly, they resort to the church like hypocrites, full of all iniquity and sinful life; having a vain and dangerous[m] fancy and persuasion, that if they come to the church, besprinkle them with holy water, hear a mass, and be blessed with the chalice, though they understand not one word of the whole service, nor feel one motion of repentance in their hearts, all is well, all is sure. Fie upon such mocking and blaspheming of God's holy ordinance. Churches were made for another purpose, that is, to resort thither, and to serve God truly; there to learn his blessed will; there to call upon his mighty name; there to use the holy sacraments; there to travail how to be in charity with thy neighbour; there to have thy poor and needy neighbour in remembrance; from thence to depart better and more godly than thou camest thither. Finally, God's vengeance hath been and is daily provoked, because much wicked people pass nothing to resort to the church, either for that they are so sore blinded, that they understand nothing of God and godliness, and care not with devilish example to offend their neighbours; or else for that they see the church altogether scoured of such gay gazing sights, as their gross fantasy was greatly delighted with: because they

[i] forced] cared 1623.

[k] godly] goodly 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[l] homely] plain 1623.

[m] and dangerous] and a dangerous 1563.

see the false religion abandoned, and the true restored, which seemeth an unsavoury thing to their unsavoury taste; as may appear by this, that a woman said to her neighbour, "Alas, gossip, what shall we now do at church, since all the saints are taken away, since all the goodly sights we were wont to have are gone, since we cannot hear the like piping, singing, chanting, and playing upon the organs, that we could before." But, dearly beloved, we ought greatly to rejoice, and give God thanks, that our churches are delivered of all[n] those things which displeased God so sore, and filthily defiled his holy house and his place of prayer, for the which he hath justly destroyed many nations, according to the saying of St Paul, *If any man defile the temple of God, God will him destroy*[o]. And this ought we greatly to praise God for that such superstitious[p] and idolatrious manners as were utterly naught, and defaced God's glory, are utterly abolished, as they most justly deserved: and yet those things that either God was honoured with, or his people edified, are decently retained[q], and in our churches comely[r] practised. 1 Cor. iii. [17.]

But now, forasmuch as ye perceive it is God's determinate pleasure ye should resort unto your churches upon the day of holy rest; seeing ye hear what displeasure God conceiveth, what plagues he poureth upon his disobedient people; seeing ye understand what blessings of God are given, what heavenly commodities come to such people as desirously and zealously use to resort unto their churches; seeing also ye are now friendly bidden, and jointly called, beware that ye slack not your duty: take heed that you suffer nothing to let you hereafter to come to the church at such times as you are ordinarily[s] appointed and commanded. Our Saviour Christ telleth in a parable, that a great supper was prepared, guests were bidden, many excused themselves, and would not come: *I tell you*, saith Christ, *none of them that were called shall taste of my supper*. This great supper is the true religion of almighty God, wherewith he will be worshipped in the due receiving of his sacraments, and sincere preaching and hearing[t] his holy word, and practising[u] the same by Luke xiv. [24.]

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n of all] out of all 1623.

o him destroy] destroy him 1587, 1595.

p superstitious] superstitions 1587.

q retained] detained 1587, 1595.

r comely] commonly 1587, 1595.

s ordinarily] orderly 1563.

t hearing] hearing of 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

u and practising] practising 1563.

godly conversation. This feast is now prepared in God's banqueting-house, the church; you are thereunto called and jointly bidden: if you refuse to come, and make your excuses, the same will be answered to you that was unto them. Now come therefore, dearly beloved, without delay, and cheerfully enter into God's feasting-house, and become partakers of the benefits provided and prepared for you. But see that you[x] come thither with your holy-day garment; not like hypocrites; not of a custom and for manner sake; not with loathsomeness, as though ye had rather not come than come, if ye were at your liberty. For God hateth and punisheth such counterfeit hypocrites, as appeareth by Christ's former parable. [Matt. xxii. 12, 13.] *My friend,* saith God, *how camest thou in without a wedding-garment? And therefore commanded his servants to bind him hand and foot, and to cast him into utter darkness*[y]*, where shall be weeping, and wailing, and gnashing of teeth.* To the intent ye may avoid the like danger at God's hand, come to the church on the holy-day, and come in your holy-day garment; that is to say, come with a cheerful and a godly mind; come to seek God's glory, and to be thankful unto him; come to be at one with thy neighbour, and to enter in friendship and charity with him. Consider that all thy doings stink before the face of God, if thou be not in charity with thy neighbour. Come with an heart sifted and cleansed from worldly and carnal affections and desires. Shake off all vain thoughts which may hinder thee from God's true service. The bird, when she will flee[z], shaketh her wings: shake and prepare thyself to flee[z] higher than all the birds in the air, that, after thy duty duly done in this earthly temple and church, thou mayest flee[z] up, and be received into the glorious temple of God in heaven, through Christ Jesus our Lord: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all glory and honour. Amen.

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[x] you] ye 1582.
[y] utter darkness] the utter darkness 1563.
[z] flee] fly, 1563, 1595.

AN HOMILY,

WHEREIN IS DECLARED,

THAT COMMON PRAYER AND SACRAMENTS OUGHT TO BE MINISTERED IN A TONGUE THAT IS UNDERSTANDED[a] OF THE HEARERS.

AMONG the manifold exercises of God's people, dear Christians, there is none more necessary for all estates, and at all times, than is public prayer, and the due use of sacraments. For in the first we beg at God's hand[b] all such things, as otherwise we cannot obtain; and in the other he embraceth us, and offereth himself to be embraced of us. Knowing therefore that these two exercises are so necessary for us, let us not think it unmeet to consider, first what prayer is, and what a sacrament is; and then, how many sorts of prayers[c] there be, and how many sacraments; so shall we the better understand how to use them aright.

To know what they be, St Augustine teacheth us in his book, entitled, Of the Spirit and the Soul, he saith[1] this[d] of prayer; "Prayer is," saith he, "the devotion of the mind, that is to say, the returning to God, through a godly and humble affection; which affection is a certain willing and sweet inclining of the mind itself towards God." And in the second book Against the Adversary of the Law and the Prophets[e], he calleth[2] sacraments "holy signs." And writing to Bonifacius of the baptism of infants, he saith[3], "If sacraments had not a certain simi-

August. de Spirit. et Anima.

August. Lib. ii. contr. Advers. Leg. et Proph.

August. ad Bonifac.

[a] understanded] understood 1623.
[b] hand] hands 1582—1623.
[c] prayers] prayer 1563.
[d] this] thus 1582—1623.
[e] and the Prophets] and Prophets 1563.

[1] ["Oratio est mentis devotio, id est, conversio in Deum per pium et humilem affectum. Affectus est spontanea quædam ac dulcis ipsius animi ad Deum inclinatio." De Spiritu et Anima, c. L. Opp. Tom. VI. Append. 535, D.]

[2] [... "sacramenta, id est, sacra signa." Contra Advers. Legis et Proph. Lib. II. § 33: Opp. Tom. VIII. 425, D.]

[3] ["Si enim sacramenta quamdam similitudinem earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, non haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque etiam ipsarum rerum nomina accipiunt." Ep. ad Bonifacium, XCVIII. § 9: Opp. Tom. II. 202, 203.]

litude of those things whereof they be sacraments, they should be no sacraments at all. And of this similitude they do for the most part receive the names of the self things they signify." By these words of St Augustine it appeareth, that he alloweth the common description of a sacrament, which is, that it is a visible sign of an invisible grace; that is to say, that setteth out to the eyes and other outward senses the inward working of God's free mercy, and doth, as it were, seal in our hearts the promises of God. And so was circumcision a sacrament, which preached unto the outward senses the inward cutting away of the foreskin of the heart; and sealed and made sure in the hearts of the circumcised the promise of God touching the promised seed that they looked for.

Now let us see how many sorts of prayer, and how many sacraments there be. In the scriptures we read of three sorts of prayer, whereof two are private, and the third is common. The first is that which St Paul speaketh of in his
1 Tim. ii. [8.] epistle to Timothy, saying, *I will that men pray in every place, lifting up pure hands, without wrath and striving.* And it is the devout lifting up of the mind to God, without the uttering of the heart's grief or desire by open voice. Of this prayer we have example in the first book of the Kings, in Hannah the mother of Samuel, when, in the heaviness of her heart, she prayed in the temple, desiring to be made fruitful.
1 Sam. i. [13.] *She prayed in her heart*, saith the text, *but there was no voice heard.* After this sort must all Christians pray, not once in a week, or once in a day only; but, as St Paul
1 Thess. v. [17.] writeth to the Thessalonians, *without ceasing.* And as St
James v. [16.] James writeth, *The continual prayer of a just man is of much force.* The second sort of prayer is spoken of in the
Matt. vi. [6.] gospel of Matthew, where it is said, *When thou prayest, enter into thy secret closet, and when thou hast shut the door to thee, pray unto thy Father in secret; and thy Father, which seeth in secret, shall reward thee.* Of this sort of prayer there be sundry examples in the Scriptures; but it shall suffice to rehearse one, which is written in the Acts of
Acts x. [1, 3, 30, 31.] the Apostles. Cornelius, a devout man, a captain of the Italian army, saith to Peter, that *being in his house in prayer at the ninth hour, there appeared unto him one in a white garment*, &c. This man prayed unto God in secret, and was rewarded openly.

These be the two private sorts of prayer; the one mental,

that is to say, the devout lifting up of the mind to God; and the other vocal, that is to say, the secret uttering of the griefs and desires of the heart with words, but yet in a secret closet, or some solitary place. The third sort of prayer is public or common. Of this prayer speaketh our Saviour Christ, when he saith, *If two of you shall agree upon earth upon any thing, whatsoever ye shall ask, my Father which is in heaven shall do it for you: for wheresoever two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.* Matt. xviii. [19, 20.] Although God hath promised to hear us when we pray privately, so it be done faithfully and devoutly;—for he saith, *Call upon me in the day of thy trouble, and I will hear thee.* Psal. l. [15.] *And Elias, being but a mortal man,* saith St James, *prayed, and heaven was shut three years and six months; and again he prayed, and the heaven gave rain*—yet by the histories of the Bible it appeareth, that public and common prayer is most available before God, and therefore is much to be lamented that it is no better esteemed among us, which profess to be but one body in Christ. When the city of Nineveh was threatened to be destroyed within forty days, the prince and people[f] joined themselves together in public prayer and fasting, and were preserved. In the prophet Joel, God commanded[g] a fasting to be proclaimed, and the people to be gathered together, young and old, man and woman, and are taught to say with one voice, *Spare us, O Lord, spare thy people, and let not thine inheritance be brought to confusion.* When the Jews should have been destroyed all in one day through the malice of Haman, at the commandment of Esther they fasted and prayed, and were preserved. When Holophernes besieged Bethulia, by the advice of Judith they fasted and prayed, and were delivered. When Peter was in prison, the congregation joined themselves together in prayer, and Peter was wonderfully delivered. By these histories it appeareth, that common or public prayer is of great force to obtain mercy and deliverance at our heavenly Father's hand.

James v. [17, 18.] Jonah iii. [4—10.] Joel ii. [15—17.] Esth. iv. [16.] Jud. viii. [17—27.] Acts xii. [5.]

Therefore, brethren, I beseech you, even for the tender mercies of God, let us no longer be negligent in this behalf; but as the people[h] willing to receive at God's hand such good

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[f] people] the people 1623.
[g] commanded] commandeth 1563.
[h] the people] a people 1563.

things as in the common prayer of the church are craved, let us join ourselves together in the place of common prayer, and with one voice and one heart beg at our heavenly Father all those things which he knoweth to be necessary for us. I forbid you not private prayer, but I exhort you to esteem common prayer as it is worthy. And before all things, be sure that, in all these three sorts of prayer, your minds be devoutly lifted up to God, else are your prayers to no purpose; and this saying shall be verified in you, *This people honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far from me.* Thus much for the three sorts of prayer, whereof we read in the scriptures.

Isai. xxix. [13.] Matt. xv. [8.]

Now with like, or rather more brevity, you shall hear how many sacraments there be, that were instituted by our Saviour Christ, and are to be continued and received of every Christian in due time and order, and for such purpose as our Saviour Christ willed them to be received. And as for the number of them, if they should be considered according to the exact signification of a sacrament, namely, for the[i] visible signs, expressly commanded in the new Testament, whereunto is annexed the promise of free forgiveness of our sin, and of our holiness and joining in Christ, there be but two; namely, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord. For although absolution hath the promise of forgiveness of sin; yet by the express word of the new Testament it hath not this promise annexed and tied to the visible sign, which is imposition of hands. For this visible sign, I mean laying on of hands, is not expressly commanded in the new Testament to be used in absolution, as the visible signs in Baptism and the Lord's Supper are: and therefore absolution is no such sacrament as Baptism and the Communion are. And though the ordering of ministers hath his visible sign and promise; yet it lacks the promise of remission of sin, as all other sacraments besides do[k]. Therefore neither it, nor any other sacrament else, be such sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are. But in a general acception, the name of a sacrament may be attributed to any thing, whereby an holy thing is signified. In which understanding of the word, the ancient writers[1] have given

Dionysius, Bern. de Cœn. Dom. et Ablut. Pedum.

[i] the] *wanting* 1563. [k] besides do] the two above named do 1623.

[1] ["Sacramentum dicitur sacrum signum, sive sacrum secretum... Ad hoc instituta sunt omnia sacramenta, ad hoc Eucharistiæ partici-

this name, not only to the other five, commonly of late years taken and used for supplying the number of the seven sacraments; but also to divers and sundry other ceremonies, as to oil, washing of feet, and such like; not meaning thereby to repute them as sacraments, in the same signification that the two forenamed sacraments are. And therefore St Augustine weighing the true signification and exact meaning of the word, writing to Januarius, and also in the third book of Christian Doctrine, affirmeth[2], that the sacraments of the Christians, as they are most excellent in signification, so are they most few in number; and in both places maketh mention expressedly[1] of two, the sacrament of Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord. And although there are retained by the order of the church of England, besides these two, certain other rites and ceremonies about the institution of ministers in the church; matrimony; confirmation of children, by examining them of their knowledge in the articles of the faith, and joining thereto the prayers of the church for them; and likewise for the[m] visitation of the sick; yet no man ought to take these for sacraments, in such signification and meaning as the sacrament of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are: but either for godly states of life, necessary in Christ's church, and therefore worthy to be set forth by public action and solemnity, by the ministry of the church; or else judged to be such ordinances as may make for the instruction, comfort, and edification of Christ's church.

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[1] expressedly] expressly 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623. [m] the] *wanting* 1563.

patio, ad hoc pedum ablutio, ad hoc denique ipse Baptismus, initium sacramentorum omnium, in quo complantamur similitudini mortis ejus." S. Bernard. Serm. in Cœna Dom. Opp. col. 144, M. ed. Antverp. 1616. Dionys. Areopag. De Eccl. Hierarch. cap. 4, 6, 7.]

[2] ["Sacramentis numero paucissimis, observatione facillimis, significatione præstantissimis, societatem novi populi colligavit, sicuti est baptismus Trinitatis nomine consecratus, communicatio corporis et sanguinis ipsius, et si quid aliud in scripturis canonicis commendatur, exceptis iis quæ servitutem populi veteris pro congruentia cordis illorum et prophetici temporis onerabant, quæ et in quinque libris Moysi leguntur." S. Augustin. Ep. LIV. ad Januar. Opp. Tom. II. p. 185. Ed. Paris. 1836. "Quædam pauca pro multis, eademque factu facillima et intellectu augustissima, et observatione castissima ipse Dominus et apostolica tradidit disciplina; sicuti est baptismi sacramentum et celebratio corporis et sanguinis Domini." De Doctrina Christ. Lib. III. cap. 9. Tom. III. p. 37.]

Now, understanding sufficiently what prayer is, and what a sacrament is also; and how many sorts of prayers there be, and how many sacraments of our Saviour Christ's institution; let us see whether the Scriptures and the[n] examples of the primitive church will allow any vocal prayer, that is, when the mouth uttereth the petitions with voice; or any manner of sacrament; or other public and[o] common rite or action, pertaining to the profit and edifying of the poor congregation[p], to be ministered in a tongue unknown, or not understand[q] of the minister or people: yea, and whether any person may privately use any vocal prayer in a language that he himself understandeth not. To this question we must answer, No. And first, of common prayer and administration of sacraments. Although reason, if it might rule, would soon persuade us to have our common prayer and administration of sacraments[r] in a known tongue, both for that to pray commonly, is for a multitude to ask one and the self thing with one voice, and one consent of mind; and to administer a sacrament is, by the outward word and element to preach to the receiver the inward and invisible grace of God; and also for that both these exercises were first instituted, and are still continued, to the end that the congregation of Christ might from time to time be put in remembrance of their unity in Christ; and that, as members all of one body, they ought, both in prayers and otherwise, to seek and desire one another's commodity, and not their own without others; yet shall we not need to flee[s] to reason's proofs[t] in this matter, sith we have both the plain and manifest words of the Scripture, and also the consent of the most learned and ancient writers, to commend the prayers of the congregation in a known tongue. First, Paul to the Corinthians saith, *Let all things be done to edifying.* Which cannot be, unless common prayers and administration of sacraments be in a tongue known to the people. For where the prayers spoken by the minister, and the words in the administration of the sacraments, be not understanded[u] of them that be present,

1 Cor. xiv. [26.]

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[n] the] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[o] and] or 1623.

[p] poor congregation] unlearned 1623.

[q] understand] understood 1587, 1595, 1623.

[r] of sacraments] of the sacraments 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[s] flee] fly 1563.

[t] reason's proofs] reasons and proofs 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[u] understanded] understood 1623.

they cannot thereby be edified. For, as when the trumpet that is blown in the field giveth an uncertain sound, no man is thereby stirred up to prepare himself to the fight; and as, when an instrument of music maketh no distinct sound, no man can tell what is piped; even so, when prayers or administration of sacraments shall be in a tongue unknown to the hearers, which of them shall be thereby stirred up to lift up his mind to God, and to beg with the minister at God's hand those things which in the words of his prayers the minister asketh? Or who shall in the ministration of the sacraments understand what invisible grace is to be craved of the hearer, to be wrought in the inward man? Truly no man at all. For, saith St Paul, *He that speaketh in a tongue unknown, shall be unto*[x] *the hearer an aliant*, which in a Christian congregation is a great absurdity. *For we are not strangers one to another, but we are the citizens of the saints, and of the household of God; yea, and members of one body.* And therefore whiles our minister is in rehearsing the prayer that is made in the name of us all, we must give diligent ear[y] to the words spoken by him, and in heart beg at God's hand those things that he beggeth in words. And to signify that we so do[z], we say *Amen* at the end of the prayer that he maketh in the name of us all. And this thing can we not do for edification, unless we understand what is spoken. Therefore it is required of necessity, that the common prayer be had in a tongue that the hearers do understand. If ever it had been tolerable to use strange tongues in the congregations, the same might have been in the time of Paul and the other apostles, when they were miraculously endued with the gift[a] of tongues. For it might then have persuaded some to embrace the gospel, when they had heard men that were Hebrews born, and unlearned, speak the Greek, the Latin, and other languages. But Paul thought it not tolerable then: and shall we use it now, when no man cometh by that[b] knowledge of tongues, otherwise than by diligent and earnest study? God forbid. For we should by that means bring all our church-exercises to frivolous superstition, and make them altogether unfruitful. Luke

[1 Cor. xiv. 7, 8.]

[1 Cor. xiv. 2, 11.]

Eph. ii. [19.] 1 Cor. x. [17.] & xii. [12.]

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[x] unto] to 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[y] ear] ears 1623.

[z] so do] do so 1623.

[a] the gift] the *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, the gifts 1623.

[b] that] the 1563.

Acts iv. [23, 24.] writeth, that when Peter and John were discharged by the princes and high-priests of Jerusalem, they came to their fellows, and told them all that the princes of the priests and elders had spoken unto[c] them. *Which when they heard, they lifted up their voice together to God with one assent, and said, Lord, thou art he that hast made heaven and earth, the sea, and all things that are in them, &c.* Thus could they not have done if they had prayed in a strange tongue that they had not understand[d]. And no doubt of it, they did not all speak with several voices[e], but some one of them spake in the name of them all, and the rest, giving diligent ear to his words, consented thereunto; and therefore it is said, that *they lifted up their voice together.* St Luke saith not, their *voices,* as many; but their *voice,* as one. That one voice therefore was in such language as they all understood, otherwise they could not have lifted it[f] up with the consent of their hearts: for no man can give consent of the thing he[g] knoweth not. As touching the times before the coming of Christ, there was never man yet that would affirm, that either the people of God, or other, had their prayers or administrations of sacraments[h], or sacrifices, in a tongue that they themselves understood not. As for the time since Christ, till that usurped power of Rome began to spread itself, and to enforce all the nations of Europe to have the Romish language in admiration, it appeareth, by the consent of the most ancient and learned writers, that there was no strange or unknown tongue used in the congregations[i] of Christians.

Justin. Apol. 2. Justinus Martyr, who lived about one hundred and sixty years after Christ, saith[1] thus of the administration of the

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[c] unto] to 1623.
[d] understand] understood 1587, 1595, 1623.
[e] voices] voice 1623.
[f] it] *wanting* 1563.
[g] thing he] thing that he 1623.
[h] of sacraments] of the sacraments 1623.
[i] congregations] congregation 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[1] [Τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ πάντων κατὰ πόλεις ἢ ἀγροὺς μενόντων ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέλευσις γίνεται, καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, ἢ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκεται μέχρις ἐγχωρεῖ. εἶτα παυσαμένου τοῦ ἀναγινώσκοντος, ὁ προεστὼς διὰ λόγου τὴν νουθεσίαν καὶ πρόκλησιν τῆς τῶν καλῶν τούτων μιμήσεως ποιεῖται· ἔπειτα ἀνιστάμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχὰς πέμπομεν· καὶ, ὡς προέφημεν, παυσαμένων ἡμῶν τῆς εὐχῆς, ἄρτος προσφέρεται καὶ οἶνος καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ ὁ προεστὼς εὐχὰς

Lord's supper in his time: "Upon the Sunday, assemblies are made, both of them that dwell in cities, and of them that dwell in the country also: amongst whom, as much as may be, the writings of the apostles and prophets are read. Afterwards, when the reader doth cease, the chief minister maketh an exhortation, exhorting them to follow so[k] honest things. After this, we rise altogether, and offer prayers; which being ended, as we have said, bread and wine, and water, are brought forth: then the head minister offereth prayers and thanksgiving with all his power, and the people answer, *Amen.*" These words, with their circumstances, being[l] duly considered, do declare plainly, that not only the Scriptures were read in a known tongue, but also that prayer was made in the same, in the congregations of Justin's time. Basilius Magnus and Johannes Chrysostomus did in their time prescribe public orders of public administration, which they call liturgies[2]; and in them they appointed the people to answer to the prayers of the minister sometime, *Amen*, sometime, *Lord, have mercy upon us*, sometime, *And with thy spirit*, and, *We have our hearts lifted up unto the Lord, &c.* Which answers the people could not have made in due time, if the prayers had not been[m] in a tongue that they understood. The same Basil, writing to the clergy of Neocæsarea, saith thus[3] of his usage in common prayer, appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow: Epist. 63.

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[k] so] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[l] being] *wanting* 1563.
[m] been] been made 1563.

ὁμοίως καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ ἀναπέμπει, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐπευφημεῖ λέγων τὸ ἀμήν. Apol. I. § 67.]

[2] [See Liturg. Oriental. Tom. I. pp. 63, 64; Tom. II. p. 243 ed. Renaudot, Lond. 1847.]

[3] [*Ἐκ νυκτὸς γὰρ ὀρθρίζει παρ' ἡμῖν ὁ λαὸς ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς καὶ ἐν πόνῳ καὶ θλίψει καὶ ξυνοχῇ δακρύων ἐξομολογούμενοι τῷ Θεῷ, τελευταῖον ἐξαναστάντες τῶν προσευχῶν εἰς τὴν ψαλμῳδίαν καθίστανται. καὶ νῦν μὲν διχῇ διανεμηθέντες ἀντιψάλλουσιν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὴν μελέτην τῶν λογίων ἐντεῦθεν κρατύνοντες, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ τὴν προσοχὴν καὶ τὸ ἀμετεώριστον τῶν καρδιῶν ἑαυτοῖς διοικούμενοι. ἔπειτα πάλιν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἑνὶ κατάρχειν τοῦ μέλους, οἱ λοιποὶ ὑπηχοῦσι· καὶ οὕτως ἐν τῇ ποικιλίᾳ τῆς ψαλμῳδίας τὴν νυκτὰ διενεγκόντες, μεταξὺ προσευχόμενοι, ἡμέρας ἤδη ὑπολαμπούσης, πάντες κοινῇ, ὡς ἐξ ἑνὸς στόματος καὶ μιᾶς καρδίας τὸν τῆς ἐξομολογήσεως ψαλμὸν ἀναφέρουσι τῷ Κυρίῳ ἴδια ἑαυτῶν ἕκαστος τα ῥήματα τῆς μετανοίας ποιούμενοι.* S. Basil. Ep. lxiii. (al. ccvii.) Opp. Tom. III. p. 96, E. Ed. Paris, 1638.]

"and so with divers songs and prayers passing over the night, at the dawning of the day all altogether (even as it were with one mouth and one heart) they sing unto the Lord a song of confession, every man framing unto himself meet words of repentance." In another place he saith[1], "If the sea be fair, how is not the assembly of the congregation much more fair, in[n] which a joined sound of men, women, and children, as it were of the waves beating on the shore, is sent forth in our prayers unto our God?" Mark his words: "A joined sound, saith he, "of men, women, and children:" which cannot be, unless they all understand the tongue wherein the prayer is said[o]. And Chrysostom upon the words of Paul saith[2], "So soon as the people hear these words, *World without end*, they all do forthwith answer, *Amen*." This could they not do, unless they understood the word spoken by the priest. Dionysius saith[3], that hymns were said "of the whole multitude of people in the administration of the communion." Cyprian saith[4], the priest doth prepare the minds of the brethren with a preface before the prayer, saying, *Lift up your hearts;* that whiles the people doth answer, *We have our hearts lifted up to the Lord*, they be admonished that they ought to think on none other thing than the Lord. St Ambrose writing upon the words of St Paul saith[5], "This

Basil. Hom. 4.

1 Cor. xiv. [16.]

Dionys.

Cyprian. Serm. 6. de Orat. Dom.

1 Cor. xiv. [2.]

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[n] in] *wanting.*

[o] said] had 1563.

[1] [Εἰ δὲ θάλασσα καλὴ καὶ ἐπαινετὴ τῷ Θεῷ, πῶς οὐχὶ καλλίων ἐκκλησίας τοιάυτης σύλλογος, ἐν ᾗ συμμιγὴς ἦχος, οἷόν τινος κύματος ἠιόνι προσφερομένου, ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ νηπίων, κατὰ τὰς πρὸς Θεὸν ἡμῶν δέησεις ἐκπέμπεται; Hexæm. Homil. IV.; Opp. Tom. I. p. 46, C.]

[2] [Ἂν εὐλογήσας τῇ τῶν βαρβάρων φωνῇ, οὐκ εἰδὼς τί λέγεις, οὐδὲ ἑρμήνευσαι δυνάμενος, οὐ δύναται ὑποφωνῆσαι τὸ ἀμὴν ὁ λαϊκός· οὐ γὰρ ἀκούων τὸ, εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τέλος, οὐ λέγει τὸ ἀμήν. Homil. in 1 Cor. Opp. Tom. X. p. 325.]

[3] [His language is not so general: ἀπάρχεται τῆς ἱερᾶς τῶν ψαλμῶν μελῳδίας, συναδούσης αὐτῷ τὴν ψαλμικὴν ἱερολογίαν ἁπάσης τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς διακοσμήσεως. Eccl. Hierar. cap. 3: Tom. I. p. 283; ed. Antv. 1634.]

[4] ["Ideo et sacerdos ante orationem præfatione præmissa, parat fratrum mentes dicendo 'Sursum corda'; et dum respondet plebs, 'Habemus ad Dominum' etc." De Oratione Dom. Opp. p. 152; ed. Fell.]

[5] ["Hoc est quod dicit, quia qui loquitur incognita lingua Deo loquitur, quia ipse omnia novit; homines vero nesciunt ideoque nullus est sensu, quia ignorat quod dicit." Opp. Tom. III. col. 394, D: ed. Paris. 1614.]

is it that he saith, because he which speaketh in an unknown tongue, speaketh to God, for he knoweth all things: but men know not, and therefore there is no profit of this thing." And again upon these words, *If thou bless, or give thanks with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned say, Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?* [1 Cor. xiv. 16.] "That[p] is," saith Ambrose[1], "if thou speak the praise of God in a tongue unknown to the hearers. For the unlearned hearing that which he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the prayer, and answereth not *Amen:* which word is as much to say as, 'truth,' that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the prayer is fulfilled by them that do answer, *Amen*, that all things spoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth." And after many weighty words, to the same end he saith[2], "The conclusion is this, that nothing should be done in the church in vain; and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned also might take profit, lest any part of the body should be dark through ignorance." And lest any man should think all this to be meant of preaching, and not of prayer, he taketh occasion of these words of St Paul, *If there be not an interpreter, let him keep silence in the church,* to say[3] as followeth: "Let him pray secretly, or speak to God, who heareth all things that be dumb: for in the church must he speak that may profit all persons." St Jerome writing upon these words of St Paul, *How shall he that supplieth the place of the unlearned, &c.* saith[4], "It is the layman, whom Paul under- [1 Cor. xiv. 28.] [1 Cor. xiv. 16.]

[p] That] This 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[1] ["Hoc est, si laudem Dei lingua loquaris ignota audientibus . . . Imperitus enim audiens quod non intelligit, nescit finem orationis, et non respondet *Amen*, id est, *verum*, ut confirmetur benedictio. Per hos enim impletur confirmatio precis qui respondent *Amen;* ut omnia dicta veri testimonio in audientium mentibus confirmentur." Ibid. col. 395, N.]

[2] ["Conclusio hæc est, ut nihil incassum in ecclesia geratur, hocque elaborandum magis, ut et imperiti proficiant, ne quid sit corporis per imperitiam tenebrosum." Ibid. col. 397, E.]

[3] ["Intra se tacite oret, aut loquatur Deo, qui audit muta omnia. In ecclesia enim ille debet loqui, qui omnibus prosit." Ibid. col. 398, A.]

[4] ["Laicum significat, qui nullo gradu ecclesiastico fungitur." Opp. Tom. v. col. 1004, ed. Bened.]

standeth here to be in the place of the ignorant man, which hath no ecclesiastical office:" How shall he answer, Amen, to the prayer of[q] that he understandeth not? And a little after[1], upon the[r] words of St Paul, *For if I should pray in a tongue, &c.* he saith[2] thus; "This is Paul's meaning: If any man speak in strange and unknown tongues, his mind is[s] made unfruitful, not to himself, but to the hearer: for whatsoever is spoken, he knoweth it not." St Augustine, writing upon the eighteenth Psalm, saith[3]: "What this should be, we ought to understand, that we may sing with reason of man, and[t] not with chattering of birds. For owls[u], popinjays, ravens, pies[x], and other such like birds, are taught by men to prate they know not what: but to sing with understanding is given by God's holy will to the nature of man." Again, the same Augustine saith[4], "There needeth no speech when we pray, saving perhaps, as the priests do, for to declare their meaning, not that God, but that men may hear them. And so being put in remembrance by consenting with the priest, they may hang upon God."

[1 Cor. xiv. 14.]

Psal. xviii.

De Magist.

Thus are we taught both by the Scriptures[y] and ancient doctors, that, in the administration of common prayer and sacraments, no tongue unknown to the hearers ought to be used. So that for the satisfying of a Christian man's conscience we need to spend no more time in this matter. But yet to stop the mouths of the adversaries, which stay themselves much upon

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[q] of] *wanting* 1563.
[r] the] these 1563.
[s] is] *wanting* 1563.
[t] and] *wanting* 1563.
[u] owls] ousels 1563.
[x] popinjays, ravens, pies] and popinjays, and ravens, and pies 1563.
[y] scriptures] scripture 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

1 [? before.]

2 ["Hoc dicit: quoniam si quis incognitis aliis linguis loquatur, mens ejus non ipsi efficitur sine fructu, sed audienti; quicquid enim dicitur ignorat." Opp. Tom. v. col. 1004, ed. Bened.]

3 [..." quid hoc sit intelligere debemus, ut humana ratione, non quasi avium voce cantemus. Nam et meruli et psittaci et corvi et picæ et hujusmodi volucres, sæpe ab hominibus docentur sonare quod nesciunt. Scienter autem cantare naturæ hominis divina voluntate concessum est." Enar. II. in Ps. xviii.: Opp. Tom. IV. col. 61, E.]

4 ["Quare non opus est locutione cum oramus, id est, sonantibus verbis, nisi forte sicut sacerdotes faciunt, significandæ mentis suæ causa, non ut Deus, sed ut homines audiant et consensione quadam per commemorationem suspendantur in Deum." De Magistro, § 2, Opp. Tom. I. 402, B.]

general decrees, it shall be good to add to these testimonies of Scriptures and doctors, one constitution made by Justinian the emperor, who lived five hundred and[z] twenty and seven years after Christ, and was emperor of Rome. The constitution is this[1]: "We command that all bishops and priests do celebrate the holy oblation, and the prayers used in holy Baptism; not speaking low, but with a clear or loud voice, which may be heard of the people, that thereby the mind of the hearers may be stirred up with great devotion, in uttering the prayers of the Lord God; for so the holy apostle teacheth, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, saying, *Truly, if thou only bless or give thanks in spirit, how doth he, which occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen at thy*[a] *giving of thanks unto God? for he understandeth not what thou sayest. Thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.* And again, in the epistle to the Romans, he saith, *With the heart a man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* Therefore for these causes it is convenient, that, among other prayers, those things also, which are spoken in the holy oblation, be uttered and spoken of the most religious bishops and priests, unto our Lord Jesus Christ our God, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, with a loud voice. And let the most religious priests know this, that if they neglect any of these things, that they shall give an account for them in the dreadful judgment of the great God,

Nov. Const. 123.

[1 Cor. xiv. 16, 17.]

Rom. x. [10.]

[z] and] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623. [a] at thy] at the 1563, at that thy 1623.

[1] [Πρὸς τούτοις κελεύομεν πάντας ἐπισκόπους τὲ καὶ πρεσβυτέρους, μὴ κατὰ τὸ σεσιωπημένον, ἀλλὰ μετὰ φωνῆς τῷ πιστοτάτῳ λαῷ ἐξακουομένης τὴν θείαν προσκομιδὴν καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ βαπτίσματι προσευχὴν ποιεῖσθαι, πρὸς τὸ κἀντεῦθεν τὰς τῶν ἀκουόντων ψυχὰς εἰς πλείονα κατάνυξιν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Δεσπότην Θεὸν διανίστασθαι δοξολογίαν. οὕτως γὰρ ὁ θεῖος ἀπόστολος διδάσκει, λέγων, κ. τ. λ. . . . διὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν προσήκει τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ προσκομιδῇ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας προσευχὰς μετὰ φωνῆς παρὰ τῶν ὁσιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων τὲ καὶ πρεσβυτέρων προσφέρεσθαι τῷ Κυριῷ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ, τῷ Θεῷ ἡμῶν, σὺν τῷ Πατρὶ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι· γινωσκόντων τῶν ὁσιωτάτων ἱερέων, ὡς εἴ πέρ τι τούτων παρίδοιεν καὶ τῇ φοβερᾷ κρίσει τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀπολογήσονται, καὶ οὐδὲ ἡμεῖς ταῦτα γινώσκοντες ἐφησυχάσομεν, ἢ ἀνεκδίκητα καταλίπωμεν. Novell. Constit. cxxxvii. (al. cxxiii.), § 6: apud Corpus Juris Civilis, Tom. II. pp. 196, 197, ed. Amst. 1663.]

and our Saviour Jesus Christ. Neither will we, when we know it, rest and leave it unrevenged."

This emperor, as Sabellicus writeth[1], favoured the bishop of Rome; and yet we see how plain a decree he maketh, for the[b] praying and administering of sacraments in a known tongue, that the devotion of the hearers might be stirred up by knowledge; contrary to the judgment of them that would have ignorance to make devotion. He maketh it also a matter of damnation to do these things in a tongue that the hearers understand not. Let us therefore conclude with God, and all good men's assent, that no common prayer, or sacraments, ought to be ministered in a tongue that is not understanded[c] of the hearers.

Now a word or two of private prayer in an unknown tongue. We took in hand where we began to speak of this matter, not only to prove that no common prayer, or administration of sacraments, ought to be in a tongue unknown to the hearers, but also that no person ought to pray privately in that tongue that he himself understandeth not. Which thing shall not be hard to prove, if we forget not what prayer is. For if prayer be that devotion of the mind, which enforceth the heart to lift up itself to God, how should it be said, that that person prayeth, that understandeth not the words that his tongue speaketh in prayer? Yea, how can it be said that he speaketh? For to speak is by voice to utter the thought of the mind. And the voice that a man uttereth in speaking is nothing else but the messenger of the mind, to bring abroad the knowledge of that which otherwise lieth secret in the heart, and cannot be known, according
1 Cor. ii. [11.] to that which St Paul writeth; *What man,* saith he, *knoweth the things that appertain to man, saving only the spirit of man, which is in man?* He, therefore, that doth not understand the voices that his tongue doth utter, cannot properly be said to speak, but rather to counterfeit, as parrots, and such other birds, use to counterfeit men's voices. No man, therefore, that feareth to provoke the wrath of God against himself, will be so bold to speak of God unadvisedly, without regard of reverent understanding, in his presence; but he

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[b] the] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623. [c] understanded] understood 1623.

[1] [Ennead. viii. Lib. II. Opp. Tom. II. p. 462; ed. Basil. 1560.]

will prepare his heart before he presume to speak unto God. And therefore in our common prayer the minister doth oftentimes say, *Let us pray*, meaning thereby to admonish the people, that they should prepare their ears to hear what he should crave at God's hand, and their[d] hearts to consent to the same, and their tongues to say *Amen* at the end thereof. On this sort did the prophet David prepare his heart, when he said, *My heart is ready, O God, my heart is ready, I will sing and declare a psalm.* The Jews also, when in the time of Judith they did with all their heart pray God to visit his people of Israel, had so prepared their hearts before they began to pray. After this sort had Manasses prepared his heart before he prayed, and said, *And now, O Lord, do I bow the knees of mine*[e] *heart, asking of thee part of thy merciful kindness.* When the heart is thus prepared, the voice uttered from the heart is harmonious in the ears of God: otherwise he regarded it not to accept it. But forasmuch as the person, that so babbleth his words without sense in the presence of God, sheweth himself not to regard the majesty of him that he speaketh to; he taketh him as a contemner of his almighty majesty, and giveth him his reward among hypocrites, which make an outward show of holiness, but their hearts are full of abominable thoughts, even in the time of their prayers. For it is the heart that the Lord looketh upon, as it is written in the history of Kings. If we therefore will that our prayers be not abominable before God, let us so prepare our hearts before we pray, and so understand the things that we ask when we pray, that both our hearts and voices may together sound in the ears of God's majesty; and then we shall not fail to receive at his hand the things that we ask, as good men which have been before us did, and so have from time to time received that which, for their souls' health, they did at any time desire. St Augustine seemeth to bear in this matter; for he saith thus[1] of them, which being brought up in gram-

[Psal. lvii. [7, & 108. 1.]]

[Judith iv. 9—15.]

[Prayer of Manasses.]

[1 Sam. xvi. [7.]]

[d] their] the 1563.

[e] mine] my 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[1] ["Noverint etiam non esse vocem ad aures Domini nisi animi affectum; ita enim non irridebunt si aliquos antistites et ministros ecclesiæ forte animadverterint, vel cum barbarismis et solœcismis Deum invocare, vel eadem verba quæ pronuntiant non intelligere, perturbateque distinguere." De Catechizand. Rudibus, c. IX.: Opp. Tom. VI. 198, c.]

De Catech. Rud.

mar and rhetoric, are converted to Christ, and so must be instructed in Christian religion: "Let them know also," saith he, "that it is not the voice, but the affection of the mind, that cometh to the ears of God. And so shall it come to pass, that if haply[f] they shall mark that some bishops or ministers in the church do call upon God, either with barbarous words, or with words disordered, or that they understand not, or do disorderly divide the words that they pronounce, they shall not laugh them to scorn." Hitherto he seemeth to bear with praying in an unknown tongue. But in the next sentence he openeth his mind thus[l]: "Nor[g] for that these things ought not to be amended, that the people may[h] say *Amen* to that which they do plainly understand. But yet these things must be godly borne[i] withal of these catechists, or instructors of the faith, that they may learn, that as in the common place, where matters are pleaded, the goodness of an oration consisteth in sound, so in the church it consisteth in devotion." So that he alloweth not the praying in a tongue not understand[k] of him that prayeth; but he instructeth the skilful orator to bear with the rude tongue of the devout simple minister.

To conclude: If the lack of understanding the words that are spoken in the congregation do make them unfruitful to the hearers, how should not the same make the words read unfruitful to the reader? The merciful goodness of God grant us his grace to call upon him as we ought to do, to his glory and our endless felicity; which we shall do, if we humble ourselves in his sight, and in all our prayers, both common and private, have our minds fully fixed upon him. *For the prayer of them that humble themselves shall pierce through the clouds, and till it draw nigh unto God, it will not be answered; and till the most High do regard it, it will not depart. And the Lord will not be slack, but he will deliver the just, and execute judgment.* To him therefore be all honour and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

Ecclus. xxxv. [17, 18.]

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[f] haply] hapily 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[g] Nor] Not 1563, 1623.
[h] may] might 1563.
[i] these things must be godly borne] these godly things must be borne 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[k] understand] understood 1587 1595, 1623.

[l] ["Non quia ista minime corrigenda sunt, ut populus ad id quod plane intelligit dicat *Amen;* sed tamen pie toleranda sunt ab eis, qui didicerint ut sono in foro sic voto in ecclesia benedici." Ibid.]

AN INFORMATION

FOR THEM WHICH TAKE OFFENCE AT CERTAIN PLACES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE.

THE FIRST PART.

THE great utility and profit that Christian men and women may take, if they will, by hearing and reading the holy Scriptures, dearly beloved, no heart can sufficiently conceive, much less is my[a] tongue able with words to express. Wherefore Satan, our enemy[b], seeing the Scriptures to be the very mean and right way to bring the people to the true knowledge of God, and that Christian religion is greatly furthered by diligent hearing and reading of them; he also perceiving what an hindrance and let they be to him and his kingdom, doth what he can to drive the reading of them out of God's church. And for that end he hath always stirred up, in one place or other, cruel tyrants, sharp persecutors, and extreme enemies unto God and his infallible truth, to pull with violence the holy Bibles out of the people's hands, and have most spitefully destroyed and consumed the same to ashes in the fire; pretending, most untruly, that the much hearing and reading of God's word is an occasion of heresy and carnal liberty, and the overthrow of all good order in all well-ordered commonweals. If to know God aright be an occasion of evil, then must we[c] needs grant, that the hearing and reading of the holy Scriptures is the cause of heresy, carnal liberty, and the subversion of all good orders. But the knowledge of God and of ourselves is so far[d] from being an occasion of evil, that it is the readiest, yea, the only mean to bridle carnal liberty, and to kill all our fleshly affections. And the ordinary way to attain this knowledge is with diligence to hear and read the holy Scriptures. *For the whole Scriptures,* saith St Paul, *were given by the inspiration of God.* And shall we Christian men think to learn the knowledge of God and of ourselves in any earthly man's work or

2 Tim. iii. [16.]

[a] my] any 1563.
[b] our enemy] our old enemy 1563.
[c] must we] we must 1623.
[d] so far] so far off 1563.

writing[e], sooner or better than [in][f] the holy Scriptures
2 Pet. i. [21.] written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost? *The Scriptures were not brought unto us by the will of man: but holy men of God,* as witnesseth St Peter, *spake as they were moved by the holy Spirit of God.* The Holy Ghost is the schoolmaster of truth, which leadeth his scholars, as our Sa-
John xvi. [13.] viour Christ saith of him, into all truth. And whoso is not led and taught by this[g] schoolmaster, cannot but fall into deep error, how godly soever his pretence is; what knowledge and learning soever he hath of all other works and writings; or how fair soever a show or face of truth he hath in the estimation and judgment of the world. If some man will say, I would have a true pattern and a perfect description of an upright life, approved in the sight of God; can we find, think ye, any better, or any such again, as Christ Jesus is, and his doctrine; whose virtuous conversation and godly life the Scripture so lively painteth and setteth forth before our eyes, that we, beholding that pattern, might shape and frame our lives, as nigh as may be, agreeable to the perfection of
1 Cor. xi. [1.] the same? *Follow you me,* saith St Paul, *as I follow Christ.*
1 John ii. [6.] And St John in his epistle saith, *Whoso abideth in Christ must walk even so as he walked*[h] *before him.* And where shall we learn the order of Christ's life but in the Scripture? Another would have a medicine to heal all diseases and maladies of the mind. Can this be found[i] or gotten otherwhere than out of God's own book, his sacred Scriptures? Christ
John v. [39.] taught so much, when he said to the obstinate Jews, *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think to have eternal life.* If the Scriptures contain in them everlasting life, it must needs follow, that they have also present remedy against all that is an hindrance and let unto eternal life. If we desire the knowledge of heavenly wisdom, why had we rather learn the
James i. [5.] same of man than of God himself, *who,* as St James saith, *is the giver of wisdom?* Yea, why will we not learn it at
Matt. xxviii. [20.] Christ's own mouth, who, promising to be present with his church till the world's end, doth perform his promise, in that he is not only with us by his grace and tender pity; but also in this, that he speaketh presently unto[k] us in the holy Scrip-

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[e] work or writing] work of writing 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[f] in] *wanting* 1574.
[g] this] his 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[h] he walked] he hath walked 1623.
[i] found] founden 1563.
[k] unto] to 1563.

tures, to the great and endless comfort of all them that have any feeling of God at all in them? Yea, he speaketh now in the Scriptures more profitably to us, than he did by word[l] of mouth to the carnal Jews, when he lived with them here upon earth. For they—I mean the Jews—could neither hear nor see those things which we may now both hear and see, if we will bring with us those ears and eyes that Christ is heard and seen with; that is, diligence to hear and read his holy Scriptures, and true faith to believe his most comfortable promises. If one could shew but the print of Christ's foot, a great number, I think, would fall down and worship it; but to the holy Scriptures, where we may see daily, if we will, I will not say the print of his feet only, but the whole shape and lively image of him, alas! we give little reverence, or none at all. If any could let us see Christ's coat, a sort of us would make hard shift, except we mought[m] come nigh to gaze upon it, yea, and kiss it too. And yet all the clothes that ever he did wear can nothing so truly nor so lively express him unto us, as do the Scriptures. Christ's images[n], made in wood, stone, or metal, some men, for the love they bear to Christ, do garnish and beautify the same with pearl, gold, and precious stone. And should we not, good brethren, much rather embrace and reverence God's holy books, the sacred Bible, which do represent Christ unto us more truly than can any image? The image can but express the form or shape of his body, if it can do so much: but the Scriptures[o] doth in such sort set forth Christ, that we may see[p] both God and man: we may see him, I say, speaking unto us; healing our infirmities; dying for our sins; rising from death for our justification. And, to be short, we may in the Scriptures so perfectly see whole Christ with the eye of faith, as we, lacking faith, could not with these bodily eyes see him, though he stood now present here before us. Let every man, woman, and child, therefore, with all their heart, thirst and desire God's holy Scriptures; love them; embrace them; have their delight and pleasure in hearing and reading them; so as at length we may be transformed and changed into them. For the holy Scriptures are God's treasure-house, wherein are found all things

[l] by word] by the word 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[m] mought] might 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[n] images] image 1563.
[o] scriptures] scripture 1563.
[p] see] see him 1563.

needful for us to see, to hear, to learn, and to believe, necessary for the attaining of eternal life.

Thus much is spoken, only to give you a taste of some of the commodities, which ye may take by hearing and reading the holy Scriptures. For, as I said in the beginning, no tongue is able to declare and utter all. And although it is more clear than the noon day, that to be ignorant of the Scriptures is the cause of error, as Christ saith to the Sadducees, *Ye err, not knowing the Scriptures;* and that error doth hold back and pluck men away from the knowledge of God; and, as St Jerome saith[1], "Not to know the Scriptures is to be ignorant of Christ:" yet this notwithstanding, some there be that think it not meet for all sorts of men to read the Scriptures, because they are, as they think, in sundry places stumbling-blocks to the unlearned. First, for that the phrase of the Scriptures[q] is sometime so homely[r], gross, and plain, that it offendeth the fine and delicate wits of some courtiers. Furthermore, for that the Scripture also reporteth, even of them that have their commendation to be the children of God, that they did divers acts, whereof some are contrary to the law of nature, some repugnant to the law written, and other some seem to fight manifestly against public honesty. All which things, say they, are unto the simple an occasion of great offence, and cause many to think evil of the Scriptures, and to discredit their authority. Some are offended at the hearing and reading of the diversity of the rites and ceremonies of the sacrifices and oblations of the law. And some worldly witted men think it a great decay to the quiet and prudent governing of their commonweals, to give ear to the simple and plain rules and precepts of our Saviour Christ in his gospel, as being offended that a man should be ready to turn his right ear to him that strake him on the left; and to him which would take away his coat, to offer him also his cloak; with such other sayings of perfection in Christ's meaning. For carnal reason, being alway an enemy to God, and not perceiving the things of God's Spirit, doth abhor such precepts, which yet rightly understanded[s] infringeth no judicial policies, nor Christian men's governments. And some there be, which hearing the Scrip-

Matt. xxii. [29.]

[Matt. v. 39, 40.]

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q scriptures] scripture 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

r homely] simple 1623.

s understanded] understood 1623.

[1] ["Ignoratio Scripturarum ignoratio Christi est." S. Hieronym. Prolog. ad Isaiam.] Opp. Tom. Col. Opp. Tom. III. p. 1; ed. Pars. 1704.]

tures to[t] bid us to live without carefulness; without study or forecasting, do deride the simplicities of them. Therefore, to remove and put away occasions of offence, so much as may be, I will answer orderly to these objections.

First, I shall rehearse some of those places that men are offended at, for the homeliness[u] and grossness of speech, and will shew the meaning of them. In the book of Deuteronomy it is written, that *Almighty God made a law, if a man died without issue, his brother, or next kinsman, should marry his widow, and the child that were*[x] *first born between them should be called his child that was dead, that the dead man's name might*[y] *not be put out in Israel: and if the brother, or next kinsman, would not marry the widow, then she before the magistrates of the city should pull off his shoe, and spit in his face, saying, So be it done to that man that will not build his brother's house.* Here, dearly beloved, the pulling off his shoe, and spitting in his face, were ceremonies, to signify unto all the people of that city, that the woman was not now in fault that God's law in that point was broken; but the whole shame and blame thereof did now redound to that man which openly before the magistrates refused to marry her. And it was not a reproach to him alone, but to all his posterity also: for they were called ever after, *The house of him whose shoe is pulled off.* Another place out of the Psalms: *I will break,* saith David, *the horns of the ungodly, and the horns of the righteous shall be exalted.* By an horn, in the Scripture, is understand[z] power, might, strength, and sometime rule and government. The prophet then saying, *I will break the horns of the ungodly,* meaneth, that all the power, strength, and might of God's enemy[a] shall not only be weakened and made feeble, but shall at length also be clean broken and destroyed; though for a time, for the better trial of his people, God suffereth the enemies to prevail and have the upper hand. In the hundred and thirty-second Psalm it is said, *I will make David's horn to flourish.* Here David's horn signifieth his kingdom. Almighty God therefore, by this manner of speaking, promiseth to give David victory over all his enemies, and to stablish him in his king-

[Deut. xxv. 5—9.]

[Deut. xxv. 10.]

Psal. lxxv. [10.]

Psal. cxxxii. [17.]

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[t] to] do 1563.
[u] homeliness] simplicity 1623.
[x] were] was 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[y] might] mought 1563.
[z] understand] understood 1587, 1595, 1623.
[a] enemy] enemies 1563.

dom, spite of all his enemies. And in the threescore Psalm
Psal. lx. [8.] it is written, *Moab is my washpot, and over Edom will I cast out*[b] *my shoe, &c.* In that place the prophet sheweth how graciously God hath dealt with his people, the children of Israel, giving them great victories upon their enemies on every side. For the Moabites and Idumeans being two great nations, proud people, stout and mighty, God brought them under, and made them servants to the Israelites; servants, I say, to stoop down, to pull off their shoes, and wash their
Psal. lx. [8.] feet. Then *Moab is my washpot, and over Edom will I cast out my shoe*, is, as if he had said, The Moabites and the Idumeans, for all their stoutness against us in the wilderness, are now made our subjects, or servants; yea, underlings to pull off our shoes, and wash our feet. Now I pray you, what uncomely manner of speech is this, so used in common phrase among the Hebrews? It is a shame that Christian men should be so light-headed, to toy as ruffians do of[c] such manner speeches, uttered in good grave signification by the Holy Ghost. More reasonable it were for vain men to learn to[d] reverence the form of God's words, than to gaud[e] at them to his[f] damnation.

Some again are offended to hear that the godly fathers had many wives and concubines, although, after the phrase of the Scripture, a concubine is an honest name; for every concubine is a lawful wife, but every wife is not a concubine. And that ye may the better understand this to be true, ye shall note that it was permitted to the fathers of the old Testament to have at one time moe wives than one, for what purpose ye shall afterward hear. Of which wives some were free-women born, some were bond-women and servants. She that was free-born had a prerogative above those that were servants and bond-women. The free-born woman was by marriage made the ruler of the house under her husband, and is called the mother of the household,—the mistress[g] or the dame of the house, after our manner of speaking,—and had by her marriage an interest, a right, and an ownership of his goods, unto whom she was married. Other servants and bond-women were given by the owners of them, as the manner was then, I will not say

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[b] out] *wanting* 1582, 1587.
[c] of] with 1623.
[d] to] and 1563.
[e] gaud] sport 1623.
[f] his] their 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[g] mistress] maystresse 1563, master 1623.

always, but for the most part, unto[h] their daughters at that[i] day of their marriage, to be handmaidens unto them. After such a sort did Pharaoh king of Egypt, give unto Sarah, Abraham's wife, Agar, the Egyptian, to be her maid; so did Laban give unto his daughter Leah, at the day of her marriage, Zilpah to be her handmaid. And to his other daughter, Rachel, he gave another bondmaid, named Bilhah[k]. And the wives, that were the owners of their handmaids[l], gave them in marriage to their husbands, upon divers occasions. Sarah gave her maid, Agar, in marriage to Abraham; Leah gave, in like manner, her maid, Zilpah, to her husband, Jacob. So did Rachel, his other wife, give him Bilhah[m] her maid, saying unto him, *Go in unto her, and she shall bear upon my knees:* which is, as if she had said, Take her to wife, and the children that she shall bear will I take upon my lap, and make of them as if they were mine own. These handmaidens or bond-women, although by marriage they were made wives, yet they had not this[n] prerogative, to rule in the house, but were still underlings, and in subjection[o] to their masters, and were never called mothers of the household, mistresses, or dames of the house, but are called sometimes wives, sometime concubines. The plurality of wives was by a special prerogative suffered to the fathers of the old Testament, not for satisfying their carnal and fleshly lusts, but to have many children; because every one of them hoped, and begged oft-times of God in their prayers, that that blessed seed, which God promised should come into the world to break the serpent's head, might come and be born of his stock and kindred.

Gen. [xvi. 3.] [Gen. xxix. 24.] [Gen. xxix. 29.] Gen. xvi. [3.] [Gen. xxx. 9.] Gen. xxx. [3.]

Now of those which take occasion of carnality and evil life, by hearing and reading in God's book, what God had[p] suffered, even in those men whose commendation is praised in the Scripture: as that Noah, whom St Peter calleth the eighth preacher of righteousness, was so drunk with wine, that in his sleep he uncovered his own privities. The just man, Lot, was in like manner drunken, and in his drunkenness lay with his own daughters, contrary to the law of

2 Pet. ii. [5.] Gen. ix. [21.] Gen. xix. [32.]

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[h] unto] under 1563.
[i] that] the 1563.
[k] Bilhah] Bilham 1563.
[l] handmaids] handmaidens 1623.
[m] Bilhah] Bilham 1563.
[n] this] his 1587.
[o] in subjection] in such subjection 1623.
[p] had] hath 1563.

nature. Abraham, whose faith was so great, that for the same he deserved to be called of God's own mouth, *a father of many nations, the father of all believers*, besides with Sarah his wife, had also carnal company with Agar, Sarah's handmaid. The patriarch Jacob had to his wives two sisters at one time. The prophet David, and king Solomon his son, had many wives and concubines, &c. Which things we see plainly to be forbidden us by the law of God, and are now repugnant to all public honesty. These and such like in God's book, good people, are not written that we should or may do the like, following their examples, or that we ought to think that God did allow every of these things in those[q] men: but we ought rather to believe and to judge that Noah in his drunkenness offended God highly. Lot, lying with his daughters, committed horrible incest. We ought then to learn by them this profitable lesson, that if so goodly men as they were, which otherwise felt inwardly God's holy Spirit inflaming in[r] their hearts with the fear and love of God, could not by their own strength keep themself from committing horrible sin, but did so grievously fall, that without God's great mercy they had perished everlastingly; how much more ought we then, miserable wretches, which have no feeling of God within us at all, continually to fear, not only that we may fall as they did, but also be overcome and drowned in sin, which they were not; and so, by considering their fall, take the better occasion to acknowledge our own infirmity and weakness, and therefore more earnestly to call unto almighty God with hearty prayer incessantly, for his grace to strengthen us, and to defend us from all evil. And though through infirmity we chance at any time to fall, yet we may, by hearty repentance, and true faith, speedily rise again, and not sleep and continue in sin, as the wicked doth.

Gen. xvii. [4, 5.] Rom. iv. [17.] Gen. xvi. [4.] Gen. xxix. [30.] [2 Sam. v. 13.] [1 Kings xi. 3.]

Thus, good people, should we understand such matters expressed in the divine scriptures, that this holy table of God's word be not turned to us to be a snare, a trap, and a[s] stumbling-stone, to take hurt by the abuse of our understanding: but let us esteem them in such[t] a reverent humility, that we may find our necessary food therein, to strengthen

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q those] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
r in] *wanting* 1563.
s a] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
t such] *wanting* 1623.

us, to comfort us, to instruct us, as God of his great mercy hath appointed them, in all necessary works; so that we may be perfect before him in the whole course of our life: which he grant us, who hath redeemed us, our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory for evermore.

THE SECOND PART OF THE INFORMATION FOR THEM WHICH TAKE OFFENCE AT CERTAIN PLACES OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURE[u].

YE have heard, good people, in the homily last read unto you, the great commodity of holy Scriptures; ye have heard how ignorant men, void of godly[x] understanding, seek quarrels to discredit them; some of their reasons have ye heard answered. Now we will proceed, and speak of such politic wise men which be offended, for that Christ's precepts should seem to destroy all order in governance, as they do allege for example[y], such as these be: *If any man strike thee on the right cheek, turn the other unto him also.* Matt. v. [39, 40.] *If any man will contend to take thy coat from thee, let him have cloak and all.* *Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth.* Matt. vi. [3.] *If thine eye, thine hand, or*[z] *thy foot offend thee, pull out thine eye, cut off thine hand, thy foot, and cast it from thee.* Matt. xviii. [8, 9.] *If thine enemy,* saith St Paul, *be an hungered, give him meat; if he be thirsty, give him drink: so doing, thou shalt heap hot burning coals upon his head.* Rom. xii. [20.] These sentences, good people, unto a natural man seem mere absurdities, contrary to all reason. *For a natural man,* as St Paul saith, *understandeth not the things that belong to God, neither can he so long as old Adam dwelleth in him.* 1 Cor. ii. [14.] Christ therefore meaneth, that he would have his faithful servants so far from vengeance, and resisting wrong, that he would rather have him ready to suffer another wrong, than by resisting[a] to break charity, and to be out of patience. He would have our good deeds so far from all carnal respects, that he would not have our nighest friends know

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[u] scripture] scriptures 1563.
[x] of godly] of all godly 1587, 1595.
[y] example] examples 1563.
[z] or] *wanting* 1563.
[a] resisting] refusing 1587, 1595.

of our well-doing, to win a[b] vain-glory. And though our friends and kinsfolks be as dear as our right eyes and our right hands; yet if they would pluck us from God, we ought to renounce them, and forsake them.

Thus if ye will be profitable hearers and readers of the holy Scriptures, ye[c] must first deny yourselves, and keep under your carnal senses, taken by the outward words, and search the inward meaning: reason must give place to God's holy Spirit; you must submit your worldly wisdom and judgment unto his divine wisdom and judgment. Consider that the Scripture, in what strange form soever it be pronounced, is the word of the living God. Let that always come to your remembrance, which is so oft repeated of the prophet Isaiah, *The mouth of the Lord,* saith he, *hath spoken it; and*[d] *almighty and everlasting God, who with his only word created heaven and earth, hath decreed*[e] *it; the Lord of hosts, whose ways are in the seas, whose paths are in the deep waters; that Lord and God by whose word all things in heaven and in earth are created, governed, and preserved, hath so provided it. The God of gods, and Lord of all lords, yea, God that is God alone, incomprehensible, almighty, and everlasting, he hath spoken it; it is his word.* It cannot therefore be but truth, which proceedeth from the God of all truth: it cannot be but wisely and prudently commanded, what almighty God hath devised, how vainly soever, through want of grace, we miserable wretches do imagine and judge of his most holy word.

[Isai. i. 20.] [Isai. xlii. 5.] [Isai. xliii. 16.] [Deut. x. 17.]

The prophet David, describing an happy man, saith, *Blessed is the man that hath not walked after the counsel of the ungodly, nor stand in the way of sinners, nor sit in the seat of the scornful.* There are three sorts of people, whose company the prophet would have him to flee and avoid, which shall be an happy man, and partaker of God's blessing. First, *he may not walk after the counsel of the ungodly.* Secondly, *he may not stand in the way of sinners.* Thirdly, *he must not sit in the seat of the scornful.* By these three sorts of people, 'ungodly men,' 'sinners,' and 'scorners,' all impiety is signified, and fully expressed. By the ungodly he understandeth those which have no regard of almighty God, being

Psal. i. [1.]

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[b] a] *wanting* 1623.
[c] ye] you 1563.
[d] and] the 1563.
[e] decreed] directed 1587, 1595.

void of all faith, whose hearts and minds are so set upon the world, that they study only how to accomplish their worldly practices, their carnal imaginations, their filthy lust and desire, without any fear of God.

The second sort he calleth 'sinners;' not such as do fall through ignorance, or of frailness; for then who should be found free? What man ever lived upon earth, Christ only excepted, but he hath sinned? *The just man falleth seven times, and riseth again.* Though the godly do fall, yet they walk not on purposely in sin; they stand not still to continue and tarry in sin; they sit not down like careless men, without all fear of God's just punishment for sin; but defying sin, through God's great grace and infinite mercy, they rise again, and fight against sin. The prophet then calleth them 'sinners,' whose hearts are clean turned from God, and whose whole conversation of life is nothing but sin: they delight so much in the same, that they choose continually to abide and dwell in sin. Prov. xxiv. [16.]

The third sort he calleth 'scorners,' that is, a sort of men, whose hearts are so stuffed with malice, that they are not contented to dwell in sin, and to lead their lives in all kind of wickedness; but also they do contemn and scorn in other all godliness, true religion, all honesty and virtue. Of the two first sorts of men, I will not say but they may take repentance, and be converted unto God. Of the third sort, I think I may, without danger of God's judgment, pronounce, that never any yet converted unto God by repentance, but continued on[f] still in their abominable wickedness, heaping up to themselves damnation, against the day of God's inevitable judgment. Examples of such scorners, we read in the second book of Chronicles. When the good king Hezekiah in the beginning of his reign, had destroyed idolatry, purged the temple, and reformed religion in his realm, he sent messengers into every city, to gather the people unto Jerusalem, to solemnize the feast of Easter, in such sort as God had appointed[g]. The posts went from city to city, through the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, even unto Zebulon. And what did the people, think ye? Did they laud and praise the name of the Lord, which they had given them so good a king, so zealous a prince to abolish idolatry, and to restore 2 Chron. xxx. [1—6.]

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on] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

g appointed] appointed it 1563.

again God's true religion? No, no. The Scripture saith, *The people laughed them to scorn, and mocked the king's messengers.* And in the last chapter of the same book it is written, that *Almighty God, having compassion upon his people, sent his messengers, the prophets, unto them, to call them from their abominable idolatry and wicked kind of living. But they mocked his messengers, they despised his words, and misused his prophets, until the wrath of the Lord arose against his people, and till there was no remedy: for he gave them up into the hands of their enemies, even unto Nebuchodonosor, king of Babylon, who spoiled them of their goods, brent*[h] *their city, and led them, their wives, and their children, captives unto Babylon.* The wicked people that were in the days of Noah made but a mock at the word of God, when Noah told them that God would take vengeance upon them for their sins. The flood therefore came suddenly upon them, and drowned them, with the whole world. Lot preached to the Sodomites, that, except they repented, both they and their city should be destroyed. They thought his sayings impossible to be true; they scorned and mocked his admonition, and reputed him as an old doating fool. But when God by his holy angels had taken Lot, his wife, and two daughters from among them, he rained down fire and brimstone from heaven, and brent[h] up those scorners and mockers of his holy word. And what estimation had Christ's doctrine among the scribes and Pharisees? What reward had he among them? The gospel reporteth thus: *The Pharisees, which were covetous, did scorn him in his doctrine.* O then ye see that worldly rich men scorn the doctrine of their salvation. The worldly wise men scorn the doctrine of Christ, as foolishness to their understanding. These scorners have ever been, and ever shall be to[i] the world's end. For St Peter prophesied, *that such scorners should be in the world before the latter day.* Take heed therefore, my brethren, take heed, be ye not scorners of God's most holy word; provoke him not to pour out his wrath now upon you, as he did then upon those gibers and mockers. Be not wilful murderers of your own souls. Turn unto God while there is yet time of mercy; ye shall else repent it in the

[2Chron.xxx. 10.] [2 Chron. xxxvi. 15—19.] [Luke xvi. 14.] 2 Pet. iii. [3.]

[h] brent] burnt 1587, 1595, 1623. [i] to] till 1563.

the world to come, when it shall be too late, for there shall be judgment without mercy.

This might[k] suffice to admonish us, and cause us henceforth to reverence God's holy Scriptures; but *all men have not faith.* This, therefore, shall not satisfy and content all men's minds: but as some are carnal, so they will still continue, and abuse the Scriptures[l] carnally, to their greater damnation. *The unlearned and unstable,* saith St Peter, *pervert the holy Scriptures to their own destruction. Jesus Christ,* as St Paul saith, *is to the Jews an offence, to the Gentiles foolishness; but to God's children, as well of the Jews as of the Gentiles, he is the power and wisdom of God.* The holy man Simeon saith, that *he is set forth for the fall and rising again of many in Israel.* As Christ Jesus is a fall to the reprobate, which yet perish through their own default; so is his word, yea, the whole book of God, a cause of damnation unto them, through their incredulity. And as he is a rising up to none other than those which are God's children by adoption; so is his word, yea, the whole Scripture, the power of God to salvation to them only that do believe it. Christ himself, the prophets before him, the apostles after him, all the true ministers of God's holy word, yea, every word in God's book, is unto the reprobate the savour of death unto death. Christ Jesus, the prophets, the apostles, and all the true ministers of his word, yea, every jot and tittle in the holy Scripture, have been, is, and shall be for evermore the savour of life unto eternal life, unto all those whose hearts God hath purified by true faith.

[2 Thess. iii. 2.] [2 Pet. iii. [16.] 1 Cor. i. [23, 24.] Luke ii [34.]

Let us earnestly take heed that we make no jesting-stock of the books of holy Scriptures. The more obscure and dark the sayings be to our understanding, the further let us think ourselves to be from God, and his holy Spirit, who was the author of them. Let us with more reverence endeavour ourselves to search out the wisdom hidden in the outward bark of the Scripture. If we cannot understand the sense and the reason of the saying, yet let us not be scorners, jesters, and deriders, for that is the uttermost token and shew of a reprobate, of a plain enemy to God and[m] his wisdom. They be not idle fables to jest at, which God doth

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[k] might] mought 1563.
[l] scriptures] scripture 1563.
[m] and] in 1563.

seriously pronounce; and for serious matters let us esteem them. And though in sundry places of the Scriptures be set out divers rites and ceremonies, oblations and sacrifices; let us not think strange of them, but refer them to the times and people for whom they served, although yet to learned men they be not unprofitable to be considered, but to be expounded as figures and shadows of things and persons, afterward openly revealed in the new Testament. Though the rehearsal of the genealogies and pedigrees of the fathers be not to much edification of the plain ignorant people; yet is there nothing so impertinently uttered in all the whole book of the Bible, but may serve to spiritual purpose in some respect, to all such as will bestow their labours to search out the meanings. These may not be condemned because they serve not to our understanding, nor make not[n] to our edification. But let us turn our labour to understand, and to carry away such sentences and stories, as be more fit for our capacity and instruction.

[Psal. xxxv. 4, 8, 26.] [Psal. cix. 13.] And whereas we read in divers psalms how David did wish to the adversaries of God sometimes shame, rebuke, and confusion; sometime the decay of their offspring and issue; sometime that they might perish and come suddenly to destruction, as he did wish to the captains of the Philistines, Psal. cxliv. [6.] *Cast forth,* saith he, *thy lightning, and tear them; shoot out thine arrows, and consume them;* with such other manner of imprecations: yet ought we not to be offended at such prayers of David, being a prophet as he was, singularly beloved of God, and rapt in spirit, with an ardent zeal to God's glory. He spake them[o] not of a[p] private hatred, and in a stomach against their persons: but wished spiritually the destruction of such corrupt errors and vices, which reigned in all devilish persons set against God. He was of like mind [1 Tim. i. 20.] as St Paul was, when he did deliver Hymeneus and Alex- [1 Cor. v. 5.] ander, with the notorious fornicator, to Satan, to their temporal confusion, that their spirit might be saved against the day of the Lord. And when David did profess in some places, that he hated the wicked, yet, in other places of [Psal. cxxxix. 21, 22.] his[q] Psalms, he professeth that he hated them with a perfect hate, not with a malicious hate, to the hurt of the soul.

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[n] not] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[o] them] *wanting* 1623.
[p] a] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[q] his] the 1587, 1595.

Which perfection of spirit, because it cannot be performed in us, so corrupted in affections as we be, we ought not to use in our private causes the like words in form, for that we cannot fulfil the like words in sense. Let us not therefore be offended, but search out the reason of such words before we be offended; that we may the more reverently judge of such sayings, though strange to our carnal understandings, yet to them that be spiritually minded, judged to be zealously and godly pronounced.

God therefore, for his mercies' sake, vouchsafe to purify our minds through faith in his Son Jesus Christ, and to instil the heavenly drops of his grace into our hard stony hearts, to supple the same, that we be not contemners and deriders of his infallible word; but that with all humbleness of mind and Christian reverence, we may endeavour ourselves to hear and to read his sacred Scriptures, and inwardly so to digest them, as shall be to the comfort of our souls, and[r] sanctification of his holy name: to whom with the Son and the Holy Ghost, three Persons, and one living God, be all laud, honour, and praise, for ever and ever. Amen.

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[r] and] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1623.

AN HOMILY

OF

ALMS-DEEDS, AND MERCIFULNESS TOWARD THE POOR AND NEEDY.

AMONGST the manifold duties that Almighty God requireth of his faithful servants the true Christians, by the which he would that both his name should be glorified, and the certainty of their vocation declared, there is none that is either more acceptable unto him, or more profitable for them, than are the works of mercy and pity shewed upon the poor, which be afflicted with any kind of misery. And yet this notwithstanding, such is the slothful sluggishness of our dull nature to that which is good and godly, that we are almost in nothing more negligent and less careful than we are therein. It is therefore a very necessary thing, that God's people should awake their sleepy minds, and consider their duty on this behalf. And meet it is that all true Christians should desirously seek and learn what God by his holy word doth herein require of them: that first knowing their duty,—whereof many by their slackness seem to be very ignorant, they may afterwards diligently endeavour to perform the same. By the which both the godly charitable persons may be encouraged to go forwards and continue in their merciful deeds of alms-giving[a] to the poor, and also such as hitherto have either neglected or contemned it, may yet now at length[b], when they shall hear how much it appertaineth to them, advisedly consider it, and virtuously apply themselves thereunto.

And to the intent that every one of you may the better understand that which is taught, and also easilier bear away, and so take more fruit of that shall be said, when several matters are severally handled; I mind particularly, and in this order, to speak and intreat of these points.

First, I will shew how earnestly Almighty God in his holy word doth exact the doing of alms-deeds of us, and how acceptable they be unto him.

Secondly, How profitable it is for us to use them, and what commodity and fruit they will bring unto us.

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[a] alms-giving] giving alms 1563.

[b] at length] at the length 1563.

Thirdly and last[c], I will shew out of God's word, that whoso is liberal to the poor, and relieveth them plenteously, shall notwithstanding have sufficient for himself, and evermore be without danger of penury and scarcity.

Concerning the first, which is the acceptation and dignity, or price of alms-deeds before God: know this, that to help and succour the poor in their need and misery, pleaseth God so much, that, as the holy Scripture in sundry places recordeth, nothing can be more thankfully taken or accepted of God. For first we read, that Almighty God doth account that to be given and to be bestowed upon himself, that is bestowed upon the poor: for so doth the Holy Ghost testify unto us by the wise man, saying, *He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord himself.* And Christ in the gospel avoucheth[d], and as a most certain truth bindeth it with an oath, that the alms bestowed upon the poor was bestowed upon him, and so shall be reckoned at the last day. For thus he saith to the charitable alms-givers, when he sitteth as judge in the doom, to give sentence of every man according to his deserts, *Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever good and merciful deed you did upon any of the least of these my brethren, ye did the same unto me.* In relieving their hunger, ye relieved mine; in quenching their thirst, ye quenched mine; in clothing them, ye clothed me; and when ye harboured them, ye lodged me also; when ye visited them, being sick or[e] in prison, ye visited me. For as he that hath received[f] a prince's ambassadors, and entertaineth them well, doth honour to the prince from whom those ambassadors do come; so he that receiveth the poor and needy, and helpeth them in their affliction and distress, doth thereby receive and honour Christ their master, who, as he was poor and needy himself whilst he lived here amongst[g] us to work the mystery of our salvation, so at his departure hence he promised in his stead to send unto us those that were poor, by whose means his absence should be supplied: and therefore that we would[h] do unto him, we must do unto[i] them. And for this cause doth[k] Almighty God say unto Moses, *The*

Prov. xix. [17.]

Matt. xxv. [40.]

Deut. xv. [11.]

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[c] last] lastly 1623.
[d] avoucheth] advoucheth 1563, 1582, 1587.
[e] or] *wanting*, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[f] hath received] receiveth 1563.
[g] amongst] among 1587, 1595.
[h] would] should 1595.
[i] unto] to 1587, 1595.
[k] doth] did 1587, 1595, doth the 1623.

land wherein you dwell shall never be without poor men: because he would have continual trial of his people, whether they loved him or no; that in shewing themselves obedient unto his will, they might certainly assure themselves of his love and favour towards them, and nothing doubt, but that as his law and ordinances[1] wherein he commanded them that they should open their hand unto their brethren that were poor and needy in the land, were accepted of them, and willingly performed; so he would on his part lovingly accept them, and truly perform his promises that he had made unto[m] them.

The holy apostles and disciples of Christ, who, by reason of his daily conversation, saw by his deeds, and heard in his doctrine, how much he tendered the poor; the godly fathers also, that were both before and since Christ, endued without doubt with the Holy Ghost, and most certainly certified of God's holy will; they both do most earnestly exhort us, and in all their writings almost continually admonish us, that we would remember the poor, and bestow our charitable alms upon them. St Paul crieth unto us after this sort, *Comfort the feeble-minded, lift up the weak, and be charitable toward*[n] *all men.* And again, *To do good to the poor, and to distribute alms gladly, see that thou do not forget; for with such sacrifices God is*[o] *pleased.* Isaiah the prophet teacheth on this wise; *Deal thy bread to the hungry, and bring the poor wandering home to thy house. When thou seest the naked, see thou clothe him, and hide not thy face from thy poor neighbour, neither despise thou thine own flesh.* And the holy father Tobit giveth this counsel, *Give alms,* saith he, *of thine own goods, and turn never thy face from the poor; eat thy bread with the hungry, and cover the naked with thy clothes.* And the learned and godly doctor Chrysostom[2] giveth this admonition, "Let merciful alms be always with us as a garment;" that is, as mindful

1 Thess. v. [14.]

Heb. xiii. [16.]

Isai. lviii. [7.]

Tob. iv. [7, 16.]

Ad Pop. Antioch. Hom. 35.

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[1] ordinances] ordinance 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[m] unto] to 1587, 1595.

[n] toward] towards 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[o] God is] is God 1563.

[2] ["Non enim dixit, Miseremini simpliciter, sed induite vos, ut sicut vestimentum semper nobiscum est, sic et eleemosyna." Hom. xxxv. ad popul. Antioch. Opp. ed. Latin. Tom. v. col. 226. Paris. 1556. Cf. ed. Benedict. Tom. IV. pp. 191, 192.]

as we will be to put our garments upon us, to cover our nakedness, to defend us from the cold, and to shew ourselves comely; so mindful let us be at all times and seasons, that we give alms to the poor, and shew ourselves[p] merciful towards them. But what mean these often admonitions and earnest exhortations of the prophets, apostles, fathers, and holy doctors? Surely, as they were faithful to Godward, and therefore discharged their duty truly, in telling us what was God's will; so, of a singular love to usward, they laboured not only to inform us, but also to persuade with us, that to give alms, and to succour the poor and needy, was a very acceptable thing, and an[q] high sacrifice to God, wherein he greatly delighted, and had a singular pleasure. For so doth the wise man, the son of Sirach, teach us, saying, *Whoso is merciful and giveth alms, he offereth the right thank-offering.* And he addeth thereunto, *The right thank-offering maketh the altar fat, and a sweet smell it is before the Highest; it is acceptable before God, and shall never be forgotten.* Ecclus. xxxv. [2, 6, 7.]

And the truth of this doctrine is verified by the examples[r] of those holy and charitable fathers, of whom we read in the scriptures, that they were given to merciful compassion towards the poor, and charitable relieving of their necessities. Such a one was Abraham, in whom God had so great pleasure, that he vouchsafed to come unto him in form of an angel, and to be entertained of him at his house. Such was his kinsman Lot, whom God so favoured for receiving his messengers into his house, which otherwise should have lain in the street, that he saved him with his whole family from the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. Such were the holy fathers Job and Tobit, with many others, who felt most sensible proofs of God's especial[s] love towards them. And as all these by their mercifulness and tender compassion, which they shewed to the miserable afflicted members of Christ, in the relieving, helping, and succouring them with their temporal goods in this life, obtained God's favour, and were dear, acceptable, and pleasant in his sight; so now they themselves take pleasure in the fruition of God, in the pleasant joys of heaven, and are also in God's eternal word set

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p ourselves] yourselves 1582, 1587.
q an] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
r examples] example 1623.
s especial] special 1582—1623.

before us, as perfect examples ever before our eyes, both how we shall please God in this mortal[t] life, and also how we may come to live in joy with them in everlasting pleasure and felicity. For most true is that saying which St Augustine hath, that the giving of alms and relieving[u] of the poor is the[x] right way to heaven. *Via cœli pauper est;* "The poor man," saith he[1], "is the way to heaven." They used in times past to set in highways' sides, the picture of Mercury, pointing with his finger which was the right way to the town[2]. And we use in cross-ways to set up a wooden or stone cross, to admonish the travelling man which way he must turn, when he cometh thither, to direct his journey aright. But God's word, as St Augustine saith, hath set in the way to heaven the poor man and his house, so that whoso will go right thither, and not turn out of the way, must go by the poor. The poor man is that Mercury that shall set us the ready way: and if we look well to this mark, we shall not wander much out of the right path. The manner of wise worldly men amongst[y] us is, that if they know a man of meaner estate than themselves to be in favour with the prince, or any other nobleman, whom they either fear or love, such a one they will be glad to benefit and pleasure, that, when they have need, they[z] may become their spokesman, either to obtain[a] a commodity, or to escape a displeasure. Now surely it ought to be a shame to us, that worldly men for temporal things, that last but for a season, should be more wise and provident in procuring them, than we in heavenly. Our Saviour Christ testifieth of poor men, that they are dear unto him, and that he loveth them espe-
[Matt. x. 42.] cially; for he calleth them his *little ones*, by a name of
[Matt. xxv. 40.] tender love: he saith they be his *brethren*. And St James saith, that God hath chosen them to be the[b] heirs of his
James ii. [5.] kingdom. *Hath not God*, saith he, *chosen the poor of this*

[t] mortal] our mortal 1563.
[u] and relieving] and the relieving 1587, 1595.
[x] is the] is in the 1587, 1595.
[y] amongst] among 1563.
[z] they] he 1563.
[a] either to obtain] either to help with his good word to obtain 1563.
[b] the] *wanting* 1563.

[1] ["Via cœli est pauper per quam venitur ad Patrem." Serm. CCCLXVIII. de Verbis Domini, Opp. Tom. v. 1015, B.]

[2] [See 'Dictionary of Antiquities,' ed. Smith, under *Hermæ*.]

world to himself, to make them hereafter the rich heirs of that kingdom which he hath promised to them that love him? And we know that the prayer which they make for us shall be acceptable and regarded of God, their complaint shall be heard also. Thereof doth Jesus the son of Sirach certainly assure us, saying, *If the poor complain of thee in the bitterness of his soul, his prayer shall be heard; even he that made him shall hear him.* [Eccles. iv. 6.] Be courteous therefore unto the poor. We know also, that he who acknowledgeth himself to be their master and patron, and refuseth not to take them for his servants, is both able to pleasure and displeasure us, and that we stand every hour in need of his help. Why should we then be either negligent or unwilling to procure their friendship and favour, by the which also we may be assured to get his favour, that is both able and willing to do us all pleasures that are for our commodity and wealth? Christ doth declare by this, how much he accepteth our charitable affection toward the poor, in that he promiseth a reward unto them that give but a cup of cold water in his name to them that have need thereof, and that reward is the kingdom of heaven. [Mark ix. 41.] No doubt is it therefore that[c] God regardeth highly that which he rewardeth so liberally. For he that promiseth a princely recompence for a beggarly benevolence, declareth that he is more delighted with the giving, than with the gift, and that he as much esteemeth the doing of the thing, as the fruit and commodity that cometh of it. Whoso therefore hath hitherto neglected to give alms, let him know that God now requireth it of him; and he that hath been liberal to[d] the poor, let him know that his godly doings are accepted, and thankfully taken at God's hands, which he will requite with double and treble. For so saith the wise man, *He which sheweth mercy to the poor, doth lay his money in bank to the Lord, for a large interest and gain;* [Prov. xix. 17.] the gain being chiefly the possession of the life everlasting, through the merits of our Saviour Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory for ever. Amen.

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[c] that] but that 1563.

[d] to] unto 1587, 1595.

THE SECOND PART OF THE SERMON OF ALMS-DEEDS.

YE have heard before, dearly beloved, that to give alms unto the poor, and to help them in time of necessity, is so acceptable unto our Saviour Christ, that he counteth that to be done to himself, that we do for his sake unto them. Ye have heard also how earnestly both the apostles, prophets, holy fathers, and doctors, do exhort us unto the same. And ye see how well-beloved and dear unto God they were, whom the scriptures report unto us to have been good alms-men. Wherefore if either their good examples, or the wholesome counsel of godly fathers, or the love of Christ, whose especial favour we may be assured by this means to obtain, may move us, or do any thing at all with us; let us provide[e] that from henceforth we shew unto Godward this thankful service, to be mindful and ready to help them that be poor and in misery.

Now will I, this second time that I entreat of alms-deeds, shew unto you how profitable it is for us to exercise them, and what fruit thereby shall arise[f] unto us, if we do them faithfully. Our Saviour Christ in the gospel teacheth us, that it profiteth a man nothing to have in possession all the riches of the whole world, and the wealth or glory thereof, if in the mean season he lose his soul, or do that thing whereby it should become captive unto death, sin, and hell-fire. By the which saying, he not only instructeth us how much the soul[g] health is to be preferred before worldly commodities; but also[h] serveth to stir up our minds, and to prick us forwards to seek diligently, and learn by what means we may preserve and keep our souls ever in safety; that is, how we may recover our[i] health, if it be lost or impaired, and how it may be defended and maintained, if we once[k] have it. Yea, he teacheth us also thereby to esteem that as a precious medicine, and an inestimable jewel, that hath such strength and virtue in it, that can either procure or preserve so incomparable a treasure. For if we greatly

Matt. xvi. [26.]

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[e] provide that] provide us that 1582, 1587, 1595.
[f] arise] rise 1563.
[g] soul] soul's 1623.
[h] but also] but it also 1623.
[i] our] their 1563.
[k] we once] once we 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

regard that medicine or salve, that is able to heal sundry and grievous diseases of the body, much more will we esteem that which hath like power over the soul. And because we might be better assured both to know and have[1] in readiness that so profitable a remedy; he, as a most faithful and loving teacher, sheweth himself both what it is, and where we may find it, and how we may use and apply it. For when both he and his disciples were grievously accused of the Pharisees, to have defiled their souls in breaking the constitutions of the elders, because they went to meat, and washed not their hands before, according to the custom of the Jews; Christ answering their superstitious complaint, teacheth them an especial remedy how to keep clean their souls, notwithstanding the breach of such superstitious orders: *Give alms*, saith he, *and behold all things are clean unto you.* Luke xi. [41.] He teacheth them, that to be merciful and charitable in helping the poor, is the means to keep the soul pure and clean in the sight of God. We are taught therefore by this, that merciful alms-dealing is profitable to purge the soul from the infection and filthy spots of sin. The same lesson doth the Holy Ghost also teach in sundry places of the Scripture, saying *Mercifulness and alms-giving purgeth from all sins, and delivereth from death, and suffereth not the soul to come into darkness.* Tob. iv. [10.] A great confidence may they have before the high God, that shew mercy and compassion to them that are afflicted. The wise preacher, the son of Sirach, confirmeth the same, when he saith, *That as water quencheth burning fire, even so mercy and alms resisteth and reconcileth sins.* Ecclus. iii. [30, 31.] And sure it is, that mercifulness quaileth the heat of sin so much, that they shall not take hold upon man to hurt him; or if ye[m] have by any infirmity or[n] weakness been touched and annoyed with them straightways shall mercifulness wipe and wash them away, as salves and remedies to heal their sores and grievous diseases. And thereupon that holy father Cyprian[2] taketh good occasion to

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[1] have] to have 1623.
[m] ye] he 1563.
[n] or] and 1563.

[2] ["Agnoscamus itaque, fratres carissimi, divinæ indulgentiæ munus salubre et emundandis purgandisque peccatis nostris, qui sine aliquo conscientiæ vulnere esse non possumus, medelis spiritalibus vulnera nostra curemus." De Opere et Eleemosynis, c. 3; Opp. p. 198, ed. Fell.]

exhort earnestly to the merciful work of giving alms and helping the poor, and there he admonisheth to consider "how wholesome and profitable it is to relieve the needy, and help the afflicted, by the which we may purge our sins, and heal our wounded souls."

But here[o] some will say unto me, If alms-giving, and our charitable works towards[p] the poor, be able to wash away sins, to reconcile us to God, to deliver us from the peril of damnation, and make us the sons and heirs of God's kingdom; then is[q] Christ's merits[r] defaced, and his blood shed in vain; then are we justified by works, and by our deeds may we merit heaven; then do we in vain believe that *Christ died for to put away our sins, and that he rose for our justification*, as St Paul teacheth. But ye shall understand, dearly beloved, that neither those places of Scripture[s] before alleged, neither the doctrine of the blessed martyr Cyprian, neither any other godly and learned man, when they, in extolling the dignity, profit, fruit, and effect of virtuous and liberal alms, do say that it washeth away sins, and bringeth us to the favour of God, do mean, that our work and charitable deed is the original cause of our acception[t] before God, or that for the dignity or worthiness thereof our sins may[u] be washed away, and we purged and cleansed of all the spots of our iniquity[x]; for that were indeed to deface Christ, and to defraud him of his glory. But they mean this, and this is the understanding of those and such like sayings, that God of his mercy and especial favour towards them whom he hath appointed to everlasting salvation, hath so offered his grace especially[y], and they have so received it fruitfully, that although, by reason of their sinful living outwardly they seemed before to have been the children of wrath and perdition; yet now the Spirit of God mightily working in them, unto obedience to God's will and commandments, they declare by their outward deeds and life, in the shewing of mercy and charity, which cannot come but of the Spirit of God and his especial grace, that they are the undoubted children of God appointed to ever-

Rom. iv. 5.]

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[o] here] yet, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[p] towards] toward 1595.
[q] is] are 1623.
[r] merits] merit 1563.
[s] of scripture] of the scripture 1623.
[t] acception] acceptation 1563.
[u] may] *wanting* 1563.
[x] iniquity] iniquities 1595.
[y] especially] effectually 1563.

lasting life. And so, as by their wickedness and ungodly living they shewed themselves according to the judgment of men, which follows[z] the outward appearance, to be reprobates and castaways; so now by their obedience unto God's holy will, and by their mercifulness and tender pity,—wherein they shew themselves to be like unto God, who is the fountain and spring of all mercy,—they declare openly and manifestly unto the sight of men, that they are the sons of God, and elect of him unto salvation. For as the good fruit is not the cause that the tree is good, but the tree must first be good before it can bring forth good fruit; so the good deeds of man are not the cause that maketh man good, but he is first made good by the spirit and grace of God, that effectually worketh in him, and afterward he bringeth forth good fruits[a]. And then as the good fruit doth argue the goodness of the tree, so doth the good and merciful deed of the man argue and certainly prove the goodness of him that doth it, according to Christ's sayings[b], *Ye shall know them by their fruits.* [Matt. vii. 16.] And if any man will object, that evil and naughty men do sometimes by their deeds appear to be very godly and virtuous; I will answer, so[c] doth the crab and choke-pear seem outwardly to have sometime as fair a red, and as mellow a colour, as the fruit which[d] is good indeed. But he that will bite and take a taste, shall easily judge betwixt the sour bitterness of the one, and the sweet savouriness of the other. And as the true christian man, in thankfulness of his heart, for the redemption of his soul purchased by Christ's death, sheweth kindly by the fruit of his faith his obedience to God; so the other, as a merchant with God, doth all for his own gain, thinking to win heaven by the merit of his works, and so defaceth and obscureth the price of Christ's blood, who only wrought our purgation. The meaning then of these sayings in the scriptures and other holy writings, 'Alms-deeds do wash away our sins;' and, 'Mercy to the poor doth blot out our offences,' is, that we doing these things according to God's will and our duty, have our sins indeed washed away, and our offences blotted out; not for the worthiness of them, but by the grace of God

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[z] follows] follow 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[a] fruits] fruit 1587, 1595.

[b] sayings] saying 1563.

[c] so] that so 1563.

[d] which] that 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

which worketh all in all; and that for the promise that God hath made to them that are obedient unto his commandment, that he which is the truth might be justified in performing the truth due to his true promise. Alms-deeds do wash away our sins, because God doth vouchsafe then[e] to repute us as clean and pure, when we do them for his sake, and not because they deserve or merit our purging, or for that they have any such strength and virtue in themselves.

I know that some men, too much addict to the advancing of their good[f] works, will not be contented with this answer; and no marvel, for such men can no answer content nor[g] suffice. Wherefore leaving them to their own wilful sense, we will rather have regard to the reasonable and godly, who as they most certainly know and persuade themselves that all goodness, all bounty, all mercy, all benefits, all forgiveness of sins, and whatsoever can be named good and profitable, either for the body or for the soul, do come only of God's mercy and mere favour, and not of themselves; so, though they do never so many and so excellent good deeds, yet are they never puffed up with the vain confidence of them. And though they hear and read in God's word, and otherwhere in godly men's works, that alms-deeds, mercy, and charitableness, doth wash away sin, and blot out iniquity; yet do they not arrogantly and proudly stick and[h] trust unto them, or brag themselves of them, as the proud Pharisee did, lest with the Pharisee they should be condemned: but rather with the humble and poor publican confess themselves sinful wretches, unworthy[i] to look up to heaven, calling and craving for mercy, that with the publican they may be pronounced of Christ to be justified. The godly do learn that when the Scriptures say, that by good and merciful works we are reconciled to God's favour, we are taught then to know what Christ by his intercession and mediation obtaineth for us of his Father, when we be obedient to his will; yea, they learn in such manner[k] of speaking a comfortable argument of God's singular favour and love, that[l] attributeth that unto us and to our doings, that he by his Spirit worketh in us, and through his grace procureth for us. And yet this notwith-

[Luke xviii. 9.]

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e then] them 1587, 1595.
f good] *wanting* 1623.
g nor] or 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
h and] or 1563.
i unworthy] and unworthy 1563.
k manner] manners 1563.
l that] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

standing, they cry out with St Paul, *O wretches that we are;* and acknowledge, as Christ teacheth, that *when they have all done, they are but unprofitable servants;* and with the blessed king David, in respect of the just judgments of God, they do tremble, and say, *Who shall be able to abide it, Lord, if thou wilt give sentence according to our deserts?* Thus they humble themselves, and are exalted of God; they count themselves vile, and of God are accounted pure and clean; they condemn themselves, and are justified of God; they think themselves unworthy of the earth, and of God are thought worthy of heaven. Thus of [m] God's word are they truly taught how to think rightly of merciful dealing of alms, and of God's especial mercy and goodness are made partakers of those fruits that his word hath promised. [Rom. vii. 24.] [Luke xvii. 10.] [Psal. cxxx. 3.]

Let us then follow their examples, and both shew obediently in our life those works of mercy that we are commanded, and have that right opinion and judgment of them that we are taught; and we shall in like manner, as they, be made partakers, and feel the fruits and rewards that follow such godly living, so shall we know by proof what profit and commodity doth come of giving of [n] alms and succouring of the poor.

THE THIRD PART OF THE HOMILY OF ALMS-DEEDS.

YE have already heard two parts of this treatise of alms-deeds: the first, how pleasant and acceptable before God the doing of them is; the second, how much it behoveth us, and how profitable it is to apply ourselves unto them. Now in the [o] third part will I take away that let that hindereth many from doing them [p]. There be many, that when they hear how acceptable a thing in the sight of God the giving of alms is, and how much God extendeth his favour towards them that are merciful, and what fruits and commodities doth come to them by it, they wish very gladly with themselves that they also might obtain these benefits, and be counted such of God as whom he would love or do for.

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[m] of] by 1623.
[n] of] *wanting* 1563.
[o] the] this 1563.
[p] doing them] doing of them 1563.

But yet these men are with greedy covetousness so pulled back, that they will not bestow one halfpenny, or one shive[q] of bread, that they might be thought worthy of God's benefits, and so to come into his favour. For they are evermore fearful, and doubting, lest by often giving, although it were but a little at a time, they should consume their goods, and so impoverish themselves, that even themselves at the length should not be able to live, but should be driven to beg, and live of other men's alms. And thus they seek excuses to withhold themselves from the favour of God, and choose with pinching covetousness rather to lean unto the devil, than by charitable mercifulness either to come unto Christ, or to suffer Christ to come unto them. O that we had some cunning and skilful physician, that were able to purge them of this so pestilent an humour, that so sore infecteth, not their bodies, but their minds, and so by corrupting their souls bringeth their bodies and souls into danger of hell-fire! Now lest there be any such among us, dearly beloved, let us diligently search for that physician, which is Jesus Christ, and earnestly labour that of his mercy he will truly instruct us, and give us a present remedy against so perilous a disease. Hearken then, whosoever thou art that fearest lest, by giving to the poor thou shouldest bring thyself to beggary. That which thou takest from thyself to bestow upon Christ can never be consumed and wasted away. Wherein thou shalt not believe me, but if thou have faith, and be a true Christian, believe the Holy Ghost, give credit to the authority of God's word that thus teacheth. For thus saith the Holy Ghost by Solomon, *He that giveth unto the poor shall never want.* Men suppose that by hoarding and laying up still, they shall at length[r] be rich, and that by distributing and laying out, although it be for most necessary and godly uses, they shall be brought to poverty. But the Holy Ghost, which knoweth all truth, teacheth us another lesson, contrary to this. He teacheth us that there is a kind of dispending that shall never diminish the stock, and a kind of saving that shall bring a man to extreme poverty. For where he saith, that *the good alms-man shall never have scarcity,* he addeth, *but he that turneth away his eyes from such as be in necessity, shall suffer great poverty himself.* How far

Prov. xviii. 7.]

Prov. xi. 4.]

Prov. x. 3, 4.]

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[q] shive] piece 1623.

[r] at length] at the length 1563.

different then is the judgment of man from the judgment of the Holy Ghost! The holy apostle Paul, a man full of the Holy Ghost, and made privy even of the secret will of God, teacheth, that the liberal alms-giver shall not thereby be impoverished. *He that ministereth,* saith he, *seed unto the sower, will minister also bread unto you for food; yea, he will multiply your seed, and increase the fruits of your righteousness.* He is not content here[s] to advertise them that they shall not lack, but he sheweth them also after[t] what sort God will provide for them. Even as he provided[u] seed for the sower in multiplying it, and giving great[x] increase; so he will[y] multiply their goods, and increase them, that there shall be great abundance. And lest we should think his sayings to be but words, and not truth, we have an example thereof in the third book of Kings, which doth confirm and seal it up as a most certain truth. The poor widow that received the banished prophet of God, Elijah, when as[z] she had but a[a] handful of meal in a vessel, and a little oil in a cruse, whereof she would make a cake for herself and her son, that after they had eaten that, they might die, because in that great famine there was no more food to be gotten: yet when she gave part thereof unto[b] Elijah, and defrauded her own hungry belly, mercifully to relieve him, she was so blessed of God, that neither the meal nor the oil was consumed all the time while that famine did last, but thereof both the prophet Elijah, she, and her son, were sufficiently nourished and had enough.

2 Cor. ix. [10.]

[1 Kings xvii. 8–16.]

O consider this example, ye unbelieving and faithless covetous persons, who discredit God's word, and think his power diminished! This poor woman, in the time of an extreme and long dearth, had but one handful of meal and a little cruse of oil; her only son was ready to perish before her face for hunger, and she herself like to pine away: and yet when the poor prophet came, and asked part, she was so mindful of mercifulness, that she forgat her own misery; and rather than she would omit the occasion given to give alms, and work a work of righteousness, she was content

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[s] here] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[t] after] in 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[u] provided] provideth 1563.
[x] great] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[y] he will] will he 1563.
[z] as] *wanting* 1595.
[a] a] an 1563.
[b] unto] to 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

presently to hazard her own and her son's[c] life. And you, who have great plenty of meats and drinks, great store of moth-eaten apparel, yea, many of you great heaps of gold and silver, and he that hath least hath more than sufficient, now in this time, when, thanks be to God, no great famine doth oppress you, your children being well-clothed and well-fed, and no danger of death for famine to be feared, will rather cast doubts and perils of unlikely penury, than you will part with any piece of your superfluities, to help to[d] feed, and succour the poor, hungry, and naked Christ, that cometh to your doors a begging. This poor and silly widow never cast doubts in all her misery what want she herself should have; she never distrusted the promise that God made[e] to her by the prophet, but straightway went about to relieve the hungry prophet of God, yea, preferring his necessity before her own. But we, like unbelieving wretches, before we will give one mite, we will cast a thousand doubts of danger, whether that will stand us in any stead, that we give to the poor; whether we should not have need of it at any other time; and whether here it would[f] not have been more profitably bestowed. So that it is more[g] hard to wrench a strong nail, as the proverb saith, out of a post, than to wring a farthing out of our fingers. There is neither the fear nor the love of God before our eyes; we will more esteem a mite, than we either desire God's kingdom, or fear the devil's dungeon. Hearken, therefore, ye merciless misers, what will be the end of this your unmerciful dealing. As certainly as God nourished this poor widow in the time of famine, and increased her little store, so that she had enough, and felt no penury, when other pined away; so certainly shall God plague you with poverty in the midst of plenty. Then when other have abundance and be fed at[h] full, you shall utterly waste and consume away yourselves; your store shall be destroyed; your goods plucked from you; all your glory and wealth shall perish; and that which when you had you might have enjoyed yourself in peace, and might have bestowed upon other most godly, ye shall seek with sorrow

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[c] her son's] her own son's 1587, 1595.
[d] to] *wanting* 1563; to feed, *wanting* 1587, 1595, 1623.
[e] made] had made 1563.
[f] would] should 1595.
[g] more] *quære* less?
[h] be fed at] feed to the 1563.

and sighs, and no where shall find it. For your unmercifulness towards other, ye shall find no man that will shew mercy towards you. You that had stony hearts towards other, shall find all the creatures of God to youward[i] as hard as brass and iron. Alas, what fury and madness doth possess our minds, that in a matter of truth and certainty we will not give credit to the truth, testifying unto that which is most certain! Christ saith, that *if we will first seek the kingdom of God, and do the works of righteousness thereof, we shall not be left destitute, all other things shall be given to us plenteously.* [Matt. vi. 33.] Nay, say we, I will first look that I be able to live myself, and be sure that I have enough for me and mine; and if I have any thing over, I will bestow it to get God's favour, and the poor shall then have part with me. See, I pray you, the perverse judgment of men; we have more care to nourish the carcase, than we have fear to see our soul perish. And, as Cyprian[2] saith, "whilst we stand in doubt lest our goods fail in being over liberal, we put it out of doubt, that our life and health faileth in not being liberal at all. Whilst we are careful for diminishing of our stock, we are altogether careless to diminish ourselves. We love mammon, and lose our souls. We fear lest our patrimony should perish from us; but we fear not lest we should perish for it." Thus do we perversely love that we should hate, and hate that we should love; we be negligent where we should be careful, and careful where we need not. Thus[k] vain fear to lack ourselves, if we give to the poor, is much like the fear of children and fools, which when they see the bright glimmering of a glass, they do imagine straightway that it is the lightning: and yet the brightness of a glass never was the lightning. Even so, when we imagine that by spending upon the poor a man may come to poverty, we are cast into a vain fear; for we never heard or[l] knew, that by

Serm. de Eleemos.

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[i] youward] youwards 1563. [k] Thus] This 1563. [l] or] nor 1563.

2 ["Metuis, ne patrimonium tuum forte deficiat, si operari ex eo largiter cœperis, et nescis miser, quia dum times ne res familiaris deficiat, vita ipsa et salus deficit, et dum ne quid de rebus tuis minuatur attendis, non respicis quod ipse minuaris, amator magis mammonæ quam animæ tuæ, ut dum times, ne pro te patrimonium tuum perdas, ipse pro patrimonio tuo pereas." De Opere et Eleemosynis, c. 10. Opp. p. 201, ed. Fell.]

that means any man came to misery, and was left destitute, and not considered of God. Nay, we read to the contrary, in the Scripture, as I have before shewed, and as by infinite testimonies and examples may be proved, that whosoever serveth God faithfully and unfeignedly in any vocation, God will not suffer him to decay, much less to perish. The Holy Ghost teacheth us by Solomon, that *the Lord will not suffer the soul of the righteous to perish for hunger.* And therefore David saith unto them that are merciful, *O fear the Lord, ye that be his saints; for they that fear him lack nothing. The lions do lack and suffer hunger; but they which seek the Lord shall want no manner of thing that is good.* When Elijah was in the desert, God fed him by the ministry of a raven, that evening and morning brought him sufficient victuals. When Daniel was shut up in the lions' den, God prepared meat for him, and sent it thither to him. And there was the saying of David fulfilled, *The lions do lack and suffer hunger; but they which seek the Lord shall want no good thing.* For while the lions, which should have been fed with his flesh, roared for hunger and desire of their prey, whereof they had no power, although it were present before them, he in the meantime was fresh fed from God, that should with his flesh have filled the lions. So mightily doth God work to preserve and maintain those whom he loveth; so careful is he also to feed them who in any state or vocation do unfeignedly serve him. And shall we now think that he will be unmindful of us, if we be obedient to his word, and according to his will have pity upon[m] the poor? He giveth us all wealth before we do any service for it: and will he see us lack[n] necessaries when we do him true service? Can a man think that he that feedeth Christ, can be forsaken of Christ, and left without food? Or will Christ deny earthly things unto them, whom he promiseth heavenly things for his true service? It cannot be therefore, dear brethren, that by giving of alms we should at any time want ourselves; or that we, which relieve other men's need, should ourselves be oppressed with penury. It is contrary to God's word; it repugneth with his promise; it is against Christ's property and nature to suffer it; it is the

[Prov. x. [3.]]
[Psal. xxxiv. 9.]
[1 Kings xvii. [5, 6.]]
[Psal. xxxiv. 10.]
[Bel and the Drag. 30—39.]

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[m] upon] on 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[n] lack] to lack 1563.

crafty surmise of the devil to persuade us it°. Wherefore stick not to give alms freely, and trust notwithstanding, that God's goodness will minister unto us sufficiency and plenty, so long as we shall live in this transitory life, and after our days here well spent in his service, and the love of our brethren, we shall be crowned with everlasting glory, to reign with Christ our Saviour in heaven: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory for ever. Amen.

° us it] us in it 1563.

AN HOMILY OR SERMON

CONCERNING

THE NATIVITY AND BIRTH OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

AMONG all the creatures that God made in the beginning of the world most excellent and wonderful in their kind, there was none, as Scripture[a] beareth witness, to be compared almost in any point unto man; who as well in body and in[b] soul exceeded all other, no less than the sun in brightness and light exceedeth every small and little star in the firmament. He was made according to the image and similitude of God; he was endued with all kind of heavenly gifts; he had no spot of uncleanness in him; he was sound and perfect in all parts, both outwardly and inwardly; his reason was uncorrupt; his understanding was pure and good; his will was obedient and godly; he was made altogether like unto God in righteousness, in holiness, in wisdom, in truth; to be short, in all kind of perfection. When he was thus created and made, almighty God, in token of his great love towards him, chose out a special place of the earth for him, namely, paradise, where he lived in all tranquillity and pleasure; having great[c] abundance of worldly goods, and lacked[d] nothing that he might justly require, or desire to have. For, as it is said, *God made him lord and ruler over all the works of his hands, that he should have under his feet all sheep and oxen, all beasts of the field, all fowls of the air, all fishes of the sea,* and use them alway[e] at his own pleasure, according as he should have need. Was not this a mirror of perfection? Was not this a full, perfect, and blessed estate? Could any thing else be well added hereunto, or greater felicity desired in this world? But as the common nature of all men is, in time of prosperity and wealth, to forget not only themselves but also God; even so did this first man Adam, who having but one commandment at God's hand, namely, that he should not eat of the fruit of knowledge of good and ill, did, notwithstanding, most unmindfully, or

Psal. viii. [6—8.]

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[a] scripture] the scripture 1563.
[b] in] *wanting* 1623.
[c] great] a great 1595.
[d] lacked] lacking 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[e] alway] always 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

rather most wilfully break it, in forgetting the strait charge of his Maker, and giving ear to the crafty suggestion of that wicked serpent, the devil. Whereby it came to pass, that as before he was blessed, so now he was accursed; as before he was loved, so now he was abhorred; as before he was most beautiful and precious, so now he was most vile and wretched in the sight of his Lord and Maker. Instead of the image of God, he was now become the image of the devil; instead of the citizen of heaven, he was become the bond-slave of hell, having in himself no one part of his former purity and cleanness, but being altogether spotted and defiled; insomuch that now he seemed to be nothing else but a lump of sin, and therefore by the just judgment of God was condemned to everlasting death. This so great and miserable a plague, if it had only rested on Adam, who first offended, it had been so much the easier, and might the better have been borne. But it fell not only on him, but also on his posterity and children for ever; so that the whole brood of Adam's flesh should sustain the self-same fall and punishment, which their forefather by his offence most justly had deserved. St Paul in the fifth chapter to the Romans saith, *By the offence of only Adam, the fault came upon all men to condemnation, and by one man's disobedience many were made sinners.* [Rom. v. 18.] By which words we are taught, that as in Adam all men universally sinned, so in Adam all men universally received the reward of sin; that is to say, became mortal, and subject unto death, having in themselves nothing but everlasting damnation both of body and soul. *They became,* as David saith, *corrupt and abominable, they went all out of the way, there was none that did good, no not one.* [Psal. xiv. 1—3.] O what a miserable and woful state was this, that the sin of one man should destroy and condemn all men, that nothing in all the world might be looked for, but only pangs of death, and pains of hell! Had it been any marvel if mankind had been utterly driven to desperation, being thus fallen from life to death, from salvation to destruction, from heaven to hell? But behold the great goodness and tender mercy of God in this[f] behalf: albeit man's wickedness and sinful behaviour was such, that it deserved not in any part to be forgiven; yet to the intent he might not be clean destitute of all hope and comfort in time

[f] this] his 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

to come, he ordained a new covenant, and made a sure promise thereof, namely, that he would send a Messias or mediator into the world, which should make intercession, and put himself as a stay between both parties, to pacify the wrath and indignation conceived against sin, and to deliver man out of the miserable curse and cursed misery whereinto he was fallen headlong by disobeying the will and commandment of the[g] only Lord and Maker. This covenant and promise was first made unto[h] Adam himself immediately after his fall, as we read in the third of Genesis, where God said to the serpent
[Gen. iii. 15.] on this wise, *I will put enmity between thee and the woman, between thy seed and her seed. He shall break thine head, and thou shalt bruise his heel.* Afterward the self-same covenant was also more amply and plainly renewed unto
Gen. xii. [3.] Abraham, where God promised him, that *in his seed all nations and families of the earth should be blessed.* Again,
Gen. xxvi. [4.] it was continued and confirmed unto Isaac in the same form of words as it was before unto his father. And to the intent that mankind might not despair, but always live in hope, almighty God never ceased to publish, repeat, confirm, and continue the same, by divers and sundry testimonies of his prophets; who, for the better persuasion of the thing, prophesied the time, the place, the manner, and circumstance of his birth; the affliction[i] of his life; the kind of death; the glory of his resurrection; the receiving of his kingdom; the deliverance of his people, with all other circumstances belonging thereunto. Isaiah prophesied *that he should*[j] *be born of*
[Isai. vii. 14.] *a virgin, and called Emmanuel.*
[Mic. v. 2.] Micah prophesied *that he should be born in Bethlehem, a place of Jewry.* Ezekiel
[Ezek. xxxiv. 23, 24.] prophesied *that he should come of the stock and lineage of*
[Dan. vii. 14.] *David.* Daniel prophesied *that all nations and languages*
[Zech. ix. 9.] *should serve him.* Zechariah prophesied *that he should come*
[Mal. iv. 5; iii. 1.] *in poverty, riding upon an ass.* Malachi prophesied *that he should send Elias before him*, which was John the Baptist.
[Zech. xi. 12, 13.] [Zechariah][k] prophesied *that he should be sold for thirty pieces of silver*, &c. And all this was done, that the promise and covenant of God, made unto Abraham and his posterity concerning the redemption of the world, might be credited and fully believed.

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g the] his 1563.
h unto] to 1587, 1595.
i affliction] afflictions 1563.
j should] would 1563.
k Zecheriah] Jeremy *in all the copies.*

Now, as the apostle Paul saith, *when the fulness of time was come*, that is, the perfection and course of years, appointed from the beginning, then God, according to his former covenant and promise, sent a Messias, otherwise called a mediator, unto[l] the world; not such a one as Moses was, not such a one as Joshua, Saul, or David was, but such a one as should deliver mankind from the bitter curse of the law, and make perfect satisfaction by his death for the sins of all people; namely, he sent his dear and only son Jesus Christ, *made*[m], as the apostle saith, *of a woman, and made under the law, that he might redeem them that were in bondage of the law, and make them the children of God by adoption.* Was not this a wonderful great love towards us that were his professed and open enemies, towards us that were by nature the children of wrath, and fire-brands of hell-fire? *In this*, saith St John, *appeared the great love of God, that he sent his only begotten Son into the world to save us*, when we were his extreme enemies. *Herein is love, not that we loved him, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be a reconciliation for our sins.* St Paul also saith, *Christ, when we were yet of no strength, died for us being ungodly. Doubtless a man will scarce die for a righteous man. Peradventure some one durst die for him of whom they have*[n] *received good. But God setteth out his love towards*[o] *us, in that he sent Christ to die for us, when we were yet void of all goodness.* This and such other comparisons doth the apostle use, to amplify and set forth the tender mercy and great goodness of God, declared towards mankind, in sending down a Saviour from heaven, even Christ the Lord. Which one benefit among all other is so great and wonderful, that neither tongue can well express it[p], neither heart think it, much less give sufficient thanks to God for it.

[Gal. iv. 4.]

[1 John iv. 9, 10.]

[Rom. v. [6, 7, 8.]]

But here is a great controversy between us and the Jews, whether the same Jesus, which was born of the virgin Mary, be the true Messias, and true Saviour of the world, so long promised and prophesied of before. They, as they are, and have been always, proud and stiff-necked, would never acknowledge him until this day, but have looked and gaped[q] for

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[l] unto] into 1563, to 1587, 1595.
[m] made] born 1587, 1595.
[n] they have] he hath 1563.
[o] towards] toward 1587, 1595.
[p] it] *wanting* 1595.
[q] gaped] waited 1623.

another to come. They have this fond imagination in their heads, that Messias[r] shall come, not as Christ did, like a poor pilgrim and simple[s] soul riding upon an ass; but like a valiant and mighty king, in great royalty and honour. Not as Christ did, with a few fishermen, and men of small[t] estimation in the world; but with a great army of strong men, with a great train of wise and noble men, as knights, lords, earls, dukes, princes, and so forth. Neither do they think that their Messias shall slanderously suffer death, as Christ did; but that he shall stoutly conquer and manfully[u] subdue all his enemies, and finally obtain such a kingdom on earth, as never was seen from the beginning. While they feign unto themselves after this sort a Messias of their own brain, they deceive themselves, and account Christ as an abject and
1 Cor. i. 23.] fool[x] of the world. *Therefore Christ crucified,* as St Paul saith, *is unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Gentiles foolishness;* because they think it an absurd thing, and contrary to all reason, that a Redeemer and Saviour of the whole world should be handled after such a sort as he was; namely, scorned, reviled, scourged, condemned, and last of all cruelly hanged. This, I say, seemed in their eyes strange, and most absurd, and therefore neither they would at that time, neither will they as yet, acknowledge Christ to be their Messias and Saviour. But we, dearly beloved, that hope and look to be saved, must both stedfastly believe and also boldly confess, that the same Jesus which was born of the virgin Mary, was the true Messias and Mediator between God and man,
Rom. x. [10, 11.] promised and prophesied of so long before. For as the apostle writeth, *With the heart man believeth unto righteous-*
[1 John iv. 15.] *ness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* Again in the same place, *Whosoever believeth in him shall never be ashamed nor confounded.* Whereto agreeth also the testimony of St John, written in the fourth chapter of his first general epistle, on this wise, *Whosoever confesseth that Jesus is the Son of God, he dwelleth in God, and God in him.*

There is no doubt, but in this point all Christian men are fully and perfectly persuaded. Yet shall it not be a lost labour to instruct and furnish you with a few places concerning this matter, that ye may be able to stop the blasphemous

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[r] Messias] the Messias 1623.
[s] simple] meek 1623.
[t] small] a small 1563.
[u] manfully] manfully to 1587, 1595.
[x] fool] scorn 1623.

mouths of all them that most Jewishly, or rather devilishly, shall at any time go about to teach or maintain the contrary. First, ye have the witness and testimony of the angel Gabriel, declared as well to Zachariah the high priest, as also to the blessed Virgin. Secondly, ye have the witness and testimony of John the Baptist, pointing unto Christ, and saying, *Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.* Thirdly, ye have the witness and testimony of God the Father, who thundered from heaven, and said, *This is my dearly beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him.* Fourthly, ye have the witness and testimony of the Holy Ghost, which came down from heaven in manner of a white[y] dove, and lighted upon him in time[z] of his baptism. To these might be added a great number more, namely, the witness and testimony of the wise men that came to Herod, the witness and testimony of Simeon and Anna, the witness and testimony of Andrew and Philip, Nathaniel and Peter, Nicodemus and Martha, with divers other: but it were too long to repeat all, and a few places are sufficient in so plain a matter, specially among them that are already persuaded. Therefore, if the privy imps of Antichrist, and crafty instruments of the devil, shall attempt or go about to withdraw you from this true Messias, and persuade you to look for another that is not yet come; let them not in any case seduce you, but confirm yourselves with these and such other testimonies of holy Scripture, which are so sure and certain, that all the devils in hell shall never be able to withstand them. For as truly as God liveth, so truly was Jesus Christ the true Messias and Saviour of the world, even the same Jesus, which, as this day, was born of the virgin Mary, without all help of man, only by the power and operation of the Holy Ghost.

[Luke i. 19, 27.] [John i. 29.] [Mark i. 11.] [Matt. iii. 16.] [Matt. ii. 1. Luke ii. 34. John i. 40—49; iii. 2; xi. 22.]

Concerning whose nature and substance, because divers and sundry heresies are risen in these our days, through the motion and suggestion of Satan; therefore it shall be needful and profitable for your instruction, to speak a word or two also of this part. We are evidently taught in the Scripture, that our Lord and Saviour Christ consisteth of two several natures, of his manhood, being thereby perfect man, and of his godhead, being thereby perfect God. It is written, *The Word*, that is to say, the second person in Trinity, *became*

[John i. [14.]]

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[y] white] *wanting* 1623.

[z] in time] in the time 1587, 1595.

Rom. iii. [3, 4.] Phil. ii. [6, 7, 8.] 1 Tim. iii. [16.] [1 Tim. ii. 5.] *flesh. God sending his own Son in the similitude of sinful flesh, fulfilled those things which the law could not. Christ being in form of God, took on him the form of a servant, and was made like unto man, being found in shape as a man. God was shewed in flesh, justified in spirit, seen of angels, preached to the Gentiles, believed on in the world, and received up in glory.* Also in another place, *There is one God, and one mediator between God and man, even the man Jesus Christ.* These be plain places for the proof and declaration of both natures, united and knit together in one Christ. Let us diligently consider and weigh the works that he did whiles[a] he lived on earth, and we shall thereby also perceive the self-same thing to be most true. In that he did hunger and thirst, eat and drink, sleep and wake; in that he preached his[b] gospel to the people; in that he wept and sorrowed for Jerusalem; in that he paid tribute for himself and Peter; in that he died and suffered death; what other thing did he else declare, but only this, that he was perfect man as we are? For which cause he is called in holy Scripture sometime the son of David, sometime the son of man, sometime the son of Mary, sometime the son of Joseph, and so forth. Now in that he forgave sins; in that he wrought miracles; in that he did cast out devils; in that he healed men with his only word; in that he knew the thoughts of men's hearts; in that he had the seas at his[c] commandment; in that he walked on the water; in that he rose from death to life; in that he ascended into heaven, and so forth; what other thing did he shew therein, but only that he was perfect God, coequal with the[d] Father as touching his deity? Therefore he saith, *The Father and I are all one,* which is to be understood of his godhead. For as touching his manhood, he saith, *The Father is greater than I am.*

[John x. 30.] [John xiv. 28.]

Where are now those Marcionites, that deny Christ to have been born in the[e] flesh, or to have been perfect man? Where are now those Arians, which deny Christ to have been perfect God, of equal substance with the Father? If there be any such, [ye][f] may easily reprove them with these testimonies of God's word, and such other. Whereunto I

[a] whiles] whilst 1587, 1595.
[b] his] the 1587, 1595.
[c] his] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[d] the] his 1563.
[e] the] *wanting* 1563.
[f] ye 1563, he 1574, 1582, 1587, 1595, we 1623.

am most sure they shall never be able to answer. For the necessity of our salvation did require such a Mediator and Saviour, as under one person should be a partaker of both natures: it was requisite he should be man, it was also requisite he should be God. For as the transgression came by man, so was it meet the satisfaction should be made by man. And because death, according to St Paul, is the just[g] stipend and reward of sin, therefore to appease the wrath of God, and to satisfy his justice, it was expedient that our Mediator should be such a one as[h] might take upon him the sins of mankind, and sustain the due punishment thereof, namely, death. Moreover, he came in flesh, and in the selfsame flesh ascended into heaven, to declare and testify unto us, that all faithful people which stedfastly believe in him shall likewise come unto the same mansion-place, whereunto he, being our chief captain, is gone before. Last of all, he became man, that we thereby might receive the greater comfort, as well in our prayers, as also in our adversity; considering with ourselves, that we have a Mediator that is true man as we are; who also is touched with our infirmities, and was tempted even in like sort as we are. For these and sundry other causes, it was most needful he should come, as he did, in the flesh. But because no creature, in that he is only a creature, hath or may have power to destroy death, and give life; to overcome hell, and purchase heaven; to remit sins, and give righteousness; therefore it was needful that our Messias, whose proper duty and office that was, should be not only full and perfect man, but also full and perfect God, to the intent he might more fully and perfectly make satisfaction for mankind. God saith, *This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* By which place we learn, that Christ appeased and quenched the wrath of his Father, not in that he was only the son of man, but much more in that he was the Son of God. Matt. iii. [17.]

Thus ye[i] have heard declared out of the Scriptures, that Jesus Christ was the true Messias and Saviour of the world, that he was by nature and substance perfect God and perfect man, and for what cause[k] it was expedient he should be so. Now that we may be the more mindful and thankful unto

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[g] just] first 1595.
[h] as] and 1563.
[i] ye] you 1587, 1595.
[k] cause] causes 1563.

God in this behalf, let us briefly consider, and call to mind the manifold and great benefits that we have received by the nativity and birth of this our Messias and Saviour. Before Christ's coming into the world, all men universally in Adam[l] were nothing else but a wicked and crooked generation, rotten and corrupt trees, stony ground, full of brambles and briers; lost sheep, prodigal sons, naughty and[m] unprofitable servants; unrighteous stewards, workers of iniquity; the brood of adders; blind guides, sitting in darkness and in the shadow of death; to be short, nothing else but children of perdition, and inheritors of hell-fire. To this doth St Paul bear witness in divers places of his epistles[n], and Christ also himself in sundry places of his gospel. But after he was once come down from heaven, and had taken our frail nature upon him, he made all them that would receive him[o] truly, and believe his word, good trees, and good ground, fruitful and pleasant branches; children of light; citizens of heaven; sheep of his fold; members of his body; heirs of his kingdom; his true friends and brethren; sweet and lively bread; the elect and chosen people of God. For as St Peter saith in his first epistle and second chapter, *He bare our sins in his body upon the cross: he healed us, and made us whole by his stripes: and whereas before we were sheep going astray, he by his coming brought us home again to the true shepherd and bishop of our souls, making us a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an*[p] *holy nation, a peculiar*[q] *people of God, in that he died for our offences, and rose again*[r] *for our justification.* St Paul to [Titus][s], the third chapter; *We were,* saith he, *in times past, unwise, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in hatred, envy, maliciousness,* and so forth. *But after the loving kindness of God our Saviour appeared towards mankind, not according to the righteousness that we had done, but according to his great mercy, he saved us by the fountain of the new birth, and by the renewing of the Holy Ghost which he poured*[t] *upon us abundantly, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, that we, being once justified by his grace,*

[1 Pet. ii. 24, 25; ii. 9.]

[Rom. iv. 25.]

[Tit. iii. 3–8.]

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l in Adam] *wanting* 1563.
m and] *wanting* 1623.
n epistles] epistle 1582, 1587, 1595.
o him] them 1563.
p an] and 1563, 1587, 1595.
q peculiar] particular 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
r again] *wanting* 1623.
s Titus] Timothy *all the copies.*
t poured] poureth 1563.

should be heirs of eternal life, through hope and faith in his blood. In these and such other places is set out before our eyes, as it were in a glass, the abundant grace of God, received in Christ Jesu, which is so much the more wonderful, because it came not of any desert of ours, but of his mere and tender mercy, even then when we were his extreme enemies.

But for the better understanding and consideration of this thing, let us behold the end of his coming, so shall we perceive what great commodity and profit his nativity hath brought unto us miserable and sinful creatures. The end of his coming was to save and deliver his people; to fulfil the law for us; to bear witness unto the truth; to teach and preach the words of his Father; to give light unto the world; to call sinners to repentance; to refresh them that labour and be heavy laden; to cast out the prince of this world; to reconcile us in the body of his flesh; to dissolve the works of the devil; last of all, to become *a propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world.* These were the chief ends wherefor Christ became man, not for any profit that should come to himself thereby, but only for our sakes, that we might understand the will of God; be partakers of his heavenly light; be delivered out of the devil's claws; released from the burden of sin; justified through faith in his blood; and finally received up into everlasting glory, there to reign with him for ever. Was not this a great and singular love of Christ towards mankind, that, being the express and lively image of God, he would notwithstanding humble himself, and take upon him the form of a servant, and that only to save and redeem us? O how much are we bound to the goodness of God in this behalf! How many thanks and praises do we owe unto him for this our salvation, wrought by his dear and only Son, Christ! Who became a pilgrim in earth, to make us citizens in heaven; who became the son of man, to make us the sons of God; who became obedient to the law, to deliver us from the curse of the law; who became poor, to make us rich; vile, to make us precious; subject to death, to make us live for ever. What greater love could we silly creatures desire or wish to have at God's hands?

Matt. [i. 21.] Matt. v. [17.] John xviii. [37.] Luke iv. [18, 19.] John viii. [12.] Matt. ix. [13.] Matt. xi. [28.] John xii. [31.] Col. i. [21, 22.] Heb. x. [12, 14.] Rom. iii. [25.] [1 John ii. 2.]

Therefore, dearly beloved, let us not forget this exceeding love of our Lord and Saviour; let us not shew ourselves

unmindful or unthankful towards[u] him: but let us love him, fear him, obey him, and serve him. Let us confess him with our mouths; praise him with our tongues; believe on him with our hearts; and glorify him with our good works. Christ is the light, let us receive the light. Christ is the truth, let us believe the truth. Christ is the way, let us follow the way. And because he is our only master, our only teacher, our only shepherd, and chief captain; therefore let us become his servants, his scholars, his sheep, and his soldiers. As for sin, the flesh, the world, and the devil, whose servants and bondslaves we were before Christ's coming, let us utterly cast them off, and defy them, as the chief and only enemies of our soul. And seeing we are once delivered from their cruel tyranny by Christ, let us never fall into[x] their hands again, lest we chance to be in a[y] worse case than ever we were before. *Happy are they*, saith the[z] Scripture, *that continue to the end. Be faithful*, saith God, *until death, and I will give thee a crown of life.* Again, he saith in another place, *He that putteth his hand unto the plough, and looketh back, is not meet for the kingdom of God.* Therefore let us be strong, *stedfast, and unmoveable, abounding always in the works of the Lord.* Let us receive Christ, not for a time, but for ever; let us believe his word, not for a time, but for ever; let us become his servants, not for a time, but for ever; in consideration that he hath redeemed and saved us, not for a time, but for ever; and will receive us into his heavenly kingdom, there to reign with him, not for a time, but for ever. To him therefore with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour, praise, and glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

[Matt. xxiv. 13.] [Rev. ii. 10.] [Luke ix. 62.] [1 Cor. xv. 58.]

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[u] towards] toward 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[x] into] in 1587, 1595.
[y] a] *wanting* 1563.
[z] the] *wanting* 1563.

AN HOMILY

FOR

GOOD-FRIDAY, CONCERNING THE DEATH AND PASSION OF OUR SAVIOUR JESU[a] CHRIST.

IT should not become us, well-beloved in Christ, being that people which [be][b] redeemed from the devil, from sin and death, and from everlasting damnation by Christ, to suffer this time to pass forth without any meditation and remembrance of that excellent work of our redemption, wrought as about this time, through the great mercy and charity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, for us wretched sinners, and his mortal enemies. For if a mortal man's deed, done to the behoof of the commonwealth, be had in remembrance of us, with thanks for the benefit and profit which we receive thereby; how much more readily should we have in memory this excellent act and benefit of Christ's death, whereby he hath purchased for us the undoubted pardon and forgiveness of sins; whereby he made at one the Father of heaven with us, in such wise, that he taketh us now for his loving children, and for the true inheritors, with Christ his natural Son, of the kingdom of heaven? And verily so much more doth Christ's kindness appear unto us, in that it pleased him to deliver himself of all his godly[c] honour, which he was equally in with his Father in heaven, and to come down in this vale of misery, to be made mortal man, and to be in the state of a most low servant, serving us for our wealth and profit; us, I say, which were his sworn enemies, which had renounced his holy law and commandments, and followed the lusts and sinful pleasures of our corrupt nature. And yet, I say, did Christ put himself between God's deserved wrath and our sin, and rent that obligation, wherein we were in danger to God, and paid our debt. Our debt was a great deal too great for us to have paid. And without payment, God the Father could never be at one with us. Neither was it possible to be loosed from this debt by our own ability. It pleased him therefore[d] to be the payer thereof, and to discharge us quite. Col. ii. [14.]

Who can now consider the grievous debt of sin which

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[a] Jesu] Jesus 1563, 1595, 1623.

[b] be] he *in all the copies.*

[c] godly] goodly 1623.

[d] him therefore] therefore him 1563.

could none otherwise be paid, but by the death of an innocent, and will not hate sin in his heart? If God hateth sin so much, that he would allow neither man nor angel for the redemption thereof, but only the death of his only and well-beloved Son, who will not stand in fear thereof? If we, my friends, consider this, that for our sins this most innocent lamb was driven to death, we shall have much more cause to bewail ourselves that we were the cause of his death, than to cry out of the malice and cruelty of the Jews, which pursued him to his death. We did the deeds wherefor he was thus stricken and wounded; they were only the ministers of our wickedness. It is meet then we should step low down into our hearts, and bewail our own wretchedness and sinful living. Let us know for a certainty, that if the most dearly beloved Son of God was thus punished and stricken for the sin which he had not done himself; how much more ought we sore to be stricken for our daily and manifold sins which we commit against God, if we earnestly repent us not, and be not sorry for them! No man can love sin, which God hateth so much, and be in his favour. No man can say that he loveth Christ truly, and have his great enemy—sin, I mean, the author of his death—familiar and in friendship with him. So much do we love God and Christ, as we hate sin. We ought therefore to take great heed, that we be not favourers thereof, lest we be found enemies to God, and traitors to Christ. For not only they, which nailed Christ upon the cross, are his tormentors and crucifiers, but all they, saith St Paul, *crucify again the Son of God*, as much as in them, which do commit vice and sin, which brought him to his death. If the wages of sin be death, and death everlasting, surely it is no small danger to be in service thereof. *If we live after the flesh*, and after the sinful lusts thereof, St Paul threateneth, yea, Almighty God in St Paul threateneth, that we shall surely[e] die. We can none otherwise live to God, but by dying to sin. *If Christ be in us, then is sin dead in us: and if the Spirit of God be in us, which raised Christ from death to life, so shall the same Spirit raise us to the resurrection of everlasting life.* But if sin rule and reign in us, then is God, which is the foundation of all grace and virtue, departed from us: then hath the devil and his ungracious spirit rule

Heb. vi. [6.]

Rom. vi. [23.]

Rom. viii. [13.]

Rom. viii. [10, 11.]

[e] surely] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

and dominion in us. And surely if in such miserable state we die, we shall not rise to life, but fall down to death and damnation, and that without end. For Christ hath not so redeemed us from sin, that we may safely return thereto again: but he hath redeemed us, that we should forsake the motions thereof, and live to righteousness. Yea, we be therefore washed in our baptism from the filthiness of sin, that we should live afterward in the pureness of life. In baptism we promised to renounce the devil and his suggestions, we promised to be, as obedient children, always following God's will and pleasure. Then if he be our Father indeed, let us give him due honour. If we be his children, let us shew him our obedience, like as Christ openly declared his obedience to his Father, *which*, as St Paul writeth, *was obedient even to the very death, the death of the cross.* And this he did for us all that believe in him. For himself he was not punished, for he was pure and undefiled of all manner of sin. *He was wounded*, saith Isaiah, *for our wickedness, and striped for our sins:* he suffered the penalty of them himself, to deliver us from danger: *He bare*, saith Isaiah, *all our sores and infirmities upon his own back.* No pain did he refuse to suffer in his own body, that he might deliver us from pain everlasting. His pleasure it was thus to do for us; we deserved it not. Wherefore the more we see ourselves bound unto him, the more he ought to be thanked of us, yea, and the more hope may we take, that we shall receive all other good things of his hand, in that we have received the gift of his only Son, through his liberality. *For if God*, saith St Paul, *hath not spared his own Son from pain and punishment, but delivered him for us all unto the death; how should he not give us all other things with him?* If we want any thing, either for body or soul, we may lawfully and boldly approach to God as to our merciful Father, to ask that we desire, and we shall obtain it. For such power is given to us, to be the children of God, so many as believe in Christ's name. In his name whatsoever we ask, we shall have it granted[f] us. For so well pleased is the Father, Almighty God, with Christ his Son, that for his sake he favoureth us, and will deny us nothing. So pleasant was this[g] sacrifice and oblation of his Son's death, which he so obediently and innocently suffered,

Christ hath not redeemed us from sin, that we should live in sin.

Phil. ii. [8.]

Isai. liii. [4, 5.]

Rom. viii. [32.]

John i. [12.]

Matt. xxi. [22.]

[f] granted] granted to 1587, 1595.

[g] this] the 1587, 1595.

that he[h] would take it for the only and full amends for all the sins of the world. And such favour did he purchase by his death, of his heavenly Father for us, that for the merit thereof, if we be true Christians indeed, and not in word only, we be now fully in God's grace again, and clearly discharged from our sin. No tongue surely is able to express the worthiness of this so precious a death. For in this standeth the continual pardon of our daily offences; in this resteth our justification; in this we be allowed; in this is purchased the everlasting health of all[i] our souls. Yea, *there is none other thing that can be named under heaven* to save our souls, but this only work of Christ's precious offering of his body upon the altar of the cross. Certes, there can be no work of any mortal man, be he never so holy, that shall be coupled in merits with Christ's most holy act. For no doubt, all our thoughts and deeds were of no value, if they were not allowed in the merits of Christ's death. All our righteousness[k] is far unperfect, if it be compared with Christ's righteousness: for in his acts and deeds there was no spot of sin, or of any unperfectness. And for this cause they were the more able to be the true amends of our unrighteousness[l], where our acts and deeds be full of imperfection and infirmities, and therefore nothing worthy of themselves to stir God to any favour, much less to challenge the[m] glory that is due to Christ's act and merit; *For not to us*, saith David, *not to us, but to thy name give the glory, O Lord.*

Acts iv. [12.]

Our deeds be full of imperfection.

Psal. cxv. [1.]

Let us therefore, good friends, with all reverence glorify his name, let us magnify and praise him for ever. For he hath dealt with us according to his great mercy; by himself hath he purchased our redemption. He thought it not enough to spare himself[n], and to send his angel to do this deed; but he would do it himself, that he might do it the better, and make it the more perfect redemption. He was nothing moved with the intolerable pains that he suffered in the whole course of his long passion, to repent him thus to do good to his enemies: but he opened his heart for us, and bestowed himself wholly for the ransoming of us. Let us therefore now open our hearts again to him, and study in our lives to be thankful

Heb. ii. [14—17.]

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[h] he] we 1582, 1587, 1595.
[i] all] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[k] righteousness] unrighteousness 1563.
[l] unrighteousness] righteousness 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[m] the] that 1623.
[n] himself] his self 1563.

to such a Lord, and evermore to be mindful of so great a benefit; yea, let us take up our cross with Christ, and follow him. His passion is not only the ransom and whole amends for our sin, but it is also a most perfect example of all patience and sufferance. For if it behoved Christ thus to suffer, and to enter into the glory of his Father, how[o] should it not become us to bear patiently our small crosses of adversity, and the troubles of this world? *For surely,* as saith St Peter, *Christ therefore suffered, to leave us an example to follow his steps.* And *if we suffer with him, we shall be sure also to reign with him* in heaven. Not that the sufferance of this transitory life should be worthy of that glory to come; but gladly should we be contented[p] to suffer, to be like Christ in our life, that so by our works we may glorify our Father which is in heaven. And as it is painful and grievous to bear the cross of Christ in the griefs and displeasures of this life; so it bringeth forth the joyful fruit of hope in all them that be exercised therewith. Let us not so much behold the pain, as the reward that shall follow that labour. Nay, let us rather endeavour ourselves in our sufferance to endure innocently and guiltless, as our Saviour Christ did. For if we suffer for our deservings, then hath not patience his perfect work in us: but if undeservingly[q] we suffer loss of goods and life, if we suffer to be evil spoken of for the love of Christ, this is thankful afore[r] God; for so did Christ suffer. *He never did sin, neither was there*[s] *any guile found in his mouth. Yea, when he was reviled with taunts, he reviled not again; when he was wrongfully dealt with, he threatened not again, nor revenged his quarrel, but delivered his cause to him that judgeth rightly.* Perfect patience careth not what, nor[t] how much it suffereth, nor of whom it suffereth[u], whether of friend or foe; but studieth to suffer innocently, and without deserving. Yea, he, in whom perfect charity is, careth so little to revenge, that *he rather studieth to do good for evil, to bless and say well of them that curse him, to pray for them that pursue him,* according to the example of our Saviour Christ, who is the most perfect example and

[Luke xxiv. 26.] 1 Pet. ii. [21.] 2 Tim. ii. [12.] Rom. viii. [18.] Matt. v. [16.] Heb. xii. [11.] James i. [12.] 1 Pet. ii. [20.] [1 Pet. ii. 22, 23.] The patience of Christ. Perfect patience. Matt. v. [44.]

[o] how] why 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[p] contented] content 1563.
[q] undeservingly] undeservedly, 1623.
[r] afore] before 1587, 1595.
[s] there] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[t] nor] or 1563, 1587, 1595.
[u] nor of whom it suffereth] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

The meekness of Christ.

pattern of all meekness and sufferance, which hanging upon his cross, in most fervent anguish, bleeding in every part of his blessed body, being set in the midst of his enemies and crucifiers; and he, notwithstanding the intolerable pains which they saw in him[x], being of them mocked and scorned despitefully without all favour and compassion, had yet towards them such compassion in heart, that he prayed to his Father of heaven for them, and said, *O Father, forgive them; for they wot not what they do.* What patience was it also which he shewed, when one of his own apostles and servants, which was put in trust of him, came to betray him unto his enemies to the death! He said nothing worse to him, but, *Friend, wherefore art thou come?*

Luke xxiii. [34.]

Matt. xxvi. [50.]

Thus, good people, should we call to mind the great examples of charity which Christ shewed in his passion, if we will fruitfully remember his passion. Such charity and love should we bear one to another, if we will be the true servants of Christ. *For if we love but them which love and say well by us, what great thing is it that we do?* saith Christ. *Do not the paynims and open sinners so?* We must be more perfect in our charity than thus, *even as our Father in heaven is perfect, which maketh the light of his sun to rise upon the good and the bad, and sendeth his rain upon the kind and unkind.* After this manner should we shew our charity indifferently, as well to one as to another, as well to friend as foe, like obedient children, after the example of our good[y] Father in heaven. For if Christ was obedient to his Father even to the death, and that the most shameful death, as the Jews esteemed it[z], the death of the cross; why should we not be obedient to God in lower points of charity and patience? Let us forgive then our neighbours their small faults, as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us our great. It is not meet that we should crave forgiveness of our great offences at God's hands, and yet will not forgive the small trespasses of our neighbours against us. We do call for mercy in vain, if we will not shew mercy to our neighbours. For if we will not put wrath and displeasure forth of our hearts to our Christian brother, no

Matt. v. [46, 47.]

[Matt. v. 45.]

Eccles. xxviii. [2.]

[Eph. iv. 32.]

Matt. xviii. [35.]

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[x] in him] him in 1563, 1582, 1595, 1623.

[y] good] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.

[z] it] *wanting* 1563.

more will God forgive the displeasure and wrath that our sins have deserved afore him. For under this condition doth God forgive us, if we forgive other. It becometh not Christian men to be hard one to another, nor yet to think their neighbour unworthy to be forgiven. For howsoever unworthy he is, yet is Christ worthy to have thee do thus much for his sake: he hath deserved it of thee, that thou shouldest forgive thy neighbour. And God is also to be obeyed, which commandeth us to forgive, if we will have any part of the pardon which our Saviour Christ purchased once of God the Father, by shedding of his precious blood. Nothing becometh Christ's servants so much as mercy and compassion. Let us then be favourable one to another, and James v. [16.] pray we one for another, that we may be healed from all frailties of our life, the less to offend one the other; and that we may be of one mind and one spirit, agreeing together in brotherly love and concord, even like the dear children Eph. v. [1, 2.] of God. By these means shall we move God to be merciful to[a] our sins, yea, and we shall be hereby the more ready to receive our Saviour and Maker in his blessed sacrament, to our everlasting comfort and health of soul. Christ delighteth to enter and dwell[b] in that soul where love and charity ruleth, and where peace and concord is seen. For thus writeth St John, *God is charity; he that abideth in* 1 John iv. [16.] *charity, abideth in God, and God in him. And by this,* saith he, *we shall know that we be of God, if we love our* 1 John iii. [14.] *brethren*[c]. *Yea, and by this shall we know that we be shifted*[d] *from death to life, if we love one another. But he* 1 John ii. [11.] *which hateth his brother,* saith the same apostle, *abideth in death,* even in the danger of everlasting death; and is moreover the child of damnation and of the devil, cursed of God, and hated, so long as he so remaineth, of God and all his heavenly company. For as peace and charity make us the blessed children of almighty God, so doth hatred and envy make us the cursed[e] children of the devil.

God give us all grace to follow Christ's examples[f] in peace and in charity, in patience and sufferance, that we now may have him our guest to enter and dwell within us, so as

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[a] to] unto 1623.
[b] and dwell] and to dwell 1563.
[c] brethren] brothers 1563.
[d] shifted] delivered 1623.
[e] cursed] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[f] examples] example 1563.

we may be in full surety, having such a pledge of our salvation! If we have him and his favour, we may be sure
Rom. viii. [34.] that we have the favour of God by his means. For he sitteth on the right hand of his[g] Father, as our proctor[h] and attorney, pleading and suing for us in all our needs and necessities. Wherefore, if we want any gift of godly wisdom, we may ask it of God for Christ's sake, and we shall have it. Let us consider and examine ourself[i], in what want we be concerning this virtue of charity and patience. If we see that our hearts be nothing inclined thereunto, in forgiving them that have offended against us, then let us knowledge our want, and wish to[k] God to have it. But if we want it, and see in ourself[i] no desire thereunto, verily we be in a dangerous case before[l] God, and have need to make much earnest prayer to[m] God, that we may have such an heart changed, to the graffing in of a new. For unless we forgive other, we shall never be forgiven of God. No, not all the prayers and merits[n] of other can pacify God unto us, unless we be at peace, and at one with our neighbour. Nor all our deeds and good works can move God to forgive us our debts to him, except we forgive to other. He setteth more by mercy than by sacrifice. Mercy moved our Saviour Christ to suffer for his enemies: it becometh us then to follow his example. For it shall little avail us to have in meditation the fruits and price of his passion, to magnify them, and to delight or trust to[o] them, except we have in mind his examples in passion to follow them. If we thus therefore consider Christ's death, and will stick thereto with fast faith for the merit and deserving thereof, and will also frame ourself[p] in such wise to bestow ourselves, and all that we have by charity, to the behoof of our neighbour, as Christ spent himself wholly for our profit, then do we truly remember Christ's death: and being thus followers of Christ's steps, we shall be sure to follow him thither, where he sitteth now with the Father and the Holy Ghost: to whom be all honour and glory. Amen.

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[g] of his] of God his 1582, 1587, 1595. 1623.
[h] proctor] protector 1595.
[i] ourself] ourselves 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[k] to] of 1563.
[l] before] afore 1563.
[m] to] unto 1587, 1595.
[n] merits] good works 1623.
[o] to] in 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[p] ourself] ourselves 1623.

THE SECOND HOMILY

CONCERNING

THE DEATH AND PASSION OF OUR SAVIOUR CHRIST.

THAT we may the better conceive the great mercy and goodness of our Saviour Christ, in suffering death universally for all men, it behoveth us to descend into the bottom of our conscience, and deeply to consider the first and principal cause wherefor he was compelled so to do. When our great grandfather Adam had broken God's commandment, in eating the apple forbidden him in Paradise, at the motion and suggestion of his wife, he purchased thereby, not only to himself, but also to his posterity for ever, the just wrath and indignation of God; who, according to his former sentence pronounced at the giving of the commandment, condemned both him and all his to everlasting death, both of body and soul. For it was said unto him, *Thou shalt eat freely of every tree in the garden; but as touching the tree of knowledge of good and ill, thou shalt in no wise eat of it: for in what hour soever thou eatest thereof, thou shalt die the death.* Now as the Lord had spoken, so it came to pass. Adam took upon him to eat thereof, and in so doing he died the death; that is to say, he became mortal; he lost the favour of God; he was cast out of paradise; he was no longer a citizen of heaven, but a firebrand of hell, and a bondslave to the devil. To this doth our Saviour bear witness in the gospel, calling us *lost sheep*, which have gone astray, and wandered from the true shepherd of our souls. To this also doth St Paul bear witness, saying, that by the offence of only Adam, *death came upon all men to condemnation.* So that now neither he, nor[a] any of his, had any right or interest at all in the kingdom of heaven, but were become plain reprobates and castaways; being perpetually damned to the everlasting pains of hell-fire. In this so great misery and wretchedness, if mankind could have recovered himself again, and obtained forgiveness at God's hands, then had his case been somewhat tolerable; because he might have attempted some way how to deliver

Gen. iii. [17.]

Gen. ii. [16, 17.]

Luke xv. [4—7.] [1 Pet. ii. 25.]

Rom. v. [18.]

[a] nor] or 1587, 1595, 1623.

himself from eternal death. But there was no way left unto him; he could do nothing that might pacify[b] God's wrath; he[c] was altogether unprofitable in that behalf. *There was none*[d] *that did good, no not one.* And how then could he work his own salvation? Should he go about to pacify God's heavy displeasure by offering up brent[e] sacrifices, according as it was ordained in the old law; by offering up the blood of oxen, the blood of calves, the blood of goats, the blood of lambs, and so forth? O these things were of no force nor strength to take away sins; they could not put away the anger of God[f]; they could not cool the heat of his wrath; nor yet bring mankind into favour again: they were but only figures and shadows of things to come, and nothing else. Read the epistle to the Hebrews, there shall you find this matter largely discussed; there shall you learn in most plain words, that the bloody sacrifice of the old law was unperfect, and not able to deliver man from the state of damnation by any means; so that mankind in trusting thereunto should trust to a broken staff, and in the end deceive himself. What should he then do? Should he go about to observe[g] and keep the law of God divided into two tables, and so purchase to himself eternal life? Indeed, if Adam and his posterity had been able to satisfy and fulfil the law perfectly, in loving God above all things, and their neighbour as themselves, then should they have easily quenched the Lord's wrath, and escaped the terrible sentence of eternal death pronounced against them by the mouth of Almighty God. For it is written, *Do this*[h], *and thou shalt live;* that is to say, fulfil my commandments, keep thyself upright and perfect in them according to my will; then shalt thou live, and not die. Here is eternal life promised with this condition, so[i] that they keep and observe the law. But such was the frailty of mankind after his fall, such was his weakness and imbecility, that he could not walk uprightly in God's commandments, though he would never so fain; but daily and hourly fell from his bounden duty, offending the Lord his God divers ways, to the great increase of his

Psal. xiv. [3.]

Heb. ix. [12, 13.]

Heb. x. [1—6.]

Luke x. [28.]

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[b] pacify] please 1563.
[c] he] as 1563.
[d] none] not one 1623.
[e] brent] burnt 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[f] they could not put away the anger of God] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[g] observe] serve 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[h] this] thus 1563.
[i] so] and so 1623.

condemnation; insomuch that the prophet David crieth out on[k] this wise, *All have gone astray, all are become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no, not one.* In this case what profit could he have by the law? None at all. For as St James saith, *He that shall observe the whole law, and yet faileth in one point, is become guilty of all.* And in the book of Deuteronomy it is written, *Cursed be he,* saith God, *which abideth not in all things that are written in the book of the law*[l], *to do them.* Behold, the law bringeth[m] a curse with it, and maketh[n] us guilty, not because it is of itself naught or unholy—God forbid we[o] should so think—but because the frailty of our sinful flesh is such, that we can never fulfil it, according to the perfection that the Lord requireth. Could Adam then, think you, hope or trust to be saved by the law? No, he could not. But the more he looked on the law, the more he saw his own damnation set before his eyes, as it were in a most[p] clear glass. So that now of himself he was most wretched and miserable, destitute of all hope, and never able to pacify God's heavy displeasure, nor yet to escape the terrible judgment of God, whereinto[q] he and all his posterity were fallen, by disobeying the strait commandment of the Lord their God. But O the abundant riches of God's great mercy! O the unspeakable goodness of his heavenly wisdom! When all hope of righteousness was past on our part; when we had nothing in ourselves, whereby we might quench his burning wrath, and work the salvation of our own souls, and rise out of the miserable estate wherein we lay; then, even then, did Christ the Son of God, by the appointment of his Father, come down from heaven, to be wounded for our sakes; to be reputed with the wicked; to be condemned unto death; to take upon him the reward of our sins; and to give his body to be broken on the cross for our offences. *He,* saith the prophet Isaiah, meaning Christ, *hath borne our infirmities, and hath carried our sorrows; the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and by his stripes are we*[r] *made whole.* St Paul likewise saith, *God made him a sacrifice for our sins, which knew*

Psal. xiv. [3.]

James ii. [10.]

Deut. xxvii. [26.]

Rom. xi. [33.]

Isai. liii. [4, 5.]

2 Cor. v. [21.]

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[k] on] in 1563.

[l] in the book of the law] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[m] bringeth] doth bring 1587, 1595.

[n] maketh] doth make 1587, 1595.

[o] we] that we 1587, 1595.

[p] most] *wanting* 1623.

[q] whereinto] whereunto 1623.

[r] are we] we were 1623.

not sin, that we should be made the righteousness of God by him. And St Peter most agreeably writing in this be-
1 Pet. iii. [18.] half, saith, *Christ hath once died and suffered for our sin, the just for the unjust,* &c. To these might be added an infinite number of other places to the same effect: but these few shall be sufficient for this time.

Now then, as it was said at the beginning, let us ponder and weigh the cause of his death, that thereby we may be the more moved to glorify him in our whole life. Which if you will have comprehended briefly in one word, it was nothing else in[s] our part but only the transgression and sin
Matt. i. [20, 21.] of mankind. When the angel came to warn Joseph that he should not fear to take Mary to his wife, did he not therefore will the child's name to be called Jesus, because he should save his people from their sins? When John the Baptist preached Christ, and shewed him to[t] the people with his
John i. [29.] finger, did he not plainly say unto them, *Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world?* When the woman of Canaan besought Christ to help her daughter, which was possessed with a devil, did he not openly confess
Matt. xv. [22, 24.] that *he was sent to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel,* by giving his life for their sins? It was sin then, O man, even thy sin, that caused Christ, the only Son of God, to be crucified in the flesh, and to suffer the most vile and slanderous death of the cross. If thou hadst kept thyself upright, if thou hadst observed the commandments, if thou hadst not
Rom. v. [19.] presumed to transgress the will of God in thy first father Adam, then Christ, being in form of God, needed not to have taken upon him the shape of a servant; being immortal in heaven, he needed not to become mortal on earth; being the true bread of the soul, he needed not to hunger; being the healthful water of life, he needed not to[u] thirst; being life itself, he needed not to have suffered death. But to these and many other such extremities was he driven by thy sin, which was so manifold and great, that God could be only pleased in him, and none[x] other. Canst thou think of this, O sinful man, and not tremble within thyself? Canst thou hear it quietly, without remorse of conscience, and sorrow of heart? Did Christ suffer his passion for thee, and wilt thou

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[s] in] on *in all the other editions.*
[t] to] unto 1563.
[u] to] *wanting* 1563.
[x] none] no 1563.

shew no compassion towards him? While Christ was yet hanging on the cross, and yielding up the ghost, the Scripture witnesseth that *the veil of the temple did rent in twain; and*[y] *the earth did quake, that the stones clave asunder; that*[z] *the graves did open, and the dead bodies rise*[a]; and shall the heart of man be nothing moved to remember how grievously and cruel he was handled of the Jews for our sins? Shall man shew himself to be more hardhearted than stones, to have less compassion than dead bodies? Call to mind, O sinful creature, and set before thine eyes Christ crucified: think thou seest his body stretched out in length upon the cross, his head crowned with sharp thorn[b], his hands and his feet pierced with nails; his heart opened with a long spear; his flesh rent and torn with whips; his brows sweating water and blood: think thou hearest him now crying in an intolerable agony to[c] his Father, and saying, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* Couldest thou behold this woful sight, or hear this mournful voice, without tears, considering that he suffered all this, not for any desert of his own, but only for the grievousness of thy sins? O that mankind should put the everlasting Son of God to[d] such pains! O that we should be the occasion of his death, and the only cause of his condemnation! May we not justly cry, Woe worth the time that ever we sinned? O my brethren, let this image of Christ crucified be always printed in our hearts; let it stir us up to the hatred of sin, and provoke our minds to the earnest love of Almighty God. For why? Is not sin, think you, a grievous thing in his sight, seeing, for the transgressing of God's precept in eating of one[e] apple, he condemned all the world to perpetual death, and would not be pacified, but only with the blood of his own Son? True, yea, most true is that saying of David, *Thou, O Lord, hatest all them that work iniquity; neither shall the wicked and evil man dwell with thee.* By the mouth of his[f] prophet Isaiah, he crieth[g] mainly out against sinners, and saith, *Woe be unto you that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with cart-ropes.* Did not

Matt. xxvii. [51.]

[Matt. xxvii. 46.]

Psal. v. [4.]

Isai. v. [18.]

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y and] that 1563.
z that] and 1595.
a rise] rose 1595.
b thorn] thorns 1587, 1595, thorns and 1623.
c to] unto 1587, 1595.
d to] in 1595.
e one] an 1587, 1595.
f his] his holy 1623.
g crieth] cried 1563.

God[h] give a plain token how greatly he hated and abhor-
Gen. vii. [23.] reth[i] sin, when he drowned all the world, save only eight
Gen. xix. [24.] persons; when he destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah with fire and brimstone; when in three days' space he killed with pes-
2 Sam. xxiv. [15.] tilence threescore and ten thousand for David's offence; when
Exod. xiv. [28.] he drowned Pharaoh and all his host in the Red sea; when
Dan. iv. [33.] he turned Nebuchadnezzar the king into the form of a brute
2 Sam. xvii. [23.] beast, creeping upon all four; when he suffered Ahitophel
Acts i. [18.] and Judas to hang themselves upon the remorse of sin, which was so terrible to their eyes? A thousand such examples are to be found in Scripture, if a man would stand to seek them out. But what need we? This one example, which we have now in hand, is of more force, and ought more to move us, than all the rest. Christ being the Son of God, and perfect God himself, who never committed sin, was compelled to come down from heaven, and[k] to give his body to be bruised and broken on the cross for our sins. Was not this a manifest token of God's great wrath and displeasure towards[l] sin, that he could be pacified by no other means, but only by the sweet and precious blood of his dear Son? O sin, sin, that ever thou shouldest drive Christ to such extremity! Woe worth the time that ever thou camest into the world. But what booteth it now to bewail? Sin is
Prov. xxiv. [16.] come, and so come that it cannot be avoided. *There is no man living, no not the justest man on the earth, but he falleth seven times a day,* as Solomon saith. And our Saviour Christ, although he hath delivered us from sin, yet not so that we shall be free from committing sin; but so that it
Rom. vi. [9.] shall not be imputed to our condemnation. He hath taken upon him the just reward of sin, which was death, and by death hath overthrown death, that[m] we believing in him might live for ever, and not die. Ought not this to engender extreme hatred of sin in us, to consider that it did violently, as it were, pluck God out of heaven, to[n] make him feel the horrors and pains of death? O that we would sometimes consider this in the midst of our pomps and pleasures: it would bridle the outrageousness of the flesh; it would abate and assuage our carnal affects[o]; it would restrain our fleshly

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[h] Did not God] Did he not 1587, 1595, did not he 1623.
[i] abhorreth] abhorred 1563.
[k] and] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
[l] towards] toward 1587, 1595.
[m] that] and 1595.
[n] to] and 1563.
[o] affects] affections 1623.

appetites, that we should not run at random, as we commonly do. To commit sin wilfully and desperately, without fear of God, is nothing else but to crucify Christ anew, as we are expressly taught in the epistle to the Hebrews. Heb. vi. [6.] Which thing if it were deeply printed in all men's hearts, then should not sin reign every where so much as it doth, to the great grief and torment of Christ now sitting in heaven.

Let us therefore remember, and always bear in mind Christ crucified, that thereby we may be inwardly moved both to abhor sin throughly, and also with an earnest and zealous heart to love God. For this is another fruit, which the memorial of Christ's death ought to work in us, an earnest and unfeigned love towards God. *So God loved* John iii. [16.] *the world*, saith St John, *that he gave his only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth*[p] *in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.* If God declared so great love towards us his silly creatures, how can we of right but love him again? Was not this a sure pledge of his love, to give us his own Son from heaven? He might have given us an angel if he would, or some other creature, and yet should his love have been far above our deserts. Now he gave us not an angel, but his Son. And what Son? His only Son, his natural Son, his well-beloved Son, even that[q] Son whom he had made lord and ruler of[r] all things. Was not this a singular token of great love? But to whom did he give him? He gave him to the whole world; that is to say, to Adam, and all that should come after him. O Lord, what had Adam, or any other man[s], deserved at God's hands, that he should give us his own[t] Son? We are[u] all miserable persons, sinful persons, damnable persons, justly driven out of paradise, justly excluded from heaven, justly condemned to hell-fire: and yet—see a wonderful token of God's love—he gave us his only-begotten Son; us, I say, that were his extreme and deadly enemies, that we, by virtue of his blood shed upon the cross, might be clean purged from our sins, and made righteous again in his sight. Who can choose but marvel, to hear that God should shew such unspeakable love towards

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[p] believeth] believed 1563.
[q] that] the 1587, 1595.
[r] of] over 1563.
[s] man] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[t] own] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[u] are] were 1563.

us, that were his deadly enemies? Indeed, O mortal man, thou oughtest of right to marvel at it, and to acknowledge therein God's great goodness, and mercy towards mankind; which is so wonderful, that no flesh, be it never so worldly wise, may well conceive it, or express it[x]. For, as
Rom. v. [8.] St Paul testifieth, *God greatly commendeth and setteth out his love towards us, in that he sent his Son Christ to die for us, when we were yet sinners*, and open enemies of his name. If we had in any manner of wise deserved it at his hands, then had it been no marvel at all: but there was no desert in[y] our part, wherefor he should do it. Therefore, thou sinful creature, when thou hearest that God gave his son to die for the[z] sins of the world, think not[a] he did it for any desert or goodness that was in thee, for thou wast then the bondslave of the devil: but fall down upon thy knees,
Psal. viii. [4.] and cry with the prophet David, *O Lord, what is man, that thou art so mindful of him; or the son of man, that thou so regardest him?* And seeing he hath so greatly loved thee,
[Luke x. 27.] endeavour thyself to love him again, *with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength*, that therein thou mayest appear not to be unworthy of his love. I report me to thine[b] own conscience, whether thou wouldest not think thy love ill-bestowed upon him, that could not find in his heart to love thee again? If this be true, as it is most true, then think how greatly it behoveth[c] to thy[d] duty to love God, which hath so greatly loved thee, that he hath not spared his own only Son from so cruel and shameful a death for thy sake.

And hitherto concerning the cause of Christ's death and passion, which as it was on our part most horrible and grievous sin, so on the other side it was the free gift of God, proceeding of his mere[e] and tender love towards mankind, without any merit or desert of our part. The Lord for his mercies' sake grant that we never forget this great benefit of our salvation in Christ Jesu; but that we always shew ourselves thankful for it, abhorring all kind of wicked-

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[x] conceive it, or express it] conceive or express it 1587, conceive or express 1595.

[y] in] on *in all the other editions.*

[z] the] our 1595.

[a] not] it not 1595.

[b] thine] thy 1595.

[c] behoveth] belongeth 1563.

[d] to thy] thee in 1623.

[e] mere] mercy 1587, 1595.

ness and sin, and applying our minds wholly to the service of God, and the diligent keeping of his commandments!

Now it resteth to[f] shew unto you, how to apply Christ's death and passion to our comfort, as a medicine to our wounds, so that it may work the same effect in us wherefor it was given, namely, the health and salvation of our souls. For as it profiteth a man nothing to have salve, unless it be well applied to the part infected[g]; so the death of Christ shall stand us in no force, unless we apply it to ourselves in such sort as God hath appointed. Almighty God commonly worketh by means, and in this thing he hath also ordained a certain mean, whereby we may take fruit and profit to our souls' health. What mean is that? Forsooth it is faith. Not an unconstant or wavering faith, but a sure, steadfast, grounded, and unfeigned faith. *God sent his Son into the world,* saith St John. To what end? *That whosoever believeth*[h] *in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.* Mark these words, *that whosoever believeth in him.* Here is the mean whereby we must apply the fruits of Christ's death unto our deadly wound. Here is the mean, whereby we must obtain eternal life; namely, faith. *For,* as St Paul teacheth in his epistle to the Romans, *with the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.* Paul being demanded of the keeper of the prison, *what he should do to be saved?* made this answer: *Believe in the Lord Jesus, so shalt thou and thine house both be*[i] *saved.* After the evangelist had described and set forth unto[k] us at large the life and the death of the Lord Jesus, in the end he concludeth[l] with these words, *These things are written, that we may believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, and through faith obtain eternal life.* To conclude with the words of St Paul, which are these, *Christ is the end of the law unto salvation, for every one that doth believe.* By this then you may well perceive, that the only mean and instrument of salvation required of our parts is faith; that is to say, a sure trust and confidence in the mercies of God; whereby we persuade ourselves, that God both hath, and will forgive our sins;

John iii. [16.] Rom. x. [10.] Acts xvi. [30, 31.] John xx. [31.] Rom. x. [4.]

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[f] resteth to] it remaineth that I 1563
[g] infected] affected 1563.
[h] believeth] believed 1563.
[i] both be] be both 1563.
[k] unto] to 1587, 1595.
[l] concludeth] concluded 1563.

that he hath accepted us again into his favour; that he hath released us from the bonds of damnation; and received us again into the number of his elect people; not for our merits or deserts, but only and solely for the merits of Christ's death and passion, who became man for our sakes, and humbled himself to sustain the reproach of the cross, that we thereby might be saved, and made inheritors of the kingdom of heaven. This faith is required at our hands. And this if we keep steadfastly in[m] our hearts, there is no doubt but we shall obtain salvation at God's hands, as did Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, of whom the Scripture saith, that *they believed, and it was imputed unto them for*[n] *righteousness.* Was it imputed unto them only, and shall it not be imputed unto us also? Yes, if we have the same faith as they had, it shall be as truly imputed unto us for righteousness, as it was unto them. For it is one faith that must save both us and them, even a sure and steadfast faith in Christ Jesu[o]; who, as ye have heard, came into the world for this end, that *whosoever believe*[p] *in him should not perish, but have life everlasting.*

Gen. xv. [6.] Rom. iv. [3, 9, 22.]

John iii. [16.]

But here we must take heed that we do not halt with God through an unconstant and wavering faith, but that it be strong and steadfast to our lives' end. *He that waver-eth,* saith St James, *is like a wave of the sea; neither let that man think that he shall obtain any thing at God's hands.* Peter coming to Christ upon the water, because he fainted in faith, was in danger of drowning. So we, if we begin to waver or doubt, it is to be feared lest we shall[q] sink as Peter did; not into the water, but into the bottomless pit of hell-fire. Therefore I say unto you, that we must apprehend the merits of Christ's death and passion by faith, and that with a strong and steadfast faith, nothing doubting, but that Christ, by his own[r] oblation and once offering of himself upon the cross, hath taken away our sins, and hath restored us again into[s] God's favour, so fully and perfectly, that no other sacrifice for sin shall hereafter be requisite or needful in all the world.

James i. [6, 7.]

Matt. xiv. [29, 30.]

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[m] in] at 1623.
[n] for] of 1563.
[o] Jesu] Jesus 1623.
[p] believe] believed 1563.
[q] shall] should 1587, 1595.
[r] own] one 1563.
[s] into] unto 1587, 1595.

Thus have ye[t] heard in few words the mean, whereby we must apply the fruits and merits of Christ's death unto us, so that it may work the salvation of our souls: namely, a sure, steadfast, perfect, and grounded faith. For as all they which beheld steadfastly the brasen serpent were healed and delivered, at the very sight thereof, from their corporal diseases and bodily stings; even so all they which behold Christ crucified with a true and lively faith shall undoubtedly be delivered from the grievous wounds[u] of the soul, be they[x] never so deadly or many in number. Therefore, dearly beloved, if we chance at any time, through frailty of the flesh, to fall into sin,—as it cannot be chosen, but we must needs fall often,—and if we feel the heavy burden thereof to press our souls, tormenting us with the fear of death, hell, and damnation; let us then use that mean which God hath appointed in his word[y], to wit, the mean of faith, which is the only instrument of salvation now left unto us. Let us steadfastly behold Christ crucified with the eyes of our heart. Let us only trust to be saved by his death and passion, and to have our sins clean washed away through his most precious blood, that in the end of the world, when he shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead, he may receive us into his heavenly kingdom, and place us in the number of his elect and chosen people; there to be partakers of that immortal and everlasting life, which he hath purchased unto us by virtue of his bloody wounds. To him therefore, with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Numb. xxi. [9.] John iii. [14, 15.]

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[t] ye] you 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[u] wounds] wound 1623.
[x] they] there 1563.
[y] word] worth 1563.

AN HOMILY

OF THE

RESURRECTION OF OUR SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

FOR EASTER-DAY[a].

IF ever at any time the greatness or excellency of any matter, spiritual or temporal, hath stirred up your minds to give diligent ear, good Christian people, and well-beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus[b] Christ, I doubt not but that I shall have you now at this present season most diligent and ready hearers of the matter which I have at this time to open unto you. For I come to declare that great and most comfortable article of our Christian religion and faith, the resurrection of our Lord Jesus. So great surely is the matter of this article, and of so great weight and importance, that it was thought worthy to keep our said Saviour still on earth forty days after he was risen from death to life, to the confirmation and stablishment[c] thereof in the hearts of his disciples. So that, as Luke clearly testifieth in the first chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, *he was conversant with his disciples by the space of forty days continually together*, to the intent he would in his person, being now glorified, teach and instruct them, which should be the teachers of other, fully and in most absolute and perfect wise the truth of this most Christian article, which is the ground and foundation of our whole religion, before he would ascend up to his Father into the heavens, there to receive the glory of his most triumphant conquest and victory. Assuredly, so highly comfortable is this article to our consciences, that it is even the very lock and key of all our Christian religion and faith. *If it were not true*, saith the[d] holy apostle Paul, *that Christ rose again, then our preaching were in vain, your faith which you have received were but void, ye were yet in the danger of your sins. If Christ be not risen again*, saith the apostle, *then are they in very evil case, and utterly perished, that be entered their sleep in Christ; then are we the most*

[Acts i. 3.]

1 Cor. xv. [14—20.]

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[a] Easter-day] Good-friday 1563.
[b] Jesus] Jesu 1563.
[c] stablishment] establishment 1623.
[d] the] thy 1563.

miserable of all men, which have our hope fixed in Christ, if he be yet under the power of death, and as yet not restored to his bliss again. *But now is he*[e] *risen again from death,* saith the apostle Paul, *to be the firstfruits of them that be asleep;* to the intent to raise them to everlasting life again. Yea, if it were not true that Christ is risen again, then were it neither true that he is ascended up to heaven; nor that he sent down from heaven unto us the Holy Ghost; nor that he sitteth on the right hand of his heavenly Father, having the rule of heaven and earth, reigning, as the prophet saith, *from sea to sea;* nor that he should after this world be the judge as well of the living as of the dead, to give reward to the good, and judgment to the evil. That these links therefore of our faith should all hang together in steadfast establishment and confirmation, it pleased our Saviour not straightway to withdraw himself from the bodily presence and sight of his disciples; but he chose out forty days wherein he would declare unto them by manifold and most[f] strong arguments and tokens, that he had conquered death, and that he was also truly risen again to life. *He began,* saith Luke, *at Moses and all the prophets, and expounded unto*[g] *them the prophecies that were written in all the Scriptures of him,* to the intent to confirm the truth of his resurrection, long before spoken of: which he verified indeed, as it is declared very apparently and manifestly, by his oft appearance to sundry persons at sundry times. First, he sent his angels to the sepulchre, who[h] did shew unto certain women the empty grave, saving that the burial linen remained therein. And by these signs were these women fully instructed that he was risen again, and so did they testify it openly. After this Jesus himself appeared to Mary Magdalene, and after that to certain other[i] women, and straight afterward he appeared to Peter, then to the two disciples which were going to Emmaus. He appeared to the disciples also, as they were gathered together, for fear of the Jews, the doors shut. At another time he was seen at the sea of Tiberias of Peter and Thomas, and of other disciples, when they were fishing. He was seen of more than five hundred brethren in the mount of

Psal. lxxii. [8.]

Luke xxiv. [27.]

Matt. xxviii. [5, 6.]

John xvi. [16.] Luke xxiv. [13—15.]

John xxi. [1, 4.] 1 Cor. xv.[6.]

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e is he] he is 1623.
f most] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
g unto] to 1587, 1595.
h who] which 1563.
i certain other] other certain 1563.

Galilee, where Jesus appointed them to be by his angel, [Mark xvi. 7.] when he said, *Behold, he shall go before you into Galilee; there shall ye see him, as he hath said unto you.* After [1 Cor. xv. 7.] this he appeared unto James; and last of all, he was visibly seen of all the apostles, at such time as he was taken up into heaven. Thus at sundry times he shewed himself after he was risen again, to confirm and stablish this article. And in these revelations sometime[k] he shewed them his hands, his feet, and his side, and bade them touch him, that they should not take him for a ghost or a spirit. Sometime he also did eat with them; but ever he was talking with them of the[l] everlasting kingdom of God, to assure the truth of his resurrection. *For then he opened their understanding, that they might perceive the Scriptures, and said unto them, Thus it is written, and thus it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise from death the third day, and that there should be preached openly in his name penance*[m] *and remission of sins to all the nations of the world.* [Luke xxiv. 45—47.]

Ye see, good Christian people, how necessary this article of our faith is, seeing it was proved by Christ himself by such evident reasons and tokens, by so long time and space. Now therefore, as our Saviour was diligent for our comfort and instruction to declare it; so let us be as ready in our belief to receive it to our comfort and instruction. As he died not for himself, no more did he rise again for himself. [Rom. iv. 25.] *He was dead*, saith St Paul, *for our sins, and rose again for our justification.* O most comfortable word, evermore to be borne in remembrance! He died, saith he, to put away sin; he rose again to endow us with righteousness. His death took away sin and malediction; his death was the ransom of them both; his death destroyed death, and overcame the devil, which had the power of death in his subjection; his death destroyed hell, with all the damnation thereof. Thus is death swallowed up by Christ's victory; thus is hell spoiled for ever. If any man doubt of this victory, let Christ's glorious resurrection declare him the thing. If death could not keep Christ under his dominion and power, but that he arose again, it is manifest that his power was overcome. If death be conquered, then must it

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[k] sometime] sometimes 1587, 1595.
[l] the] his 1595.
[m] penance] pardon 1623.

follow that sin, wherefor death was appointed as the wages, must be also destroyed. If death and sin be vanished away, then is the devil's tyranny vanished[n], which had the power of death, and was the author and brewer of sin, and the ruler of hell. If Christ had the victory of them all by the power of his death, and openly proved it by his most victorious and valiant resurrection,—as it was not possible for his great might to be subdued of them, and then this[o] true, that Christ died for our sins, and rose again for our justification—why may not we, that be his members by true faith, rejoice, and boldly say with the prophet Hosea and the apostle Paul, *Where is thy dart, O death? Where is thy victory, O hell? Thanks be unto God,* say they, *which hath given us the victory by our Lord Christ Jesus.* [Hos. xiii. 14. 1 Cor. xv. 57.]

This mighty conquest of his resurrection was not only signified before[p] by divers figures of the old Testament, as by Samson when he slew the lion, out of whose mouth came[q] sweetness and honey; and as David bare his figure when he delivered the lamb out of the lion's mouth, and when he overcame and slew the great giant Goliath; and as when Jonas was swallowed up of[r] the whale's mouth, and cast up again on land alive[s]: but was also most clearly prophesied by the prophets of the Old Testament, and in the New also confirmed by the apostles. *He hath spoiled,* saith St Paul, *rule and power, and all the dominion of our spiritual enemies. He hath made a*[t] *show of them openly, and hath triumphed over them in his own person.* This is the mighty power of the Lord, whom we believe on. By his death hath he wrought for us this victory, and by his resurrection hath he purchased everlasting life and righteousness for us. It had not been enough to be delivered by his death from sin, except by his resurrection we had been endowed[u] with righteousness. And it should not avail us to be delivered from death, except he had risen again, to open for us the gates of heaven, to enter into life everlasting. And therefore St Peter thanketh *God the Father of our Lord Jesus*[x] *Christ* for his abundant mercy *because he hath begotten us,* Judg. xiv. [8.] 1 Sam. xvii. [35, 49.] Jonas i. 17. Jonas ii. [10.] Col. ii. [15.] 1 Pet. i. [3—5.]

[n] vanished] vanquished 1563.
[o] then this] it is 1623.
[p] before] afore 1563.
[q] came] came out 1563.
[r] of] in 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[s] alive] to live 1563.
[t] a] *wanting* 1687, 1595.
[u] endowed] endued 1587, 1595.
[x] Jesus] Jesu 1563.

saith he, *unto a lively hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from death, to enjoy an inheritance immortal, that never shall*[y] *perish, which is laid up in heaven for them that be kept by the power of God through faith.* Thus hath his resurrection wrought for us life and righteousness. He passed through death and hell, to the intent to put us in good hope that by his strength we shall do the same. He paid the ransom of sin, that it should not be laid to our charge. He destroyed the devil and all his tyranny; and openly triumphed over him, and took away from him all his captives; and hath raised and set them with himself among the heavenly citizens above. He died to destroy the rule of the devil in us; and he rose again to send down his Holy Spirit to rule in our hearts, to endow[z] us with perfect righteousness. Thus it is true that David sang, *Veritas de terra orta est, et justitia de cœlo prospexit.* The truth of God's promise is in earth to man declared; or from the earth is the everlasting verity, God's Son, risen to life; and the true righteousness of the Holy Ghost looking out of heaven, and is[a] in most liberal largess dealt upon all the world. Thus is glory and praise rebounded upward[b] to God above, for his mercy and truth. And thus is peace come down from heaven to men of good and faithful hearts. *Thus is mercy and truth,* as David writeth, *together met, thus is peace and righteousness embracing and kissing each other.*

Ephes. ii. [6.]

Psal. lxxxv. [11.] Eph. iv. [8.] Captivam duxit captivitatem.

Luke ii. [14.]

[Psal. lxxxv. 10.] Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi.

If thou doubtest of so great wealth and felicity that is wrought for thee, O man, call to thy mind that therefore hast thou received into thine own possession the everlasting verity, our Saviour Jesus Christ, to confirm to thy conscience the truth of all this matter. Thou hast received him, if in true faith and repentance of heart thou hast received him; if in purpose of amendment thou hast received him for an everlasting gage, or pledge of thy salvation. Thou hast received his body which was once broken, and his blood which was shed for the remission of thy sin. Thou hast received his body, to have within thee the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for to dwell with thee; to endow thee with grace; to strength[c] thee against thine[d] enemies; and to comfort thee

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y never shall] shall never 1563.

z endow] endue 1587, 1595.

a is] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

b upward] upwards 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

c strength] strengthen 1587, 1595.

d thine] thy 1563, 1582, 1587.

with their presence. Thou hast received his body to endow thee with everlasting righteousness; to assure thee of everlasting bliss, and life of thy soul. For with Christ by true faith art thou quickened again, saith St Paul, from death of sin to life of grace; and in hope translated from corporal and everlasting death, to the everlasting life of glory in heaven, where now thy conversation should be, and thy heart and desire set. Doubt not of the truth of this matter, how great and high soever these things be. It becometh God to do no little[e] deeds, how impossible soever they seem to thee. Pray to God that thou mayest have faith to perceive this great mystery of Christ's resurrection; that by faith thou mayest certainly believe nothing to be impossible with God. Only bring thou faith to Christ's holy word and sacrament. Let thy repentance shew thy faith; let thy purpose of amendment and obedience of thy heart to God's law hereafter declare thy true belief. Endeavour thyself to say with St Paul, *From henceforth our conversation is in heaven, from whence we look for a Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ; which shall change our vile bodies, that they may be fashioned like*[f] *his glorious body, which he shall do by the same power whereby he rose from death, and whereby he shall be able to subdue all things unto himself.*

Eph. ii. [5, 6.]

Luke xviii. [27.]

Phil. iii. [20, 21.]

Thus, good Christian people, forasmuch as ye have heard these so great and excellent benefits of Christ's mighty and glorious resurrection, as how that he hath ransomed sin; overcome the devil, death, and hell; and hath victoriously gotten the better hand of them all, to make us free and safe from them; and knowing that we be by this benefit of his resurrection risen with him by our faith unto life everlasting; being in full surety of our hope, that we shall have our bodies likewise raised again from death, to have them glorified in immortality, and joined to his glorious body; having in the meanwhile his[g] holy Spirit within our hearts, as a seal and pledge of our everlasting inheritance: by whose assistance we be replenished with all righteousness, by whose power we shall be able to subdue all our evil affections, rising against the pleasure of God:—these things, I say, well-considered, let us now in the rest of our life declare our faith

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[e] little] small 1623.
[f] like] like to 1563.
[g] his] this 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

that we have in[h] this most fruitful article, by framing ourselves thereunto, in rising daily from sin to righteousness and holiness of life. *For what shall it avail us,* saith St Peter, *to be escaped and delivered from the filthiness of the world, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, if we be entangled again therewith, and be overcome again? Certainly it had been better,* saith he, *never to have known the way of righteousness, than, after it is known and received, to turn backward[i] again from the holy commandment of God given unto us.* For so shall the proverb have place in us, where it is said, *The dog is returned to his vomit again, and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire again.* What a shame were it for us, being thus so clearly and freely washed from our sin, to return to the filthiness thereof again! What a folly were it, thus endowed with righteousness, to lose it again! What madness were it to lose the inheritance that we be now set in, for the vile and transitory pleasure of sin! And what an unkindness should it be, where our Saviour Christ of his mercy is come to us, to dwell with[k] us as our guest, to drive him from us, and to banish him violently out of our souls; and instead of him, in whom is all grace and virtue, to receive the ungracious spirit of the devil, the founder of all naughtiness and mischief! How can we find in our hearts to shew such extreme unkindness to Christ, which hath now so gently called us to mercy, and offered himself unto us, and he now entered within us? Yea, how dare we be so bold[l] to renounce the presence of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—for where one is, there is God all whole in majesty, together with all his power, wisdom, and goodness,—and fear not, I say, the danger and peril of so traitorous a defiance and departure? Good Christian brethren and sisters, advise yourselves; consider the dignity that ye[m] be now set in: let not[n] folly lose the thing that grace hath so preciously offered and purchased: let not wilfulness and blindness put out so great light that is now shewed unto you. Only take good hearts unto you, and *put upon you all the armour of God, that ye may stand against your enemies,* which would again

2 Pet. ii. [20—22.]

Eph. vi. [11.]

[h] in] to 1563.
[i] backward] back 1623.
[k] with] within 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[l] bold] bound 1563.
[m] ye] you 1587, 1595.
[n] not] no 1623.

subdue you, and bring you into their thraldom. *Remember* [1 Pet. i. [18—20.]]
ye be bought from your vain conversation, and that your freedom is purchased neither with gold nor silver, but with the price of the precious blood of that most[o] *innocent Lamb Jesus Christ, which was ordained to the*[p] *same purpose before the world was made; but he was so declared in the latter time of grace for your sakes, which by him have your faith in God, who hath raised him from death, and hath given him glory, that you should have your faith and hope toward God.* Therefore as you have hitherto followed the vain lusts of your minds, and so displeased God to the danger of your[q] souls; so now, like obedient children thus purified by faith, give yourselves to walk that way which God moveth you to, that ye may *receive the end of your* [1 Pet. i. [9.]]
faith, the salvation of your souls. And *as ye have given* [Rom. vi. 19.]
your bodies to unrighteousness, to sin after sin; so now give yourselves[r] *to righteousness, to be sanctified therein.* If ye delight in this article of your[s] faith, that Christ is risen again from death[t] to life, then follow you the example of his resurrection, as St Paul exhorteth us, saying, *As we be buried* [Rom. vi. [4.]]
with Christ by our baptism into death, so let us daily die to sin, mortifying and killing the evil desires and motions thereof. And as Christ was raised[u] *up from death by the glory of the Father, so let us rise to a new life,* and walk [Matt. v. [16.]]
continually therein, that we may likewise as natural children live a conversation to move men to *glorify our Father which is in heaven. If we then be risen with Christ* by our faith [Col. iii. [1, 2.]]
to the hope of everlasting life, let us rise also with Christ, after his example, to a new life, and leave our old: we shall then be truly risen, if we seek for things that be heavenly, if we have our *affection on*[x] *things that be above, and not on things that be on the*[y] *earth.* If ye desire to know what these earthly things be which ye should put off, and what be the heavenly things above, that ye should seek and ensue, St Paul in the epistle to the Colossians declareth, when he exhorteth us thus: *Mortify your earthly members, and old* [Col. iii. [5—9.]]
affection[z] *of sin, as fornication, uncleanness, unnatural*

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[o] most] *wanting* 1623.
[p] to the] to do the 1595.
[q] your] our 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[r] yourselves] yourself 1563.
[s] your] our 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[t] from death] from the death 1623.
[u] raised] risen 1595.
[x] on] upon 1563.
[y] the] *wanting* 1563.
[z] affection] affections 1563.

lust, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is worshipping of idols; for the[a] *which things, the wrath of God is wont to fall on the children of unbelief; in which things once ye walked, when ye lived in them. But now put ye*[b] *also away from you wrath, fierceness, maliciousness, cursed speaking, filthy speaking, out of your mouths. Lie not one to another, that the old man with his works be put off, and the new be*[c] *put on.* These be the earthly things which St Paul moveth you[d] to cast from you, and to pluck your hearts from them: for in following these, ye declare yourselves earthly and worldly. These be the fruits of the earthly Adam. These should you daily kill by good diligence, in withstanding the desires of them, that ye might
[Col. iii. 2.] rise to righteousness. Let your affection from henceforth be set on heavenly things: sue and *search for mercy, kindness, meekness, patience, forbearing one another, and forgiving one*
[Col. iii. 12, 13.] *another. If any man have any*[e] *quarrel to another, as Christ forgave you, even so do ye.* If these and such other heavenly virtues ye ensue in the residue of your life, ye shall shew plainly that ye be risen with Christ, and that ye be the heavenly children of your Father in heaven; from
James i. [17.] whom, as from the giver, cometh these graces and gifts. Ye shall prove by this manner, that your conversation is in
Phil. iii. [20.] heaven, where your hope is; and not on earth, following the beastly appetites of the flesh. Ye must consider that ye be therefore cleansed and renewed, that ye should from
Luke i. [74.] henceforth *serve God in holiness and righteousness all the days of your lives,* that ye may reign with [him][f] in everlasting life. If ye refuse so great grace, whereto ye be called, what other thing do ye, than heap to you[g] damnation more and more, and so provoke God to cast his displeasure unto you, and to revenge this mockage of his[h] holy sacraments in so[i] great abusing of them?

Apply yourselves, good friends, to live in Christ, that Christ may still live in you; whose favour and assistance if ye have, then have ye everlasting life already within you, then
John v. [24.] can nothing hurt you. Whatsoever is hitherto[k] done and com-

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[a] the] *wanting* 1563.
[b] ye] you 1587, 1595.
[c] be] *wanting* 1563.
[d] you] ye 1563.
[e] any] a 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[f] him] them 1574, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[g] you] your 1563.
[h] his] this 1563.
[i] in so] unto 1563.
[k] is hitherto] hitherto is 1595.

mitted, Christ, ye see, hath offered you pardon, and clearly received you to his favour again; in full surety whereof ye have him now inhabiting and dwelling within you. Only shew yourselves thankful in your lives, determine with yourselves to refuse and avoid all such things in your conversations as should offend his eyes of mercy. Endeavour yourselves that way to rise up again, which way ye fell into the well or pit of sin. If by your tongue ye[l] have offended, now thereby rise again, and glorify God therewith; accustom it to laud and praise the name of God, as ye have therewith dishonoured it. And as ye[m] have hurt the name of your neighbour, or otherwise[n] hindered him, so now intend to restore it to him again. For without restitution God accepteth not your confession, nor yet your repentance. It is not enough to forsake evil, except you[o] set your courage to do good. By what occasion soever you[p] have offended, turn now the occasion to the honouring of God, and profit[q] of your neighbour. Truth it is that sin is strong, and affections unruly. Hard it is to subdue and resist our nature, so corrupt and leavened with the sour bitterness of the poison, which we received by the inheritance of our old father Adam. *But yet take good courage*, saith our Saviour Christ, *for I have overcome the world*, and all other enemies for you. *Sin shall not have power over you, for ye be now under grace*, saith St Paul. Though your power be weak, yet Christ is risen again to strength[r] you in your battle: his Holy Spirit shall help your infirmities. In trust of his mercy, take you in hand to purge this old leaven of sin, that corrupteth and soureth the sweetness of our[s] life before God; that ye may be as[t] new and fresh dough, void of all sour leaven of wickedness; so shall ye shew yourselves[u] to be sweet bread to God, that he may have his delight in you. I say, kill and offer you up the worldly and earthly affections of your bodies. For Christ our Easter-lamb is offered up for us, to slay the power of sin, to deliver us from the danger thereof, and to give us example to die to sin in our life. As the Jews did eat their Easter-lamb, and kept their feast in remembrance of their

Col. iii. [5.]

Restitution.

Psal. xxxvi.

[John xvi. 33.]

Rom. vi. [9.]

Rom. viii. [26.]

1 Cor. v. [7.]

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[l] ye] you 1587, 1595.
[m] ye] you 1563.
[n] otherwise] otherways 1563.
[o] you] ye 1563.
[p] you] ye 1587, 1595.
[q] profit] profitting 1563.
[r] strength] strengthen 1587, 1595.
[s] our] your 1563.
[t] as] a 1563.
[u] yourselves] yourself 1563.

deliverance out of Egypt; even so let us keep our Easter-feast in the thankful remembrance of Christ's benefits, which he hath plentifully wrought for us by his resurrection and passing[x] to his Father, whereby we be[y] delivered from the captivity and thraldom of all our enemies. Let us in like manner pass over the affections of our old conversation, that we may be delivered from the bondage thereof, and rise with Christ. The Jews kept their feast in abstaining from leavened[z] bread by the space of seven days. Let us Christian folk keep our holy-day in spiritual manner; that is, in abstaining, not from material leavened bread, but from the old leaven of sin, the leaven of maliciousness and wickedness. Let us cast from us the leaven of corrupt doctrine, that will infect our souls. Let us keep our feast the whole term of our life, with eating the bread of pureness, of godly life, and truth of Christ's doctrine. Thus[a] shall we declare that Christ's gifts and graces have their effect in us, and that we have the right belief and knowledge of his holy resurrection; where truly, if we apply our faith to the virtue thereof and in our life conform[b] us to the example and signification meant thereby, we shall be sure to rise hereafter to everlasting glory, by the goodness and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all glory, thanksgiving, and praise, *in infinita seculorum secula.* Amen.

Exod. xii. [15.]

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[x] passing] passion 1595.
[y] be] are 1582, 1587, 1595.
[z] leavened] leaven 1595.
[a] Thus] This 1563.
[b] and in our life conform] in our life and conform 1582, 1587, 1595.

AN HOMILY

OF THE

WORTHY RECEIVING AND REVERENT ESTEEMING OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST.

THE great love of our Saviour Christ towards mankind, good Christian people, doth not only appear in that dear-bought benefit of our redemption and salvation by his death and passion, but also in that he so kindly provided, that the same most merciful work might be had in continual remembrance, to take some place in us, and not be frustrate of his end and purpose. For as tender parents are not content to procure for their children costly possessions and livelihood, but take order that the same may be conserved and come to their use; so our Lord and Saviour thought it not sufficient to purchase for us his Father's favour again,—which is that deep fountain of all goodness and eternal life,—but also invented the ways most wisely, whereby they might redound to our commodity and profit. Amongst the which means is the public celebration of the memory of his precious death at the Lord's table. Which although it seem of small virtue to some, yet being rightly done by the faithful, it doth not only help their weakness,—who be by their poisoned nature readier to remember injuries than benefits,—but strengtheneth and comforteth their inward man with peace and gladness, and maketh them thankful to their Redeemer, with diligent care and[a] godly conversation. And as of old time God decreed his wondrous benefits of the deliverance of his people, to be kept in memory by the eating of the passover, with his rites and ceremonies; so our loving Saviour hath ordained and established the remembrance of his great mercy expressed in his passion, in the institution of his heavenly supper, where every one of us must be guests and not gazers; eaters and not lookers; feeding ourselves, and not hiring other to feed for us; that we may live by our own

Exod. xii. [14.]

Matt. xxvi. [26—28.]

1 Cor. xi. [21.]

[a] and] of 1563.

meat, and not perish[b] for hunger whiles other[c] devour all. To this his commandment forceth us, saying, *Do ye thus*[d], *drink ye all of this.* To this his promise enticeth[e], *This is my body, which is given for you; this is my blood, which is shed for you.* So then as[f] of necessity we must be ourselves partakers of this table, and not beholders of other: so we must address ourselves to frequent the same in reverent and comely[g] manner, lest as physic provided for the body, being misused, more hurteth than profiteth; so this comfortable medicine of the soul undecently received tendeth[h] to our greater harm and sorrow. And St Paul saith, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.* Wherefore, that it be not said to us, as it was to the guest of that great supper, *Friend, how camest thou in, not having the marriage-garment?* and that we may fruitfully use St Paul's counsel, *Let a man prove himself, and so eat of that bread, and drink of that cup;* we must certainly know, that three things be requisite in him which would seemly, as becometh such high mysteries, resort to the Lord's table. That is, first[i], a right and a[k] worthy estimation and understanding of this mystery. Secondly, to come in a sure faith. And thirdly, to have newness or pureness of life to succeed the receiving of the same.

Luke xxii. [19.] 1 Cor. xi. [24, 25.] Matt. xxvi. [28.] 1 Cor. xi. [29.] Matt. xxii. [12.] 1 Cor. xi. [28.]

But, before all other things, this we must be sure of especially[l], that this supper be in such wise done and ministered, as our Lord and Saviour did, and commanded to be done; as his holy apostles used it; and the good fathers in the primitive church frequented it. For, as that worthy man St Ambrose[2] saith, "he is unworthy of[m] the Lord, that otherwise[n] doth celebrate that mystery, than it was delivered by him. Neither can he be devout, that otherwise doth

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[b] perish] to perish 1623.
[c] other] others 1563.
[d] thus] this 1623.
[e] enticeth] enticeth us 1563.
[f] as] *wanting* 1623.
[g] comely] due 1563.
[h] tendeth] tend 1563.
[i] first] the first 1563.
[k] a] *wanting* 1623.
[l] especially] specially 1563.
[m] of] *wanting* 1563.
[n] otherwise] otherways 1563.

[2] ["Indignum dicit esse Domino qui aliter mysterium celebrat, quam ab eo traditum est. Non enim potest devotus esse, qui aliter præsumit, quam datum est ab auctore." Comment. in Epist. I. ad Cor. cap. xi. v. 27.]

presume than it was given by the author." We must then take heed, lest, of the memory, it be made a sacrifice; lest, of a communion, it be made a private eating; lest, of two parts, we have but one; lest, applying it for the dead, we lose the fruit that be alive. Let us rather in these matters follow the advice of Cyprian[1] in the like cases; that is, "cleave fast to the first beginning; hold fast the Lord's tradition; do that in the Lord's commemoration which he himself did, he himself commanded, and his apostles confirmed." This caution or foresight if we use, then may we see to[o] those things that be requisite in the worthy receiver; whereof this was the first, that we have a right understanding of the thing itself. As concerning which thing, this we may assuredly persuade ourselves, that the ignorant man can neither worthily esteem nor effectually use those marvellous graces and benefits offered and exhibited in that supper; but either will lightly regard them, to no small offence, or utterly condemn[p] them, to his utter destruction. So that by his negligence he deserveth the plagues of God to fall upon him, and by contempt he deserveth everlasting perdition. To avoid then these harms, use the advice of the wise man, who willeth thee, *when thou sittest at an earthly king's table,* to *take diligent heed what things are set before thee.* So now much more at the King of kings' table, thou must carefully search and know what dainties are provided for thy soul, whither thou art come; not to feed thy senses and belly to corruption, but thy inward man to immortality and life; nor [q] to consider the earthly creatures which thou seest, but the heavenly graces which thy faith beholdeth. "For this table is not," saith[2] Chrysostom[r], "for chattering jays, but for eagles," who flee thither where the dead body lieth.

Prov. xxiii. [1.]

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o to] *wanting* 1623.
p condemn] contemn 1563.
q nor] not 1563.
r Chrysostom] Christ 1563.

1 [..."ut ubique lex evangelica et traditio dominica servetur, et ab eo, quod Christus et docuit et fecit non recedatur." Ep. LXIII.... "ut si in aliquo nutaverit et vacillaverit veritas ad originem dominicam et evangelicam atque apostolicam traditionem revertamur, et inde surgat actus nostri ratio, unde et ordo et origo surrexit." Ep. LXXIV.]

2 [Ὅπου γὰρ τὸ πτῶμα, φησὶν, ἐκεῖ καὶ οἱ ἀετοί· πτῶμα καλῶν τὸ σῶμα διὰ τὸν θάνατον...ἀετῶν γὰρ, οὐ κολοιῶν αὕτη ἡ τράπεζα. Homil. XXIV. in Epist. I. ad Cor.: Opp. Tom. X. p. 216, C.]

And if this advertisement of man cannot persuade us to resort to the Lord's table with understanding, see the counsel of God in the like matter, who charged his people to teach their posterity, not only the rites and ceremonies of the[s] passover, but the cause and end thereof. Whence we may learn, that both more perfect knowledge is required at this time at our hands, and that the ignorant cannot with fruit and profit exercise himself in the Lord's sacraments.

But to come nigher to the matter. St Paul blaming the Corinthians for the profaning of the Lord's Supper, concludeth that ignorance both of the thing itself, and the signification thereof, was the cause of their abuse: for they came thither unreverently, *not discerning the Lord's body.* Ought not we then by the monition of the wise man, by the wisdom of God, by the fearful example of the Corinthians, to take advised heed, that we thrust not ourselves to this table with rude and unreverent ignorance, the smart whereof Christ's church hath rued and lamented these many days and years? For what hath been the cause of the ruin of God's religion, but the ignorance hereof? What hath been the cause of this gross idolatry, but the ignorance hereof? What hath been the cause of this mummish massing, but the ignorance hereof? Yea, what hath been, and what is at this day the cause of this want of love and charity, but the ignorance hereof? Let us therefore so travail to understand the Lord's supper, that we be no cause of the decay of God's worship, of no idolatry, of no dumb massing, of no hate and malice; so may we the boldlier have access thither to our comfort. Neither need we to think that such exact knowledge is required of every man, that he be able to discuss all high points in the doctrine thereof: but thus[t] much we[u] must be sure to hold, that in the supper of the Lord there is no vain ceremony, no bare sign, no untrue figure of a thing absent; but, as the Scripture saith, *the table of the Lord, the bread and cup of the Lord, the memory of Christ, the annunciation of his death,* yea, *the communion of the body and blood of the Lord,* in a marvellous incorporation, which by the operation of the Holy Ghost—the very bond of our conjunction with Christ—is through faith wrought in the souls of the

[1 Cor. xi. 29.]

[1 Cor. xi. [26.] Matt. xxvi. [26—28.] 1 Cor. x. [16.]]

[s] the] his 1563.
[t] thus] this 1563.
[u] we] he 1563.

faithful, whereby not only their souls live to eternal life, but they surely trust to[x] win their bodies a resurrection to immortality. The true understanding of this fruition and union, which is the body[y] and the head, betwixt the true believers and Christ, the ancient catholic fathers[1] both perceiving themselves, and commending to their people, were not afraid to call this supper, some of them, "the salve of immortality and sovereign preservative against death;" other, "a deifical communion;" other, "the sweet dainties of our Saviour;" "the pledge of eternal health;" "the defence of faith;" "the hope of the resurrection;" other, "the food of immortality;" "the healthful grace;" and "the conservatory to everlasting life." All which sayings both of the holy Scripture and godly men, truly attributed to this celestial banquet and feast, if we would often call to mind, O how would they inflame our hearts to desire the participation of these mysteries, and oftentimes to covet after this bread, continually to thirst for this[z] food! Not as specially regarding the terrene and earthly creatures which remain; but always holding fast and cleaving by faith to the rock, whence we may suck the sweetness of everlasting salvation. And to be brief, thus much more the faithful see, hear, and know the favourable mercies of God sealed; the satisfaction by Christ towards us confirmed; and the remission of sin established[a]. Here they may feel wrought the tranquillity of conscience; the increase of faith; the strengthening of hope; the large spreading abroad of brotherly kindness; with many other sundry

Iren. Lib. iv. cap. x. Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. Dionysius. Orig. Optat. Cypr. de Cœn. Dom. Athan. de Pec. in Spir. Sanct.

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[x] to] *wanting* 1623.

[y] is the body] is betwixt the body 1623.

[z] this] his 1563.

[a] established] stablished 1563.

[1] ["Sic et corpora nostra percipientia Eucharistiam jam non sunt corruptibilia spem resurrectionis habentia." Iren. adv. Hæres. Lib. IV. c. 34 (al. 18): p. 251, ed. Benedict.—*ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὅς ἐστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν.* Ignat. Epist. ad Ephes. c. XX.—*θειοτάτης εὐχαριστίας μετάληψις.* Dionys. Areop. De Cœlesti Hierarch. c. I.—"dapes Salvatoris nostri." Origen. Homil. XXXVIII. in Lucam: Opp. Tom. III. p. 977, F; ed. Paris. 1740.—. . . "pignus salutis æternæ, et tutela fidei, et spes resurrectionis." Optat. p. 111 ed. Paris. 1679.—. . . "immortalitatis alimonia datur." De Cœna Domini, ad calc. Opp. Cyprian. p. 39, ed. Fell.—. . . *καὶ γίνεσθαι πᾶσι φυλακτήριον εἰς ἀνάστασιν ζωῆς αἰωνίου.* Athanas. in illud Evangel. Quicunque dixerit verbum etc. Opp. Tom. L. p. 979 ed. Colon. 1686.]

graces of God. The taste whereof they cannot attain unto, who be drowned in the deep dirty lake of blindness and ignorance. From the which, O beloved, wash yourselves with the living waters of God's word, whence you may perceive and know, both the spiritual food of this costly supper, and the happy trustings and effects that the same doth bring with it.

Now it followeth to have with this knowledge a sure and constant faith, not only that the death of Christ is available for the redemption of all the world, for the remission of sins, and reconciliation with God the Father; but also that he hath made upon his cross a full and sufficient sacrifice for thee; a perfect cleansing of thy sins; so that thou acknowledgest no other Saviour, Redeemer, Mediator, Advocate, Intercessor, but Christ only; and that thou mayest say [Gal. ii. 20.] with the apostle, that he *loved* thee, *and gave himself for* thee. For this is to stick fast to Christ's promise made in his institution, to make Christ thine own, and to applicate[b] his merits unto thyself. Herein thou needest no other man's help; no other sacrifice or oblation; no sacrificing priest; no mass; no means established by man's invention. That faith is a necessary instrument in all these holy ceremonies, we [Heb. xi. 6.] may thus assure ourselves, *for that*, as St Paul saith, *without faith it is unpossible to please God.* When a great number of the Israelites were overthrown in the wilderness, Moses, Aaron, and Phineas did eat manna, and pleased God, "for [In Johan. Hom. 6.] that they understood," saith St Augustine[1], "the visible meat spiritually. Spiritually they hungered it; spiritually they tasted it; that they might be spiritually satisfied." And truly as the bodily meat cannot feed the outward man, unless it be let into a stomach to be digested, which is healthsome and sound; no more can the[c] inward man be fed, except his meat be received into his soul and heart, sound and whole in [De Cœn. Dom.] faith. "Therefore," saith Cyprian[2], "when we do these

[b] applicate] apply 1623. [c] the] thy 1563.

[1] ["Quia visibilem cibum spiritualiter intellexerunt; spiritualiter esurierunt, spiritualiter gustaverunt, ut spiritualiter satiarentur." In Joan. Tract. XXVI.: Opp. Tom. III. Part. II. p. 498, B.]

[2] ["Hæc quotiens agimus, non dentes ad mordendum acuimus, sed fide sincera panem sanctum frangimus et partimur." De Cœna Domini, ad calc. Opp. Cyprian. p. 44, ed. Fell.]

things, we need not to whet our teeth; but with sincere faith we break and divide that holy[d] bread." It is well known that the meat we seek for in this supper is spiritual food; the nourishment of our soul; a heavenly refection; and not earthly; an invisible meat, and not bodily; a ghostly substance, and not carnal; so that to think that without faith we may enjoy the eating and drinking thereof, or that that is the fruition of it, is but to dream a gross carnal feeding, basely objecting[e] and binding ourselves to the elements and creatures. Whereas, by the advice of the council of Nicene[1], we ought to lift up our minds by faith, and, leaving these inferior and earthly things, there seek it, where the Sun of righteousness ever shineth. Take then this lesson, O thou that art desirous of this table, of Emissenus[2], a godly father, that when thou goest up to the reverend Communion, to be satisfied with spiritual meats, 'thou look up with faith upon the holy body and blood of thy God, thou marvel with reverence, thou touch it with the[f] mind, thou receive it with the hand of thy heart, and thou take it fully with thy inward man.'

Concil. Nicen.

Euseb. Emis. Serm. de Euchar.

Thus we see, beloved, that resorting to this table, we must pluck up all the roots of infidelity, all distrust in God's promises, that we[g] make ourselves living members of Christ's body. For the unbelievers and faithless cannot feed upon that precious body. Whereas the faithful have their life, their abiding in him, their union, and as it were their incorporation with him. Wherefore let us prove and try ourselves unfeignedly, without flattering ourselves, whether we be

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[d] holy] whole 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[e] objecting] abjecting 1563.
[f] the] thy 1563.
[g] that we] that we must 1563.

[1] [Ἐπὶ τῆς θείας τραπέζης πάλιν κἀνταῦθα μὴ τῷ προκειμένῳ ἄρτῳ καὶ τῷ ποτηρίῳ ταπεινῶς προσέχωμεν. ἀλλ' ὑφώσαντες ἡμῶν τὴν διάνοιαν πίστει νοήσωμεν κεῖσθαι ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐκείνης τραπέζης τὸν ἀμνὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, κ.τ.λ. Gelas. Hist. Concil. Nicæn. Lib. II. c. xxx.; apud Labb. Concil. Tom. II. 233, C.]

[2] [... "ita et tu, cum ad reverendum altare salutari cibo potuque reficiendus, accedis, sacrum Dei tui corpus et sanguinem fide respice, honore mirare, mente contige, cordis manu suscipe, et maxime haustu inferiore assume." Euseb. Emissen. De Pascha, Homil. v. fol. 45; ed. Paris. 1589: cf. Corpus Juris Canon. De Consecrat. Dist. II. c. xxxv.]

plants of that[h] fruitful olive, living branches of the true Vine, members indeed of Christ's mystical body, whether God hath purified our hearts by faith, to the sincere acknowledging of his gospel, and embracing of his mercies in Christ Jesu[i], so that[k] at this his table we receive not only the outward sacrament, but the spiritual thing also; not the figure, but the truth; not the shadow only, but the body; not to death, but to life; not to destruction, but to salvation; which God grant us to do through the merits of our Lord and Saviour: to whom be all honour and glory for ever. Amen.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY OF THE WORTHY RECEIVING AND REVERENT ESTEEMING OF THE SACRAMENT OF THE BODY AND BLOOD OF CHRIST.

IN the homily of late rehearsed unto you, ye have heard, good people, why it pleased our Saviour Christ to institute that heavenly memory of his death and passion, and that every one of us ought to celebrate the same at his[l] table, in our own persons, and not by other[m]. You have heard also with what estimation and knowledge of so high mysteries we ought to resort thither. You have heard with what constant faith we should clothe and deck ourselves, that we might be fit and decent partakers of that celestial food.

Now followeth the third thing necessary in him that would not eat of this bread nor drink of this cup unworthily, which is newness of life and godliness of conversation. For newness of life, as fruits of faith are required in the partaker[n] of this table. We may learn by the[o] eating of the typical lamb, whereunto no man was admitted, but he that was a Jew, that was circumcised, that was before sanctified.

1 Cor. x. [1–11.] Yea, St Paul testifieth, that although the people[p] were partakers of the sacraments under Moses, yet for that some of them were still worshippers of images, whoremongers, tempt-

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[h] that] the 1623.
[i] Jesu] Jesus 1623.
[k] so that] that so 1563.
[l] his] this 1582, 1587, 1595.
[m] other] others 1595.
[n] partaker] partakers 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[o] the] *wanting* 1623.
[p] the people] all the people 1563.

ers of Christ, murmurers, and coveting after evil things, God overthrew those in the wilderness, and that for our example; that is, that we Christians should take heed we resort unto our sacraments with holiness of life, not trusting in the outward receiving of them, and infected with corrupt and uncharitable manners. For this sentence of God must always be justified, *I will have mercy, and not sacrifice.* "Wherefore," saith Basil[1], "it behoveth him that cometh to the body and blood of Christ, in commemoration of him that died and rose again, not only to be pure from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, lest he eat and drink to his[q] condemnation, but also to shew out evidently a memory of him that died and rose again for us, in this point, that he[r] be mortified to sin and the world, to live now to God in Christ Jesu our Lord." So then we must shew outward testimony, in following the signification of Christ's death; amongst the which this is not esteemed least, to render thanks to Almighty God for all his benefits, briefly comprised in the death, passion, and resurrection of his dearly beloved Son. The which thing, because we ought chiefly at this table to solemnize, the godly fathers[2] named it *eucharistia*, that is, thanksgiving: as if they should have said, 'Now above all other times ye ought to laud and praise God. Now may you[s] behold the matter, the cause, the beginning, and the end of all thanksgiving.' Now if you[t] slack, ye shew yourselves most unthankful, and that no other benefit can ever stir you to thank God, who so little regard here so many, so wonderful, and so profitable benefits. Seeing then that the name and thing itself doth monish us of thanks, *let us,* as St Paul saith, *offer always to God the host or sacrifice of praise by Christ, that is, the fruit of the*

[Hos. vi. 1.] De Bapt. Lib. i. cap. iii.

Heb. xiii. [15.]

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q to his] to his own 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
r he] ye 1623.
s you] ye 1563.
t you] ye 1563.

1 [Δεῖ οὖν τὸν προσίοντα τῷ σώματι καὶ τῷ αἵματι τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εἰς ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντος καὶ ἐγερθέντος, μὴ μόνον καθαρεύειν ἀπὸ παντὸς μολυσμοῦ σαρκὸς καὶ πνεύματος, ἵνα μὴ εἰς κρίμα φάγῃ καὶ πίῃ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐνεργῶς δεικνύειν τὴν μνήμην τοῦ ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἀποθανόντος καὶ ἐγερθέντος, ἐν τῷ νενεκρῶσθαι μὲν τῇ ἁμαρτίᾳ καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ ἑαυτῷ, ζῆν δὲ τῷ Θεῷ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ τῷ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν... Basil. de Baptismo. Lib. I. cap. 3. sub finem: Opp. Tom. II. p. 651. E.]

2 [See Suicer's Thesaur. *sub* εὐχαριστία.]

Psal. li. [23.] *lips which confess his name.* For, as David singeth, *he that offereth to God thanks and praise, honoureth him.* But how few be there of thankful persons, in comparison to the unthankful! Lo, ten lepers in the gospel were healed, and but one only returned to give thanks for his health. Yea, happy it were, if among forty communicants we could see two unfeignedly give[u] thanks. So unkind we be, so oblivious we be, so proud beggars we be, that partly we care not for our own commodity, partly we know not our duty to God, and chiefly we will not confess all that we receive. Yea, and if we be forced by God's power to do it, yet we handle it so coldly, so drily, that our lips praise him, but our hearts dispraise him; our tongues bless him, but our life curseth him; our words worship him, but our works dishonour him. O let us therefore learn to give God here thanks aright, and so to agnize his exceeding graces poured upon us, that they being shut up in the treasure-house of our heart, may in due time and season in our life and conversation appear to the glorifying of his holy name.

Luke xvii. [17.]

Furthermore, for newness of life, it is to be noted, that [1 Cor. x. 17.] St Paul writeth, *That we being many, are one bread and one body; for all be partakers of one bread:* declaring thereby not only our communion with Christ, but that unity also, wherein they that eat at this table should be knit together. For by dissension, vain-glory, ambition, strife, envying, contempt, hatred, or malice, they should not be dissevered; but so joined by the bond of love in one mystical body, as the corns of that bread in one loaf. In respect of which strait knot of charity the true Christians in the tender time of Christ's church[x] called this Supper, 'Love[1].' As if they should say, none ought to sit down there that were out of love and charity, who bore[y] grudge and vengeance in his heart, who also did not profess his kind affection by some charitable relief for some part of the congregation. And this was their practice. O heavenly banquet then so used! O godly guests, who so esteemed this feast! But O wretched creatures that we be at these days, who be without reconci-

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[u] give] to give 1563.

[x] tender time of Christ's church] primitive church 1623.

[y] bore] bare 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[1 See S. Ignat. Epist. ad Smyrn. c. 8.]

liation of our brethren whom we have offended; without satisfying them whom we have caused to fall; without any kind of[z] thought or compassion toward them whom we might easily relieve; without any conscience of slander, disdain, misreport, division, rancour, or inward bitterness. Yea, being accumbered with the cloaked hatred of Cain; with the long covered[a] malice of Esau; with the dissembled falsehood of Joab; dare ye[b] presume to come up to these sacred and fearful mysteries? O man, whither rushest thou unadvisedly? It is a table of peace, and thou art ready to fight. It is a table of singleness, and thou art imagining mischief. It is a table of quietness, and thou art given to debate. It is a table of pity, and thou art unmerciful. Dost thou neither fear God, the maker of this feast; nor reverence his Christ, the refection and meat; nor regardest his spouse, his beloved[c] guest; nor weighest thine own conscience, which is sometime thine inward accuser? Wherefore, O man, tender thine own salvation; examine and try thy good-will and love towards the children of God, the members of Christ, the heirs of the heavenly heritage; yea, towards the image of God, the excellent creature thine own soul. If thou have offended, now be reconciled. If thou hast[d] caused any to stumble in the way of God, now set them up again. If thou have disquieted thy brother, now pacify him. If thou have wronged him, now relieve him. If thou have defrauded him, now restore to him. If thou have nourished spite, now embrace friendship. If thou have fostered hatred and malice, now openly shew thy love and charity; yea, be prest and ready to procure thy neighbour's health of soul, wealth, commodity[e], and pleasures[f], as thine own. Deserve not the heavy and dreadful burden of God's displeasure for thine[g] evil will towards[h] thy neighbour, so unreverently to approach to this table of the Lord.

Gen. iv. [8.] Gen. xxvii. [41.] 2 Sam. iii. [27.]

Last of all, as there is here "the mystery of peace[1]," Chrysost. ad Popul. Ant. Hom. 60.

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z of] *wanting* 1563.
a covered] coloured 1623.
b ye] yet 1563.
c beloved] well-beloved 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
d hast] have 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
e commodity] commodities 1595.
f pleasures] pleasure 1563.
g thine] thy 1587, 1595.
h towards] toward 1587, 1595.

1 ["Hoc enim mysterium non a rapina tantum, verum et ab omni vel tenui inimicitia purum esse penitus jubet; est enim pacis myste-

and the sacrament of Christian society, whereby we understand what sincere love ought to be betwixt[i] the true communicants; so here be the tokens of pureness and innocency of life, whereby we may perceive that we ought to purge our own soul from all uncleanness, iniquity, and wickedness, "lest, when we receive the mystical bread," as Origen[2] saith, "we eat it in an unclean place, that is, in a soul defiled and polluted with sin." In Moses' law, the man that did eat of the sacrifice of thanksgiving, with his uncleanness upon him, should be destroyed from his people. And shall we think that the wicked and sinful person shall be excusable at the table of the Lord? We both read in St Paul, that the church at[k] Corinth was scourged of the Lord, for misusing the Lord's Supper; and we may plainly see Christ's church these many years miserably vexed and oppressed, for the horrible profanation of the same. Wherefore let us all, universal and singular, behold our own manners and lives to amend them. Yea, now at the least[l] let us call ourselves to an account, that it may grieve us of our former evil conversation, that we may hate sin; that we may sorrow and mourn for our offences; that we may with tears pour them out before God; that we may with sure trust desire and crave the salve of his mercy, bought and purchased with the blood of his dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, to heal our deadly wounds withal. For surely, if they do not with earnest repentance cleanse the filthy stomach of our soul, it must needs come to pass[3], that "as wholesome meat received into a raw stomach corrupteth and marreth all, and is the

In Levit. cap. xxiii. Hom. 14.

[Numb. ix. 10.]

1 Cor. xi. [30.] Luke xvii. [1.]

Chrysost. ad Popul. Ant. Hom. 61.

[i] betwixt] between 1587, 1595.
[k] at] of 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[l] least] last 1595.

rium." Ad Popul. Antioch. Hom. LX.: Opp. Tom. v. col. 334, A: ed. Paris. 1556. Cf. Tom. VII. p. 517, D; ed. Benedict.]

[2] ["... ut cum acciperis panem mysticum in loco mundo manduces eum; hoc est, ne in anima contaminata et peccatis polluta, Dominici corporis sacramenta percipias." Homil. XIII. in Levit.: Opp. Tom. II. col. 257, E; ed. Paris. 1733.]

[3] ["Et nec temere nec a casu huc conveniat, sed cum metu et timore. Sicut autem cibus cum sit nutritius, si a crudo sumatur omnia perdit et corumpit et fit morbi causa; ita scilicet et horrenda mysteria." Ad Pop. Antioch. Homil. LXI.; Tom. v. col. 339, D; ed. Latin. Cf. Tom. XII. p. 169, C; ed. Benedict.]

cause of further sickness; so shall we eat this healthsome[m] bread and drink this cup to our eternal destruction." This we, and not other, must throughly[n] examine, and not lightly look over ourselves, not other men; our own conscience, not other men's lives: which we ought to do uprightly, truly, and with just correction. "O," saith Chrysostom[1], "let no Judas resort to this table; let no covetous person approach. If any be a disciple, let him be present. For Christ saith, *With my disciples I make my passover.*" Why cried the deacon in the primitive church[2], "If any be holy, let him draw near"? Why did they celebrate these mysteries, their choir-door being shut? Why were the public penitents and learners in religion commanded at this time to avoid? Was it not because this table received no unholy, unclean, or sinful guests? Wherefore if servants dare not presume to an earthly master's table, whom they have offended, let us take heed we come not with our sins unexamined into this presence[o] of our Lord and Judge. If they be worthy blame which kiss the prince's hand with a filthy and[p] unclean mouth, shalt thou be blameless, which with a filthy[q] stinking soul, full of covetousness, fornication, drunkenness, pride, full of wretched cogitations and thoughts, dost[r] breathe out iniquity and uncleanness on the bread and cup of the Lord?

Ad Popul. Ant. Hom. 60.

Matt. xxvi. [18.]

Thus have you heard, how you should come reverently and decently to the table of the Lord, having the knowledge out of his word, of the thing itself and the fruits thereof; bringing a true and constant faith, the root and well-spring of all newness of life; as well in praising God and[s] loving our neighbour, as purging our own conscience from filthiness. So that neither the ignorance of the thing shall cause us to contemn it, nor unfaithfulness make us void of fruit, nor sin

Epilog.

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[m] healthsome] wholesome 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[n] throughly] thoroughly 1623.
[o] presence] present 1595.
[p] filthy and] filthy hand and 1587, 1595.
[q] filthy] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[r] dost] doth 1563.
[s] and] *wanting* 1563.

[1] ["Nullus itaque Judas assistat, nullus avarus. Si quis est discipulus, adsit. Nam tales mensa non suscipit, ait enim, 'Cum discipulis meis facis pascha.'" Ibid. Homil. LX.; Tom. V. col. 333, A; Cf. Tom. VII. p. 789, A; ed. Benedict.]

[2] [See Bingham, Antiq. Book x. ch. v. § 7, 8.]

and iniquity procure us God's plagues: but shall by faith, in knowledge and amendment of life in faith, be here so united to Christ our head in his mysteries, to our comfort, that after we shall have full fruition of him indeed, to our everlasting joy and eternal life: to the which he bring us that died for us, and redeemed us, Jesus Christ the righteous; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one true and eternal God, be all praise, honour, and dominion, for ever. Amen.

AN HOMILY

CONCERNING

THE COMING DOWN OF THE HOLY GHOST, AND THE MANIFOLD GIFTS OF THE SAME.

FOR WHITSUNDAY.

BEFORE we come to the declaration of the great and manifold gifts of the Holy Ghost, wherewith the church of God hath been evermore replenished, it shall first be needful briefly to expound unto you whereof this feast of Pentecost, or Whitsuntide, had his first beginning. You shall therefore understand, that the feast of Pentecost was always kept the fifty[a] day after Easter; a great and solemn feast among the Jews, wherein they did celebrate the memorial of their deliverance out of Egypt, and also the memorial of the publishing of the law, which was given unto them in the mount Sinai upon that day. It was first ordained and commanded to be kept holy, not by any mortal man, but by the mouth of the Lord himself, as we read in Levit. xxiii. [16] and Deut. xvi. [9]. The place appointed for the observation thereof was Jerusalem, where was great recourse of people from all parts of the world; as may well appear in the second chapter of the Acts, wherein mention is made of Parthians, Medes, Elamites, inhabiters of Mesopotamia, inhabiters of Jewry, Cappadocia, Pontus, Asia, Phrygia, Pamphilia, and divers other such places; whereby we may also partly gather, what great and royal solemnity was commonly used in[b] that feast. Now as this was given in commandment to the Jews in the old law, so did our Saviour Christ as it were confirm the same in the time of the gospel, ordaining, after a sort, a new Pentecost for his disciples: namely, when he sent down the Holy Ghost visibly in form[c] of cloven tongues like fire, and gave them power to speak in such sort, that every one might hear them, and also understand them in his own language. Which miracle, that it might be had in perpetual remembrance, the church hath thought good to solemnize

[Acts ii. 1, 9, 11.]

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[a] fifty] fiftieth 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[b] in] at 1587, 1595.
[c] in form] in the form 1587, 1595.

and keep holy this day, commonly called Whitsunday. And here is to be noted, that as the law was given to the Jews in the mount Sinai, the fifty[d] day after Easter; so was the preaching of the gospel, through the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, given to the apostles in the mount Sion, the fifty[d] day after Easter. And hereof this feast hath his name, to be called Pentecost, even of the number of the days. For, as St Luke writeth in the Acts of the Apostles, when *fifty days were come to an end, the disciples being altogether with one accord in one place,* the Holy Ghost came[e] suddenly among them, and *sate upon each of them, like as it had been cloven tongues of fire.* Which thing was undoubtedly done, to teach the apostles, and all other men, that it is he which[f] giveth eloquence and utterance in preaching the gospel; that it is he which openeth the mouth to declare the mighty works of God; that it is he which engendereth a burning zeal towards God's word, and giveth all men a tongue; yea, a fiery tongue, so that they may boldly and cheerfully profess the truth in the face of the whole world, as Isaiah was endued with this Spirit. *The Lord,* saith Isaiah, *gave me a learned and a skilful tongue, so that I might know to raise up them that are fallen with the word.* The prophet David crieth to have this gift, saying, *Open thou my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise.* For our Saviour Christ also in the gospel saith to his disciples, *It is not you that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which is within you.* All which testimonies of holy Scripture do sufficiently declare, that the mystery in the tongues betokeneth the preaching of the gospel, and the open confession of the Christian faith, in all them that are possessed with the Holy Ghost. So that if any man be a dumb Christian, not professing his faith openly, but cloaking and colouring himself for fear of danger in time to come, he giveth men occasion, justly, and with good conscience, to doubt lest he have not the grace of the Holy Ghost within him, because he is tongue-tied, and doth not speak. Thus then have ye heard the first institution of this feast of Pentecost, or Whitsuntide, as well in the old law among the Jews, as also in the time of the gospel among the Christians.

Acts ii. 1—4.]

Isai. l. [4.]

Psal. li. [15.]

Matt. x. [20.]

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[d] fifty] fiftieth 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[e] came] came to 1563.

[f] which] that 1587, 1595.

Now let us consider what the Holy Ghost is, and how consequently he worketh his miraculous works towards mankind. The Holy Ghost is a spiritual and divine substance, the third Person in the deity, distinct from the Father and the Son, and yet proceeding from them both: which thing to be true both the creed of Athanasius beareth witness, and may be also easily proved by the most plain testimonies of God's holy word. When Christ was baptized of John in the river Jordan, we read that the Holy Ghost came down in form of a dove, and that the Father thundered from heaven, saying, *This is my dear and well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Where note three divers and distinct persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; which all notwithstanding are not three Gods, but one God. Likewise, when Christ did first institute and ordain the sacrament of baptism, he sent his disciples into the whole world, willing them to baptize all nations, *In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.* And in another place he saith, *I will pray unto my Father, and he shall give you another Comforter.* Again, *When the Comforter shall come, whom I will send from my Father,* &c. These and such other places of the New Testament do so plainly and evidently confirm the distinction of the Holy Ghost from the other persons in the Trinity, that no man possibly can[g] doubt thereof, unless he will blaspheme the everlasting truth of God's word. As for his proper nature and substance, it is altogether one with God the Father and God the Son, that is to say, spiritual, eternal, uncreated, incomprehensible, almighty; to be short, he is even God and Lord everlasting. Therefore he is called the Spirit of the Father; therefore he is said to proceed from the Father and the Son; and therefore he was equally joined with them in the commission that the apostles had to baptize all nations.

Matt. iii.[17.]

Matt. xxviii.[19.]

John xiv.[16.]

John xv.[26.]

But that this may appear more sensibly[h] to the eyes of all men, it shall be requisite to come to the other part, namely, to the wonderful and heavenly works of the Holy Ghost, which plainly declare unto the world his mighty and divine power. First, it is evident that he did wonderfully govern and direct the hearts of the patriarchs and prophets in old time, illuminating their minds with the knowledge of

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g can] *wanting* 1563.

h sensibly] sensible 1582.

the true Messiah, and giving them utterance to prophesy of things that should come to pass long time after. For, as
2 Pet. i. [21.] St Peter witnesseth, *the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but the holy men of God spake as they were moved inwardly by the Holy Ghost.* And of Zacha-
Luke i. [67.] rias the high priest it is said in the gospel, that *he being full of the Holy Ghost, prophesied and praised God.* So did also Simeon, Anna, Mary, and divers other, to the great wonder and admiration of all men. Moreover, was not the Holy Ghost a mighty worker in the conception and the
Matt. i. [18.] nativity of Christ our Saviour? St Matthew saith, that the blessed virgin *was found with child of the Holy Ghost,* before Joseph and she came together. And the angel Gabriel did expressly tell her, that it should come to pass, saying,
Luke i. [35.] *The Holy Ghost shall come upon thee, and the power of the most High shall overshadow thee.* A marvellous matter, that a woman should conceive and bear a child without the knowledge of man. But where the Holy Ghost worketh, there nothing is unpossible, as may further also appear by the inward regeneration and sanctification of mankind. When
John iii. [4, 5.] Christ said to Nicodemus, *Unless a man be born anew of water and the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God,* he was greatly amazed in his mind, and began to reason with Christ, demanding *how a man might be born which was old? Can he enter,* saith he, *into his mother's womb again, and so be born anew?* Behold a lively pattern of a fleshly and carnal man. He had little or no intelligence of the Holy Ghost, and therefore he goeth bluntly to work, and asketh how this thing were possible to be true: whereas otherwise if he had known the great power of the Holy Ghost in this behalf, that it is he which inwardly worketh the regeneration and new birth of mankind, he would never have marvelled at Christ's words, but would have rather taken[1] occasion thereby to praise and glorify God. For as there are three several and sundry Persons in the deity; so have they three several and sundry offices proper unto each of them. The Father to create, the Son to redeem, the Holy Ghost to sanctify and regenerate. Whereof the last, the more it is hid from our understanding, the more it ought to move all men to wonder at the secret

[1] have rather taken] rather take 1623.

and mighty working of God's holy Spirit, which is within us. For it is the Holy Ghost, and no other thing, that doth quicken the minds of men, stirring up good and godly motions in their hearts, which are agreeable to the will and commandment of God, such as otherwise of their own crooked and perverse nature they should never have. *That which is born of the flesh,* saith Christ, *is flesh, and*[k] *that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.* As who should say, man of his own nature is fleshly and carnal, corrupt and naught; sinful and disobedient to God; without any spark of goodness in him, without any virtuous or godly motion; only given to evil thoughts and wicked deeds. As for the works of the Spirit, the fruits of faith, charitable and godly motions, if he have any at all in him, they proceed only of the Holy Ghost, who is the only[l] worker of our sanctification, and maketh us new men in Christ Jesu[m]. Did not God's holy Spirit miraculously work in the child David, when of a poor shepherd he became a princelike[n] prophet? Did not God's holy Spirit miraculously work in Matthew, *sitting at the receipt of custom,* when of a proud publican he became an humble and lowly evangelist? And who can choose but marvel to consider, that Peter should become of a simple fisher a chief and mighty apostle: Paul of a cruel and bloody persecutor, a faithful disciple of Christ, to teach the Gentiles?

John iii. [6.]

1 Sam. xvii. [12.]

Matt. ix. [9.]

Such is the power of the Holy Ghost to regenerate men, and as it were to bring them forth anew, so that they shall be nothing like the men that they were before. Neither doth he think it sufficient inwardly to work the spiritual and new birth of man, unless he do also dwell and abide in him. *Know ye not,* saith St Paul, *that ye are the temple of God, and that his Spirit dwelleth in you? Know ye not that your*[o] *bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost, which is within you?* Again he saith, *You are not in the flesh, but in the spirit.* For why? *The Spirit of God dwelleth in you.* To this agreeth the doctrine of St John, writing on this wise: *The anointing which ye have received*

1 Cor. iii. [16; vi. 19.]

Rom. viii. [9.]

1 John ii. [27.]

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[k] That which is born of the flesh, saith Christ, is flesh, and] *wanting* 1623.

[l] is the only] only is the 1587, 1595.

[m] Jesu] Jesus 1623.

[n] princelike] princely 1623.

[o] your] our 1595.

1 Works of Th. H. S.

—he meaneth the[p] Holy Ghost—*dwelleth in you.* And the doctrine of Peter saith the same, who hath these words: *The Spirit of glory and of God resteth upon you.* O what comfort[q] is this to the heart of a true Christian, to think that the Holy Ghost dwelleth within him! *If God be with us,* as the apostle saith, *who can be against us?*

Pet. iv. 4.]

om. viii. 1.]

O but how shall I know that the Holy Ghost is within me? some man[r] perchance will say. Forsooth, as the tree is known by his fruit, so is also the Holy Ghost. The fruits of the Holy Ghost, according to the mind of St Paul, are these: *love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, temperance, &c.* Contrariwise, the *deeds of the flesh are these: adultery, fornication, uncleanness, wantonness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, debate, emulation, wrath, contention, sedition, heresy, envy, murder, drunkenness, gluttony, and such like.*

al. v. [19—1.]

Here is now that glass wherein thou must behold thyself, and discern whether thou have the Holy Ghost within thee, or the spirit of the flesh. If thou see that thy works be virtuous and good, consonant to the prescript rule of God's word, savouring and tasting not of the flesh, but of the Spirit, then assure thyself that thou art endued with the Holy Ghost: otherwise, in thinking well of thyself, thou dost nothing else but deceive thyself. The Holy Ghost doth always declare himself by his fruitful and gracious gifts, namely, by *the word of wisdom;* by *the word of knowledge,* which is the understanding of the Scriptures; *by faith; in doing of miracles; by healing* them that are diseased; by *prophecy,* which is the declaration of God's mysteries; by *discerning of spirits; diversities*[s] *of tongues; interpretation of tongues,* and so forth. All which gifts, as they proceed from one Spirit, and are severally given to man according to the measurable distribution of the Holy Ghost; even so do they bring men, and not without good cause, into a wonderful admiration of God's divine power. Who will not marvel at that which is written in the Acts of the Apostles, to hear their bold confession before the council at Jerusalem; and to consider that *they went away with joy* and gladness, *rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer rebukes*

Cor. xii. —11.]

cts v. [29, 1.]

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[p] the] of the 1587, 1595.
[q] comfort] a comfort 1563.
[r] man] men 1595.
[s] diversities] diversity 1595.

and checks *for the name* and faith *of Christ Jesus?* This was the mighty work of the Holy Ghost, who, because he giveth patience and joyfulness of heart in temptation and affliction, hath therefore worthily obtained this name in holy Scripture, to be called a Comforter. Who will not also marvel to read the learned and heavenly sermons of Peter and the disciples[t], considering that they were never brought up in school of learning, but called even from their nets, to supply rooms of apostles? This was likewise the mighty work of the Holy Ghost, who, because he doth instruct the hearts of the simple in the true knowledge of God and his holy[u] word, is most justly termed by this name and title, to be *the Spirit of truth.* Eusebius[1] in his Ecclesiastical History telleth a strange story of a certain learned and subtle philosopher, who being an extreme adversary to Christ and his doctrine, could by no kind of learning be converted to the faith, but was able to withstand all the arguments that could be brought against him, with little or no labour. At length there started up a poor simple man, of small wit and less knowledge, one that was reputed among the learned as an idiot; and he on God's name would needs take in hand to dispute with this proud philosopher. The bishops and other learned men standing by were marvellously abashed at the matter, thinking that by his doings they should be all confounded and put to open shame. He notwithstanding goeth on, and beginning in the name of the Lord Jesus, brought the philosopher to such point in the end, contrary to all men's expectation, that he could not choose but acknowledge the power of God in his words, and to give place to the truth. Was not this a miraculous work[x], that one silly soul, of no learning, should do that which many bishops of great knowledge and understanding were never able to bring to pass? So true is the[y] saying of Bede[2]: "Where the Holy Ghost doth instruct and teach, there is no delay at all in learning." Much more might here be spoken of the

John xiv. [17.] Lib. xi. cap. iii.

Hom. 9. sup. Lucam.

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[t] the disciples] the other disciples 1563.

[u] holy] *wanting* 1623.

[x] work] works 1563.

[y] the] that 1563.

[1] [Vid. Histor. Tripartit. Lib. XI. c. 3; Sozomen. Hist. Eccl. Lib. I. c. 18.]

[2] ["Nulla in discendo mora est ubi Spiritus Sanctus doctor adest." Apud Langii Florileg. Tom. II. col. 2625. ed. Lugdun. 1681.]

manifold gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost, most excellent and wonderful in our eyes: but to make a long discourse through all, the shortness of time will not serve. And seeing ye have heard the chiefest, ye may easily conceive[z] and judge of the rest.

Now were it expedient to discuss this question; whether all they which boast and brag that they have the Holy Ghost, do truly challenge this unto themselves, or no? Which doubt, because it is necessary and profitable, shall, God willing, be dissolved in the next part of this homily. In the mean season, let us, as we are most bound, give hearty thanks to God the Father, and his Son Jesus Christ, for sending down this[a] Comforter into the world; humbly beseeching him so to work in our hearts by the power of this[b] Holy Spirit, that we being regenerate and newly born again in all goodness, righteousness, sobriety, and truth, may in the end be made partakers of everlasting life in his heavenly kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY CONCERNING THE HOLY GHOST, DISSOLVING THIS DOUBT: WHETHER ALL MEN RIGHTLY CHALLENGE TO THEMSELVES THE HOLY GHOST, OR NO?

John xiv. [16]; xv. [6.]

OUR Saviour Christ departing out of the world unto his Father, promised his disciples to send down another Comforter, that should continue with them for ever, and direct them into all truth. Which thing to be faithfully and truly performed, the Scriptures do sufficiently bear witness. Neither must we think that this Comforter was either promised, or else given, only to the apostles, but also to the universal church of Christ, dispersed through[c] the whole world. For unless the Holy Ghost had been always present, governing and preserving the church from the beginning, it could never have sustained so many and great[d] brunts of affliction and persecution, with so little damage and harm as it hath. And the words of Christ are most plain in this behalf, saying,

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[z] conceive] perceive 1595.
[a] this] his 1623.
[b] this] his 1595.
[c] through] thorough 1589, 1595.
[d] and great] and so great 1563.

that *the Spirit of truth should abide with them for ever, that he would be with them always* (he meaneth by grace, virtue, and power) *even to the world's end.* Also in the prayer that he made to his Father a little before his death, he maketh intercession, not only for himself and his apostles, but indifferently *for all them that should believe in him through their words,* that is, to wit, for his whole church. Again, St Paul saith, *If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, the same is not his.* Also in the words following: *We have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father.* Hereby then it is evident and plain to all men, that the Holy Ghost was given, not only to the apostles, but also to the whole body of Christ's congregation, although not in like form and majesty as he came down at the feast of Pentecost.

John xiv. [17.] Matt. xxviii. [20.] John xvii. [20, 21.] Rom. viii. [9, 15.]

But now herein standeth the controversy, Whether all men do justly arrogate to themselves the Holy Ghost, or no? The bishops of Rome have for a long time made a sore challenge thereunto, reasoning for themselves after this sort: 'The Holy Ghost,' say they, 'was promised to the church, and never forsaketh the church. But we are the chief heads and the principal part of the church, therefore we have the Holy Ghost for ever: and whatsoever things we decree are undoubted verities, and oracles of the Holy Ghost.' That ye may perceive the weakness of this argument, it is needful to teach you, first, what the true church of Christ is, and then to confer the church of Rome therewith, to discern how well they agree together.

The true church is an universal congregation or fellowship of God's faithful and elect people, *built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone.* And it hath always three notes or marks, whereby it is known: pure and sound doctrine; the sacraments ministered according to Christ's holy institution; and the right use of ecclesiastical discipline. This description of the church is agreeable both to the Scriptures of God, and also to the doctrine of the ancient fathers, so that none may justly find fault therewith. Now if ye[e] will compare this with the church of Rome,—not as it was in[f] the beginning, but as it is presently, and hath been for the space of nine hundred years and odd—you shall well perceive the state thereof to be so

Ephes. ii. [20.]

[e] ye] you 1587, 1595. [f] in] at 1563.

far wide from the nature of the true church, that nothing can be more. For neither are they *built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets*, retaining the sound and pure doctrine of Christ Jesu; neither yet do they order either[g] the sacraments or else the ecclesiastical keys, in such sort as he did first institute and ordain them: but have so intermingled their own traditions and inventions, by chopping and changing, by adding and plucking away, that now they may seem to be converted into a new guise. Christ commended to his church a sacrament of his body and blood: they have changed it into a sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Christ did minister to his apostles, and the apostles to other men indifferently under both kinds: they have robbed the lay-people[h] of the cup, saying, that for them one kind is sufficient. Christ ordained no other element to be used in baptism, but only water, whereunto "when the word is joined, it is made," as St Augustine saith[2], "a full and perfect sacrament:" they being wiser in their own conceit than Christ, think it not well nor orderly done, unless they use conjuration; unless they hallow the water; unless there be oil, salt, spittle, tapers, and such other dumb ceremonies, serving to no use, contrary to the plain rule of St Paul, who willeth all things to be done in the church *unto edification*. Christ ordained the authority of the keys to excommunicate notorious sinners, and to absolve them which are truly penitent: they abuse this power at their own pleasure, as well in cursing the godly with bell, book, and candles[i], as also in absolving the reprobate, which are known to be unworthy of any Christian society: whereof he[k] that lust to see examples, let them[l] search their lives. To be short, look what our Saviour Christ pronounced of the scribes and Pharisees[m] in the Gospel: the same may be boldly and with safe conscience pronounced of the bishops of Rome; namely, that they have forsaken, and daily do forsake, the commandments of God, to erect and set up their own constitutions. Which thing being true, as all they which have any light of

Augustine.

1 Cor. xiv. [5.]

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g either] *wanting* 1623.
h lay-people] laymen 1595.
i candles] candle 1563.
k he] they 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
l them] him 1563.
m Pharisees] the Pharisees 1563.

2 ["Detrahe verbum et quid est aqua nisi aqua? Accedit verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum, etiam ipsum tanquam visibile verbum." Tractat. LXXX. in Johan.: Opp. Tom. III. p. 702, A.]

God's word must needs confess, we may well conclude, according to the rule of Augustine, that the bishops of Rome and their adherents are not the true church of Christ, much less, then, to be taken as chief heads and rulers of the same. "Whosoever," saith he[1], "do dissent from the Scriptures concerning the head, although they be found in all places where the church is appointed, yet are they not in the church." A plain place, concluding directly against the church of Rome. August. contr. Petil. Donat. Ep. cap. 4.

Where is now the Holy Ghost, which they so stoutly do claim to themselves? Where is now the spirit of truth, that will not suffer them in any wise to err? If it be possible to be there, where the true church is not, then is it at Rome: otherwise it is but a vain brag, and nothing else. St Paul, as ye have heard before, saith, *If any man have not the spirit of Christ, the same is not his.* And by turning the words, it may be as[n] truly said, If any man be not of Christ, the same hath not his[o] spirit. Now to discern who are truly his, and who not, we have this rule given us; that *his sheep do always hear his voice.* And St John saith, *He that is of God heareth God's word.* Whereof it followeth, that the popes, in not hearing Christ's voice, as they ought to do, but preferring their own decrees before the express word of God, do plainly argue to the world that they are not of Christ, nor yet possessed with his Spirit. [Rom. viii. 9.] John x. [3.] John viii. [47.]

But here they will allege for themselves, that there are divers necessary points not expressed in holy Scripture, which were left to the revelation of the Holy Ghost; who being given to the church, according to Christ's promise, hath taught many things from time to time, which the apostles could not then bear. To this we may easily answer by the plain words of Christ, teaching us, that the proper office of the Holy Ghost is, not to institute and bring in new ordinances, contrary to his doctrine before taught; but to expound[p] and declare those things which he had before taught, so that they[q] might be well and truly understood. John xvi. [7.]

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[n] as] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[o] his] the 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[p] to expound] shall come 1623.
[q] they] it 1623.

[1] ["Quicunque de ipso capite ab scripturis sanctis dissentiunt, etiamsi in omnibus locis inveniantur in quibus ecclesia designata est, non sunt in ecclesia." Contra Donatist. (de Unitate Eccles.) cap. 7: Opp. Tom. IX. p. 341, C.]

John xvi. [13.] *When the Holy Ghost,* saith he, *shall come, he shall lead you into all truth.* What truth doth he mean? Any other than he himself had before expressed in his word? No. For he saith, *He shall take of mine, and shew it*[r] *unto you.* John xvi. [15.] Again, *he shall bring you in remembrance of all things that I have told you.* It is not then the duty and part of any Christian, under pretence of the Holy Ghost, to bring in his own dreams and phantasies into the church: but he must diligently provide that his doctrine and decrees be agreeable to Christ's holy Testament; otherwise, in making the Holy Ghost the author thereof, he doth blaspheme and belie the Holy Ghost to his own condemnation.

Now to leave their doctrine, and come to other points. What shall we think or judge[s] of the pope's intolerable [James iv. 6.] pride? The Scripture saith, that *God resisteth the proud, and sheweth grace to*[t] *the humble.* Also it pronounceth Matt. v. [3.] them blessed *which are poor in spirit,* promising that *they which humble themselves shall be exalted.* And Christ our Matt. xi. [29.] Saviour willeth all his to learn of him, *because he is humble and meek.* As for pride, St Gregory saith[1], 'it is the root of all mischief.' And St Augustine's judgment is this[2], that 'it maketh men devils.' Can any man then, which either hath or shall read the popes' lives, justly say that they had the Holy Ghost within them? First, as touching that they will be termed universal bishops and heads of all Christian churches through the world; we have the judgment of Lib. iii. Epist. 76. 78. Gregory[3] expressly against them; who, writing to Mauritius the emperor, condemneth John, bishop of Constantinople, in that behalf, calling him 'the prince of pride,' 'Lucifer's Serm. 3. de Resur. Dom. successor,' and 'the forerunner of Antichrist.' St Bernard[4] also agreeing thereunto, saith, "What greater pride can there be, than that one man should prefer his own judgment

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r it] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
s think or judge] judge or think 1563.
t to] unto 1587, 1595.

1 ["... Qui initium omnis peccati scit esse superbiam." Epist. Lib. v. Ep. 43: Opp. Tom. II. col. 773, C.]

2 ["Et si diabolum fueris imitatus, quia ille superbus exstitit et impius adversus Deum, eris filius diaboli imitando." Opp. Tom. IV. 2524.]

3 [Cf. Epist. Lib. v. ep. 43; col. 773, B: Lib. v. ep. 18; col. 742, E: ibid. col. 751, C.]

4 ["Et quæ major superbia quam ut unus homo toti congregationi judicium suum præferat, tanquam ipse solus habeat spiritum Dei." De Resurrectione Domin. Serm. III.; Opp. col. 174, C.]

before the whole congregation, as though he only had the Spirit of God?" And Chrysostom[1] pronounceth a terrible sentence against them, affirming plainly, "that whosoever seeketh to be chief in earth shall find confusion in heaven; and that he which striveth for the supremacy shall not be reputed among the servants of Christ." Again he saith[2], "To desire a good work, it is good; but to covet the chief degree of honour, it is mere vanity." Do not these places sufficiently convince their outrageous pride, in usurping to themselves a superiority above all other, as well ministers and[u] bishops, as kings also and emperors? But as the lion is known by his claws, so let us learn to know these men by their deeds. What shall we say of him that made the noble king Dandalus[3] to be tied by the neck with a chain, and to lie flat down before his table, there to gnaw bones like a dog? Shall we think that he had God's holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was pope Clement the sixth. What shall we say of him that proudly and contemptuously trod Frederic the emperor under his feet[4], applying the[x] verse of the psalm unto himself, *Thou shalt go upon the lion and the adder, the young lion and the dragon thou shalt tread under thy foot?* Shall we say that he had God's holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was pope Alexander the third. What shall we say of him that armed and animated the son against the father, causing him to be taken, and to be cruelly famished to death, contrary to the law both of God, and also of nature? Shall we say that he had God's holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was pope Paschal the second[5]. What shall we say of him that came into his popedom like a fox, that

Dialog. Lib. iii.

Chrysost. sup. Matt.

Sabellic Enn. 9. Lib. vii.

Psal. xci. [13.]

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[u] and] as 1595. [x] the] that 1563.

[1] ["Quicumque ergo desiderat primatum cœlestem, sequatur humilitatem terrestrem: quicumque autem desiderat primatum in terra inveniet confusionem in cœlo." Hom. in Matt. xx. 25: Opus Imperf. ad calc. Tom. VI. p. CLIII. C.]

[2] ["Et opus quidem bonum desiderare bonum est: primatum autem honores concupiscere vanitas est." Ibid. in v. 24. p. CLII. E.]

[3] [Sabellic. Rhaps. Hist. Ennead. IX. Lib. VII.: Opp. Tom. II. col. 792, ed. Basil.]

[4] [Nauclerus, Chronogr. Vol. II, fol. 195; Tübing. 1516.]

[5] [Nauclerus, ubi supr. fol. 170: Urspergens. Chron. An. 1105,

reigned like a lion, and died like a dog? Shall we say that he had God's holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was pope Boniface the eighth[1]. What shall we say of him that made Henry the emperor, with his wife and his young child, to stand at the gates of the city in the rough winter, bare-footed and bare-legged, only clothed in linsey woolsey, eating nothing from morning to night, and that for the space of three days? Shall we say that he had God's holy Spirit within him, and not rather the spirit of the devil? Such a tyrant was pope Hildebrand[2], most worthy to be called a firebrand, if we shall term him as he hath best deserved. Many other examples might here be alleged; as of pope Joan the harlot[3], that was delivered of a child in the high street, going solemnly in procession; of pope Julius[4] the second, that wilfully cast St Peter's keys into the river Tiber; of pope Urban the sixth[5], that caused five cardinals to be put in sacks, and cruelly drowned; of pope Sergius the third[6], that[y] persecuted the dead body of Formosus his predecessor, when it had been buried eight years; of pope John[7], the fourteenth of that name, who having his enemy delivered into his hands, caused him first to be stripped stark naked, his beard to be shaven, and to be hanged up a whole day by the hair, then to be set upon an ass with his face backward towards the tail, to be carried round about the city is despite, to be miserably beaten with rods, last of all to be thrust out of his country, and to be banished for ever.

But to conclude and make an end, ye shall briefly take this short lesson: wheresoever ye find the spirit of arrogancy and pride, the spirit of envy, hatred, contention, cruelty, murder, extortion, witchcraft, necromancy, &c. assure your-

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[y] that] which 1595.

[1] [Platin. Vit. Pontific. p. 248, ed. Colon. 1600.]

[2] [Sabell. Rhaps. Hist. Ennead. IX. Lib. III. col. 672: Schafnaburg. De rebus German., apud Script. German. Tom. I. p. 249; ed. Francof. 1583.]

[3] [Naucler. ubi supra, fol. 131: F. F. Spanheim, De Papa Femina, where all the authorities are recited.]

[4] [Osiander, Histor. Eccles. Tom. ult. p. 16; ed. Tubing. 1602, and the authorities there referred to.]

[5] [Theodoric. de Niem, de Schismate, c. 50, 51; ed. Basil. 1560.]

[6] [Platin. in Vit. Sergii. III. p. 149.]

selves that there is the spirit of the devil, and not of God; albeit they pretend outwardly to the world never so much holiness. For as the gospel teacheth us, the Spirit of Jesus is a good Spirit, an[z] holy Spirit, a sweet Spirit, a lowly Spirit, a merciful Spirit, full of charity and love, full of forgiveness and pity, not rendering evil for evil, extremity for extremity, but overcoming evil with good, and remitting all offence even from the heart. According to which rule, if any man live uprightly, of him it may safely be pronounced, that he hath the Holy Ghost within him: if not, then it is[a] a plain token that he doth usurp the name of the Holy Ghost in vain. Therefore, dearly beloved, according to the good counsel of St John, *believe not every spirit, but first try them whether they be of God or no.* 1 John iv. [1.] *Many shall come in my name,* saith Christ, and shall transform themselves into angels of light, *deceiving, if it be possible, the very elect. They shall come unto you in sheep's clothing, being inwardly cruel and ravening wolves.* Matt. xxiv. [5, 24.] They shall have an outward shew of great holiness and innocency of life, so that ye shall hardly or not at all discern them. But the rule that ye must follow is this, *To judge them by their fruits.* Matt. vii. [20.] Which if they be wicked and naught, then it is unpossible that the tree of whom they proceed should be good. Such were all the popes and prelates of Rome for the most part, as doth well appear in the story of their lives, and therefore they are worthily accounted among the number of false prophets, Luke xxi. [8.] and false Christs, which deceived the world a long while. The Lord of heaven and earth defend us from their tyranny and pride, that they never enter into his vineyard again, to the disturbance of his silly poor flock; but that they may be utterly confounded and put to flight in all part of the world: and he of his great mercy so work in all men's hearts, by the mighty power of the Holy Ghost, that the comfortable gospel of his son Christ may be truly preached, truly received, and truly followed in all places, to the beating down of sin, death, the pope, the devil, and all the kingdom of antichrist; that like[b] scattered and dispersed sheep, being at length gathered into one fold, we may in the end rest altogether in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, there to be partakers of eternal and everlasting life, through the merits and death of Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

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[z] an] a 1595. [a] it is] is it 1563. [b] like] the 1563.

AN HOMILY

FOR THE

DAYS OF ROGATION WEEK.

THAT ALL GOOD THINGS COMETH FROM GOD.

I AM purposed this day, good devout christian people, to declare unto[a] you the most deserved praise and commendation of almighty God, not only in the[b] consideration of the marvellous creation of this world, or for[c] conservation[d] and governance thereof, wherein his great power and wisdom might excellently appear to move us to honour and dread him; but most specially in consideration of his liberal and large goodness, which he daily bestoweth on us his reasonable creatures, for whose sake he made the[e] whole universal world, with all the commodities and goods therein; which his singular goodness well and diligently remembered on our part should move us, as duty is, again with hearty affection to love him, and with word and deed to praise him, and serve him all the days of our life. And to this matter, being so worthy to entreat of, and so profitable for you to hear, I trust I shall not need with much circumstance of words to stir you to give your attendance to hear what shall be said. Only I would wish your affection inflamed in secret wise within yourself, to raise up some motion of thanksgiving to the goodness of almighty God, in every such point as shall be opened by my declaration particularly unto you. For else what shall it avail us to hear and know the great goodness of God toward[f] us, to know that whatsoever is good proceedeth from him, as from the principal fountain and the only author; or to know that whatsoever is sent from him must needs be good and wholesome; if the hearing of such matter moveth us no further but to know it only? What availed[g] it the wise men of the world to have a[h] knowledge of the power and divinity of God, by the secret inspiration of him, where they did not

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[a] unto] to 1587, 1595.
[b] the] *wanting* 1563.
[c] for] for the 1563.
[d] conservation] conversation 1582,
[e] the] this 1563.
[f] toward] towards 1563, 1587, 1595.
[g] availed] availeth 1623.
[h] a] *wanting* 1623.

honour and glorify him in their knowledges as God? What praise was it to them, by the consideration of the creation of the world, to behold his goodness, and yet were not[i] thankful to him again for his creatures? What other thing deserved this blindness and forgetfulness of them at God's hands, but utter forsaking of him? And so forsaken[k] of God, they could not but fall into extreme ignorance and error. And although they much esteemed themselves in their wits and knowledge, and gloried[l] in their wisdom; yet vanished they away blindly; in their thoughts became fools, and perished in their folly. There can be none other end of such as draweth nigh to God by knowledge, and yet depart from him in unthankfulness, but utter destruction. This experience saw David in his days. For in his psalm he saith, *Behold, they which withdraw themselves from thee shall perish; for thou hast destroyed them all that are strayed from thee.* Psal. lxxiii. [27.] This experience was perceived to be true of that holy prophet Jeremy: *O Lord,* saith he, *whatsoever they be that forsake thee shall be confounded; they that depart from thee shall be written in the earth, and soon forgotten.* Jer. xvii. [13.] It profiteth not, good people, to hear the goodness of God declared unto us, if our hearts be not inflamed thereby to honour and thank him. It profited[m] not the Jews, which were God's elect people, to hear much of God, seeing that he was not received in their hearts by faith, nor thanked for his benefits bestowed upon them: their unthankfulness was the cause of their destruction. Let us eschew the manner of these before rehearsed, and follow rather the example of that holy apostle St Paul, which[n] when in a deep meditation he did behold the marvellous proceedings of almighty God, and considered his infinite goodness in the ordering of his creatures, he brast[o] out into this conclusion: *Surely,* saith he, *of him, by him, and in him, be all things.* Rom. xi. [36.] And this once pronounced, he stack[p] not still at this point, but forthwith thereupon joined to these words, *To him be glory and praise for ever. Amen.*

Upon the ground of which words of St Paul, good audience, I purpose to build my exhortation of this day unto you. Wherein I shall do my endeavour,

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[i] yet were not] not to be 1623.
[k] forsaken] forsaked 1595.
[l] gloried] glorified 1582, 1587, 1595.
[m] profited] profiteth 1563.
[n] which] who 1623.
[o] brast] burst 1623.
[p] stack] stuck 1623.

First, to prove unto you that all good things cometh[q] down unto us from above, from the Father of light.

Secondly, that Jesus Christ, his Son and our Saviour, is the mean by whom we receive his liberal goodness.

Thirdly, that in the power and virtue of the Holy Ghost we be made meet and able to receive his gifts and graces.

Which things distinctly and advisedly considered in our minds, must needs compel us in most low reverence, after our bounden duty, always to render him thanks again in some testification of our good hearts for his deserts unto us. And that the entreating of this matter in hand may be to the glory of almighty God, let us in one faith and charity call upon the Father of mercy, from whom cometh every good gift and every perfect gift, by the mediation[r] of his well-beloved Son our Saviour; that we may be assisted with the presence of his holy Spirit, and wholesomely[s] on both our[t] parts, to demean ourselves in speaking and hearing[u] to the salvation of our souls.

In the beginning of my speaking unto you, good christian people, suppose not that I do take upon me to declare unto you the excellent power, or the incomparable wisdom of almighty God, as though I would have you believe that it might be expressed unto you by words: nay, it may not[x] be thought, that that thing may be comprehended by man's words, that is incomprehensible. And too much arrogancy it were for dust and ashes to think that he can[y] worthily declare his maker. It passeth far the dark understanding of[z] wisdom of a mortal man, to speak sufficiently of that divine majesty which the angels cannot understand. We shall therefore lay apart to speak of that[a] profound and unsearchable nature of almighty God, rather acknowledging our weakness, than rashly to attempt that is above all man's capacity to compass. It shall better suffice us in low humility to reverence and dread his majesty, which we cannot comprise, than by overmuch curious searching to be overcharged with the glory. We shall rather turn our whole contemplation to answer a while his goodness towards us,

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q cometh] come 1582, 1587, 1623, came 1595.
r mediation] meditation 1563, 1595.
s wholesomly] profitably 1623.
t our] *wanting* 1623.
u hearing] hearkening 1623.
x not] *wanting* 1595.
y can] could 1563.
z of] and 1563, of the 1587, 1595.
a that] the 1623.

wherein we shall be much more profitably occupied, and more may we be bold to search. To consider this[b] great power he is of, can but make us dread and fear. To consider his high wisdom, might utterly discomfort our frailty to have any thing ado[c] with him: but in consideration of his inestimable goodness, we take good heart again to trust well unto him. By his goodness we be assured to take him for our refuge, our hope and comfort, our merciful Father, in all the course of our lives. His power and wisdom compelleth us to take him for God omnipotent, invisible, having rule in heaven and earth[d], having all things in his subjection, and will have none in council with him, nor any to ask the reason of his doing. *For he may do what liketh him, and none can resist him. For he worketh all things in his secret judgment to*[e] *his own pleasure, yea even the wicked to damnation,* saith Solomon. By the reason of this nature, he is called in[f] Scripture *consuming fire,* he is called a *terrible* and *fearful God.* Of this behalf, therefore, we may[g] have no familiarity, no access unto him; but his goodness again tempereth the rigour of his high power, and maketh us bold, and putteth us in hope that he will be conversant with us, and easy to us.

Dan. xi. [16.] Prov. xvi. [4.] Heb. xii. [29.]

It is his goodness that moveth him to say in Scripture, *It is my delight to be with the children of men.* It is his goodness that moveth him to call us unto him, to offer us his friendship and presence. It is his goodness that patiently suffereth our straying from him, and suffereth us long, to win us to repentance. It is of his goodness that we be created reasonable creatures, where else he might have made us brute beasts. It was his mercy to have us born among the number of christian people, and thereby in a much more nighness to salvation; where we might have been born, if his goodness had not been, among the paynims, clean void from God, and the hope of everlasting life. And what other thing doth his loving and gentle voice, spoken in his word, where he calleth us to his presence and friendship, but declare his goodness only, without regard of our worthiness? And what other thing doth stir him to call us to him, when we be strayed from him, to suffer us patiently,

Prov. viii. [31.]

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[b] this] the 1623.
[c] ado] to do 1623.
[d] earth] in earth 1563.
[e] to] of 1563.
[f] in] in the 1563.
[g] may] *wanting* 1623.

to win us to repentance, but only his singular goodness, no whit of our deserving? Let them all come together that be now glorified in heaven, and let us hear what answer they will make in these points afore[h] rehearsed, whether their first creation was in[i] God's goodness, or of themselves. For-
[Psal. c. 3.] sooth, David would make answer for them all, and say, *Know ye for surety, even the Lord is God; he hath made us, and not we ourselves.* If they were asked again, who should be thanked for their regeneration, for their justification, and for their salvation; whether their deserts, or God's goodness only? although in this point every one confess sufficiently the truth of this matter in his own person; yet let David answer by the mouth of them all at this time, who cannot
[Psal. cxv. 1.] choose but say, *Not to us, O Lord, not to us, but to thy name give all the thank, for thy loving mercy, and for thy truth's sake.* If we should ask again, from whence came their glorious works and deeds, which they wrought in their lives, wherewith God was so highly pleased and worshipped by them? let some other witness be brought in, to testify this matter, that in the mouth of two or three may the truth be known. Verily, that holy prophet Isaiah beareth
Isai. xxvi. [12.] record, and saith, *O Lord, it is thou of thy goodness that hast wrought all our works in us,* not we ourselves. And to uphold the truth of this matter, against all justiciaries and hypocrites, which rob almighty God of his honour, and ascribe
2 Cor. iii. [5.] it to themselves, St Paul bringeth in his belief: *We be not,* saith he, *sufficient of ourselves, as of ourselves, once to think*
Acts xvii. [28.] *any thing: but all our ableness is of God's goodness. For he it is in whom we have all our being, our living, and moving.* If ye will know furthermore where they had their gifts and sacrifices, which they offered continually in their lives to almighty God, they cannot but agree with David,
[1 Chron. xxix. 14.] where he saith, *Of thy liberal hand, O Lord, we have received that we gave unto thee.* If this holy company therefore confesseth[k] so constantly, that all the goods and graces, wherewith they were endued in soul, came of the goodness of God only; what more can be said to prove that all that is good cometh from almighty God? Is it[l] meet to think that all spiritual goodness cometh from God above only; and that other good things, either of nature or of fortune, as we

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[h] afore] before 1595.

[k] confesseth] confess 1623.

call them, cometh of any other cause? Doth God of his goodness adorn the soul with all the powers thereof, as it is; and cometh the gifts of the body, wherewith it is endued, from any other? If he doth the more, cannot he do the less? 'To justify a sinner, to new create him from a wicked person to a righteous man, is a greater act,' saith St Augustine[1], 'than to make such new heaven and earth as is already made.' We must needs agree, that whatsoever good thing is in us, of grace, of nature, or[m] of fortune, is of God only, as the only author and worker.

And yet it is not to be thought that God hath created all this whole universal world as it is, and, thus once made, hath given it up to be ruled and used after our own wits and device, and so taketh[n] no more charge therefor; as we see the shipwright, after he hath brought his ship to a perfect end, then delivereth he[o] it[p] to the mariners, and taketh[n] no more cure[q] thereof. Nay, God hath not so created the world, that he is careless of it: but he still preserveth it by his goodness, he still stayeth it in his creation. For else without his special goodness it could not stand long in his condition. And therefore St Paul saith, that he preserveth all things, and beareth them up still in his word, lest they should fall without him to their nothing again, whereof they were made. If his especial[r] goodness were not every where present, every creature should be out of order, and no creature should have his property, wherein he was first created. He is therefore invisibly every where, and in every creature, and fulfilleth both heaven and earth with his presence: in the fire, to give heat; in the water, to give moisture; in the earth, to give fruit; in the heart, to give his strength; yea, in our bread and drink he is[s], to give us nourishment, where without him the bread and drink cannot give sustenance, nor the herb health, as the wise man plainly confesseth it, saying, *It is not the increase of fruits that feedeth men; but*

Heb. i. [3]; iii. [4.]

Wisd. xvi. [26.]

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m or] *wanting* 1563.
n taketh] take 1563.
o delivereth he] he delivereth 1595.
p it] he it 1563.
q cure] care 1623.
r especial] special 1563.
s he is] is he 1623.

1 ["Prorsus majus hoc esse dixerim quam est cœlum et terra et quæcunque cernuntur in cœlo et in terra.... Non hic audeo præcipitare sententiam: intelligat qui potest, judicet qui potest, utrum majus sit justos creare quam impios justificare." Tract. LXXII. in Johan.: Opp. Tom. III. Part. II. 500, E.]

it is thy word, O Lord, which preserveth them that trust in thee. And Moses agreeth to the same, when he saith, *Man's life resteth not in bread only, but in every word which proceedeth out of God's mouth. It is neither the herb nor the plaister that giveth health of themselves; but thy word, O Lord,* saith the wise man, *which healeth all things.* It is not therefore the power of the creatures which worketh their effects, but the goodness of God which worketh in them. In his[t] word truly doth all things consist. By that same word that heaven and earth were made, by the same are they upholden, maintained, and kept in order, saith St Peter, and shall be till[u] Almighty God shall withdraw his power from them, and speak their dissolution. If it were not thus, that the goodness of God were effectually in his creatures to rule them, how could it be that the main sea, so raging and labouring to overflow the earth, could be kept within his bounds and banks, as it is? That holy man Job evidently spied the goodness of God in this point, and confessed, that if he had not a special goodness to the preservation of the earth, it could not but shortly be overflowed of the sea. How could it be that the elements, so divers and contrary as they be among themselves, should yet agree and abide together in a concord, without destruction one of another, to serve our use, if it came not only of God's goodness so to temper them? How could the fire not burn and consume all things, if it were let[x] loose to go whither it would, and not staid in[y] his sphere by the goodness of God, measurably to heat these inferior creatures to their riping? Consider the huge substance of the earth, so heavy and great as it is: how could it so stand stably in the place[z] as it doth, if God's goodness reserved it not so for us to travel on? *It is thou, O Lord,* saith David, *which hast founded the earth in his stability; and during thy word it shall never reel or fall down.* Consider the strong beasts and fishes, far passing the strength of man; how fierce soever they be and strong, yet by the goodness of God they prevail not against us, but are under our subjection, and serve our use. Of whom came the invention thus to subdue them, and make them fit for our commodities? Was it by man's brain? Nay, rather this

Deut. viii. [3.]
Wisd. xvi. [12.]
2 Pet. iii. [7.]
[Job xxviii. 11.]
Psal. civ. [5.]

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[t] his] this 1595.
[u] till] until 1589, 1595.
[x] let] left 1563.
[y] in] *wanting* 1563.
[z] the place] the space 1582, 1623, that space 1587, 1595.

invention came[a] by the goodness of God, which inspired man's understanding to have his purpose of every creature. *Who was it,* saith Job, *that put will and wisdom in man's head,* but God only, of[b] his goodness? And as the same saith again, *I perceive that every man hath a mind; but it is the inspiration of the Almighty that giveth understanding.* It could not be, verily, good christian people, that man of his own wit unholpen[c] should invent so many and divers devices in all crafts and sciences, except the goodness of Almighty God had been present with men, and had stirred their wits and studies of purpose to know the natures and disposition of all his creatures, to serve us sufficiently in our needs and necessities: yea, not only to serve our necessities, but to serve our pleasures and delight, more than necessity requireth. So liberal is God's goodness to us, to provoke us to thank him, if any hearts we have. The wise man, in his contemplation by himself, could not but grant this thing to be true, that I reason unto you. *In his hands,* saith he, *be we, and our words, and all our wisdom, and all our sciences and works of knowledge: for it is he that gave me the true instruction of his creatures, both to know the disposition of the world, and the virtues of the elements; the beginning and end of times; the change and diversities of them; the course of the year; the order of the stars; the natures of beasts, and the powers of them; the power of the winds, and thoughts of men; the differences of planets*[d]*; the virtue of roots; and whatsoever is hid and secret in nature, I learned it. The artificer of all these taught me this wisdom.* And further he saith, *Who can search out the things that be in heaven? For it is hard for us to search such things as be on earth, and in daily sight afore us. For our wits and thoughts,* saith he, *be imperfect, and our policies uncertain. No man can therefore search out the meaning in these things, except thou givest wisdom, and sendest thy Spirit from above.* If the wise man thus confesseth all these[e] things to be of God, why should not we acknowledge it, and by the knowledge of it consider[f] our duty to Godward, and give[g] him thanks for his goodness?

Job xxxviii. [36]

[Job xxxii. 8.]

Wisd. vii. [16—21.]

Wisd. ix. [13—17.]

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[a] came] did come 1587, 1595.
[b] of] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[c] unholpen] upholden 1582, 1587, 1595.
[d] planets] plants 1582, 1587, 1595.
[e] these] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
[f] consider] to consider 1563.
[g] give] to give 1563.

I perceive that I am far here overcharged with the plenty and copy of matter, that might be brought in for the proof of this cause. If I should enter to shew how the goodness of Almighty God appeared every where in the creatures of the world, how marvellous they be in their creation, how beautified [h] in their order, how necessary they be to our use; all with one voice must needs grant their author to be none other but Almighty God, his goodness must they needs extol and magnify every where: to whom be all honour and glory for evermore.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY FOR ROGATION WEEK[i].

IN the former part of this homily, good christian people, I have declared to your contemplation the great goodness of Almighty God, in the creation of this world, with all the furniture thereof, for the use and comfort of man, whereby we might the[k] rather be moved to acknowledge our duty again to his Majesty. And I trust it hath wrought not only credit[l] in you, but also it hath moved you to render your thanks secretly in our hearts to Almighty God for his loving-kindness.

But yet, peradventure, some will say, that they can agree to this, that all that is good pertaining to the soul, or whatsoever is created with us in body, should come from God, as from the author of all goodness, and from none other. But of such things as be without them both, I mean such good things which we call goods of fortune, as riches, authority, promotion, and honour; some men may think, that they should come of our industry and diligence, of our labour and travail, rather than supernaturally. Now then consider, good people, if any author there be of such things concurrent with[m] man's labour and endeavour, were it meet to ascribe them to any other than to God? As the paynim[n] philosophers and poets did err, which took fortune, and made her

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[h] beautified] beautiful 1582, 1587, 1595.

[i] The second part of this Homily 1563.

[k] the] *wanting* 1623.

[l] credit] belief 1623.

[m] with] of 1623.

[n] paynim] paynims 1582.

a goddess, to be honoured for such things. God forbid, good Christian people, that this imagination should earnestly be received of us that be worshippers of the true God, whose works and proceedings be expressed manifestly in his word. These be the opinions and sayings of infidels, not of true Christians. For they indeed, as Job maketh mention, believe and say, that *God hath his residence and resting-place in the clouds, and consider*[o] *nothing of our matters.* Job xxii. [14.] Epicures they be that imagine that he walketh about the coasts of the heavens, and have no respect to[p] these inferior things; but that all these things should proceed either by chance or[q] at adventure, or else by disposition of fortune, and God to have no stroke in them. What other thing is to say, than as *the fool supposeth in his heart, there is no God?* Psal. xiv. [1.] Whom we shall none otherwise reprove, than with God's own words by the mouth of David: *Hear, my people,* Psal. l. [7—12.] saith he; *for I am thy God, thy very God. All the beasts of the wood are mine; sheep and oxen that wandereth*[r] *on the mountains. I have the knowledge of all the fowls of the air; the beauty of the field is my handy-work; mine is the whole circuit of the world, and all the plenty that is in it.* And again, by the prophet Jeremiah, *Thinkest thou that I am a God of the place nigh me, saith the Lord, and not a God far off? Can a man hide himself in so secret a corner, that I shall not see him? Do not I fulfil and replenish both heaven and earth? saith the Lord.* Jer. xxiii. [23, 24.] Which of these two should be most believed? Fortune, whom they paint to be blind of both eyes, ever unstable and unconstant in her wheel, in whose hands they say these things be? Or God, in whose hand[s] and power these things be indeed, who for his truth and constance[t] was yet never reproved? For his sight looketh thorough heaven and earth, and seeth all things presently with his eyes. Nothing is too dark or hidden from his knowledge, not the privy thoughts of men's minds. Truth it is that of[u] God is all riches, all power, all authority, all health, wealth, and prosperity; of the which

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[o] consider] considereth 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[p] to] of 1582, 1584, 1597, 1623.
[q] or] and 1563.
[r] wandereth on 1623] wander in 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[s] hand] hands 1563.
[t] constance] constancy 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[u] of] *wanting* 1623.

we should have no part without his liberal distribution, and except it came from him above. David first testifieth[x] of
Psal. civ. [28.] riches and possessions: *If thou givest good luck, they shall gather; and if thou openest thy hand, they shall be full of goodness; but if thou turnest thy face, they shall be trou-*
Prov. x. [22.] *bled.* And Solomon saith, *It is the blessing of the Lord that maketh rich men.* To this agreeth[y] that[z] holy woman
1 Sam. ii. [7, 8.] Hannah, where she saith in her song, *It is the Lord that maketh the poor, and maketh the rich; it is he that promoteth and pulleth down; he can raise a needy man from his misery, and from the dunghill; he can lift up a poor personage to sit with princes, and have the seat of glory; for all the coasts of the earth be his.*

Now if any man will ask, what shall it avail us to know that every good gift, as of nature and fortune, so called, and every perfect gift, as of grace, concerning the soul, to be of God, and that it is his gift only? Forsooth for many causes it is[a] convenient for us to know it: for so shall we know, if we confess the truth, who ought justly to be thanked for them. Our pride shall be thereby abated, perceiving naught to come of ourselves but sin and vice: if any goodness be in us, to refer all laud and praise for the same to Almighty God. It shall make us not to advance ourselves before our neighbour, to despise him for that he hath fewer gifts, seeing God giveth his gifts where he will. It shall make us, by the consideration of our gifts, not to extol ourselves before
Jer. ix. [23.] our neighbours. *It shall make the wise man not to glory in*[b] *his wisdom, nor the strong man in his strength, nor the rich to glory in his riches, but in the living God, which is the author of all these;* lest if we should do so, we might
1 Cor. iv. [7.] be rebuked with the words of St Paul, *What hast thou, that thou hast not received? And if thou hast received it, why gloriest*[c] *in thyself, as though thou hadst not received it?* To confess that all good things cometh from Almighty God, is a great point of wisdom, my friends: for so confessing, we know whither to resort for to have them, if we want; as
James i. [5.] St James biddeth[d] us, saying, *If any man wanteth the gift of wisdom, let him ask it of God that gives it; and it*

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[x] testifieth] testifieth it 1563.
[y] agreeth] agree 1563.
[z] that] the 1595.
[a] it is] is it 1563.
[b] in] of 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[c] gloriest] gloriest thou 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[d] biddeth] bid 1563.

shall be given him. As the wise man, in the want of such a like gift, made his recourse to God for it, as he testifieth in his book: *After I*[e] *knew,* saith he, *that otherwise I could not be chaste, except God granted it,—and this was,* as he there writeth, *high wisdom, to know whose gift it was,—I made haste to the Lord, and earnestly besought him, even from the roots of my heart, to have it.* I would to God, my friends, that in our wants and necessities we would go to God, as St James biddeth, and as the wise man teacheth us that he did. I would we believed stedfastly that God only gives them: if we did, we would[f] not seek our want and necessity of the devil and his ministers so oft as we do, as daily experience declareth it. For if we stand in necessity of corporal health, whither go the common people, but to charms, witchcrafts, and other delusions of the devil? If we knew that God were the author of this gift, we would only use his means appointed, and bide his leisure, till he thought it good for us to have it given. If the merchant and worldly occupier knew that God is the giver of riches, he would content himself with so much as by just means, approved of God, he could get to his living, and would be no richer than truth would suffer him; he would never procure his gain, and ask his goods at the devil's hand. God forbid, ye will say, that any man should take his riches of the devil. Verily, so many as increase themselves by usury, by extortion, by perjury, by stealth, by deceits and craft, they have their goods of the devil's gift. And all they that give themselves to such means, and have renounced the true means that God hath appointed, have forsaken him, and are become worshippers of the devil, to have their lucres and advantages. They be such as kneel down to the devil at his bidding, and worship him: for he promiseth them for so doing, that he will give them the world, and the goods therein. They cannot otherwise better serve the devil, than to do his pleasure and commandment: and his motion and will it is, to have us forsake the truth, and betake us to falsehood, to lies, and perjuries. They therefore which believeth[g] perfectly in their heart that God is to be honoured, and re-

Wisd. viii. [21.]

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e I] he 1587, 1595

f would] should 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

g believeth] believed 1563, believe 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

quested for the gift of all things necessary, would use none[h] other means to relieve their necessities, but truth and verity, and would serve God to have competency of all things necessary. The man in his need would not relieve his want by stealth. The woman would not relieve her necessity and poverty by giving her body to other in adultery for gain. If God be the author indeed of life, health, riches, and
[James i. 5.] welfare, let us make our recourse to him, as[i] the author, and we shall have it, saith St James. Yea, it is high wisdom by the wise man therefore, to know whose gift it is, for many[k] other skills it is wisdom to know and believe that all goodness[l] and graces be of God, as the author. Which thing well considered must needs make us think that we shall make account for that which God giveth us to occupy[m], and therefore shall make us to be more diligent well to spend them to God's glory, and to the profit of our neighbour, that we may make a good account at the last, and be praised for good stewards, that we may hear these words of our Judge:
Matt. xxv. [21.] *Well done, good servant and faithful; thou hast been faithful in little, I will make thee ruler over much; go in*[n] *into thy master's joy.* Besides, to believe certainly God to be the author of all the gifts that we have, shall make us to be in silence and patience, when they be taken again from us. For as God of his mercy doth grant us them to use, so otherwhiles he doth justly take them again from us, to prove our patience; to exercise our faith; and by the means of the taking away of a few, to bestow the more warily those[o] that remain; to teach us to use them the more to his glory, after he giveth them to us again. Many there be that with mouth can say, that they believe that God is the author of every good gift that they have; but in the time of temptation they go back from this belief. They say it in word, but deny it in deed. Consider me[p] the usage[q] of the world, and see whether it be not true. Behold the rich man, that is endued with substance; if by any adversity his goods be taken from him, how fumeth and fretteth he! How murmureth he and despaireth! He that hath the gift of good reputation, if his

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[h] none] no 1563.
[i] as] as to 1563.
[k] many] in many 1587, 1595.
[l] goodness] goods 1563.
[m] occupy] possess 1623.
[n] in] *wanting* 1563.
[o] those] these 1623.
[p] me] *wanting* 1587, 1595, 1623.
[q] usage] custom 1623.

name be any thing touched by the detractor, how unquiet is he! How busy to revenge his despite! If a man hath the gift of wisdom, and fortune to be taken of some evil willer for a fool, and is so reported, how much doth it grieve him to be so esteemed! Think ye that these believe constantly that God is the author of these gifts? If they believe[r] it verily, why should they not patiently suffer God to take away his gifts again, which he gave them freely, and lent for a time?

But ye will say, I could be content to resign to God such gifts, if he took them again from me: but now are they taken from me by evil chances and false shrews, by naughty wretches, how should I take this thing patiently? To this may be answered, that Almighty God is of his nature invisible, and cometh to no man visibly[s] after the manner of man, to take away his gifts that he lent. But in this point whatsoever God doth, he bringeth it about by his instruments ordained thereto. He hath good angels, he hath evil angels; he hath good men, and he hath evil men; he hath hail and rain, he hath wind and thunder, he hath heat and cold. Innumerable instruments hath he, and messengers, by whom again he asketh such gifts as he committeth to our trust, as the wise man confesseth, *The creature must needs wait to serve his Maker, to be fierce against unjust men to their punishment.* For as the same author saith, *He armeth the creature to revenge his enemies, and otherwhiles, to the probation of our faith, stirreth up he such storms.* And therefore by what mean and instrument soever God takes from us his gifts, we must patiently take God's judgment in worth, and acknowledge him to be the taker and giver, as Job saith, *The Lord gave, and the Lord took,* when yet his enemies drave[t] his cattle away, and when the devil slew his children, and afflicted his body with a[u] grievous sickness. Such meekness was in that holy king and prophet David; when he was reviled of Shimei in the presence of all his host, he took it patiently, and reviled not again; but as confessing God to be the author of his innocency and good name, and offering it to be at his pleasure, *Let him alone,* saith he to one of his knights[x], that would have revenged such

Wisd. xvi. [24.]

Job i. [21.]

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[r] believe] believed, 1563.
[s] visibly] visible 1623.
[t] drave] drove 1563.
[u] a] *wanting* 1623.
[x] knights] servants 1623.

2 Sam. xvi. [10—12] despite, *for God hath commanded him to curse David; and peradventure God intendeth thereby to render me some good turn for this curse of him to-day.* And though the minister otherwhiles doth evil in his act, proceeding of malice, yet forasmuch God turneth his evil act to a proof of our patience, we should rather submit ourself in patience, than to have indignation at God's rod; which peradventure, when he hath corrected us to our nurture, he will cast it into the fire, as it deserveth. Let us in like manner truly acknowledge all our gifts and prerogatives to be so God's gifts, that we shall be ready to resign them up at his will and pleasure again. Let us throughout our whole lives confess all good things to come of God, of what name or[y] nature soever they be; not of these corruptible things only, whereof I have now last spoken, but much more of all spiritual graces behoveable for our soul, without whose goodness no man is called to faith, or staid therein, as I shall hereafter in the next part of this homily declare to you. In the mean season, forget not what hath already been spoken to you; forget not to be conformable[z] in your judgments to the truth of this[a] doctrine; and forget not to practise the same in the whole state of your life, whereby ye shall obtain the blessing promised by our Saviour [Luke xi. 28.] Christ: *Blessed be they which hear the word of God, and fulfilleth*[b] *it* in life. Which blessing he grant to us all, who reigneth over all, one God in Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; to whom be all honour and glory for ever. Amen.

THE THIRD PART OF THE HOMILY FOR ROGATION WEEK[c].

I PROMISED to you to declare that all spiritual gifts and graces cometh[d] specially from God. Let us consider the truth of this matter, and hear what is testified first of the gift of faith, the first entry into the Christian life, without the[e]

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[y] or] and 1582, 1587 1595.

[z] conformable] comfortable 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[a] this] his 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[b] fulfilleth] fulfil 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[c] The third part of this Homily 1563.

[d] cometh] come 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[e] the] *wanting* 1563.

which no man can please God. For[f] St Paul confesseth it plainly to be God's gift, saying, *Faith is the gift of God.* [Ephes. ii. 8.] And again, St Peter saith, *It is of God's power that ye be kept through faith to salvation.* [1 Pet. i. 5.] It is of the goodness of God that we falter not in our hope unto him. It is verily God's work in us, the charity wherewith we love our brethren. If after our fall we repent, it is by him that we repent, which reacheth forth his merciful hand to raise us up. If any will we have to rise, it is he that preventeth our will, and disposeth us thereto. If after contrition we feel our conscience at peace with God through[g] remission of our sin, and so be reconciled again to his favour, and hope to be his children and inheritors of everlasting life; who worketh these great miracles in us? Our worthiness, our deservings and endeavours, our wits, and virtue? Nay, verily, St Paul will not suffer flesh and clay to presume to such arrogancy, and therefore saith, *All is of God, which hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ. For God was in Christ when he reconciled the world unto himself.* [2 Cor. v. 18, 19.] God, the Father of all mercy, wrought this high benefit unto us; and not by his own person, but by a mean, by no less mean than his only beloved Son, whom he spared not from any pain and travail that might do us good. For upon him he put our sins, upon him he made our ransom; him he made the mean betwixt us and himself, whose mediation was so acceptable to God the Father, through his profound[h] and perfect obedience, that he took his act for a full satisfaction of our disobedience and rebellion, whose righteousness he took to weigh against our sins, whose redemption he would have stand against our damnation. In this point, what have we to muse within ourselves, good friends? I think no less than that which St Paul said in the remembrance of this wonderful goodness[i] of God, *Thanks be to Almighty God, through Christ Jesus our Lord: for it is he for whose sake we received this high gift of grace.* [Rom. vii. 25.] [Ephes. i. 3.] For as by him (being the everlasting wisdom), he wrought all the world and that is contained therein; so by him only and wholly would he have all things restored again in heaven and in earth. By this our heavenly Mediator therefore do we know the favour and mercy of God the Father; by him

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[f] For] First 1563.
[g] through] thorough 1563.
[h] profound] absolute 1623.
[i] goodness] goods 1563.

Heb. i. [3.] know we his will and pleasure towards us; for *he is the brightness of his Father's glory, and a very clear image and pattern of his substance.* It is he, whom the Father in heaven delighteth to have for his *well-beloved Son,* whom he authorised to be our teacher; whom he charged us to hear, saying, *Hear him.* It is he, by whom the Father of heaven doth bless us with all spiritual and heavenly gifts; for whose sake and favour, writeth St John, we have received grace and favour. To this our Saviour and Mediator hath God the Father given the power of heaven and earth, and the whole jurisdiction and authority, to distribute his goods and gifts committed to him: for so writeth the apostle, *To every one of us is grace given, according to the measure of Christ's giving.* And thereupon to execute his authority committed, after that he had brought sin and the devil to captivity, to be no more hurtful to his members, he ascended up to his Father again, and from thence sent liberal gifts to his well-beloved servants; and hath still the power to[k] the world's end to distribute his Father's gifts continually in his church, to the establishment and comfort thereof. And by him hath[l] Almighty God decreed to dissolve the world, to call all before him, to judge both the quick and the dead, and finally by him shall he condemn the wicked to eternal fire in hell, and give the good eternal life, and set them assuredly in presence with him in heaven for evermore. Thus ye see how all is of God, by his son Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Remember, I say once again, your duty of thanks; let them be never to want; still join[m] yourself to continue in thanksgiving; ye can offer to God no better sacrifice: for he saith himself, *It is the sacrifice of praise and thanks that shall honour me.* Which thing was well perceived of that holy prophet David, when he so earnestly spake to himself thus: *O my soul, bless thou the Lord; and all that is within me, bless his holy name. I say once again, O my soul, bless thou the Lord, and never forget his manifold rewards.*

Matt. iii. [17.]

[Matt. xvii. 5.]

Ephes. i. [3.]

John i. [16.]

Ephes. iv. [7.]

Psal. l. [14.]

Psal. ciii. [1, 2.]

God give us grace, good people, to know these things, and to feel them in our hearts! This knowledge and feeling is not in ourself; by ourself it is not possible to come by it; a[n] great pity it were that we should lose so profit-

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k to] till 1563.
l hath] that 1563.
m join] enjoin 1623.
n a] and 1563.

able knowledge. Let us therefore meekly call upon that bountiful spirit, the Holy Ghost, which proceedeth from our Father of mercy, and from our Mediator Christ, that he would assist us, and inspire us with his presence; that in him we may be able to hear the goodness of God declared unto us to our salvation. For without his lively and secret inspiration can we not once so much as[o] as speak the name of our Mediator, as St Paul plainly testifieth: *No man can once name our Lord Jesus Christ, but in the Holy Ghost.* Much less should we be able to believe and know these great mysteries that be opened to us by Christ. St Paul saith, that *no man can know what is of God, but the Spirit of God. As for us,* saith he, *we have received not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God,* for this purpose, *that in that holy Spirit we might know the things that be given us by Christ.* The wise man saith, that in the power and virtue of the Holy Ghost resteth[p] all wisdom and all ability to know God, and to please him. For he writeth thus: *We know that it is not in man's power to guide his goings. No man can know thy pleasure, except thou givest wisdom, and sendest thy holy Spirit from above. Send him down therefore,* prayeth he to God, *from thy*[q] *holy heavens, and from the throne of thy majesty, that he may be with me, and labour with me, that so I may know what is acceptable before thee.* Let us with so good heart pray, as he did, and we shall not fail but to have his assistance. For he is soon seen of them that love him; he will be found of them that seek him: for very liberal and gentle is the spirit of wisdom. In his power shall we have sufficient ability to know our duty to God; in him shall we be comforted and couraged to walk in our duty; in him shall we be meet vessels to receive the grace of Almighty God: for it is he that purgeth and purifieth the mind by[r] his secret working. And he only is present everywhere by his invisible power, and containeth all things in his dominion. He lighteneth the heart to conceive worthy thoughts to[s] Almighty God; he sitteth in the tongue of man to stir him to speak his honour: no language is hid from him, for he hath the knowledge of all speech; he only

1 Cor. xii. [3.]

1 Cor. ii. [11, 12.]

Wisd. ix. [13, 9, 10.]

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o as] to 1595.
p resteth] rested 1563.
q thy] the 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
r by] of 1595.
s to] of 1563.

ministereth spiritual strength to the powers of our soul and body. To hold the way which God had prepared for us to walk rightly in our journey, we must acknowledge that it is in the power of his *Spirit, which helpeth our infirmity.* That we may boldly come in prayer, and call upon Almighty God as our Father, it is by this holy Spirit, which *maketh intercession for us with continual sighs.* If any gift we have, wherewith we may work to the glory of God, and profit of our neighbour, all is wrought by his own and *self-same Spirit, which maketh his distributions peculiarly to every man as he will.* If any wisdom we have, it is not of ourselves, we cannot glory therein, as begun of ourselves; but we ought to glory in God from whom it came to us, as the prophet Jeremiah writeth, *Let him that rejoiceth, rejoice in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me; for I am the Lord, which sheweth*[t] *mercy, judgment, and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord.* This wisdom cannot be attained, but by the direction of the Spirit of God, and therefore it is called *spiritual wisdom.* And nowhere can we more certainly search for the knowledge of this will of God, by the which we must direct all our works and deeds, but in the holy Scriptures, *for they be they that testify of him,* saith our Saviour Christ. It may be called knowledge and learning, that is other-where gotten out of[u] the word; but the wise man plainly testifieth, that *they all be but vain, which have not in them the wisdom of God.* We see to what vanity the old philosophers came, which[x] were destitute of this science, gotten and searched for in his word. We see what vanity the school-doctrine is mixed with, for that in this world[y] they sought not the will of God, but rather the will of reason, the trade of custom, the path of the fathers, the practice of the church: let us therefore read and revolve the holy Scripture both day and night; for *blessed is he that hath his whole meditation therein. It is that*[z] *that giveth light to our feet to walk by.* It is that which giveth wisdom to the simple and ignorant. In it may we find eternal life. In the holy Scriptures find we Christ, in Christ find we God: for he it is that is the

Rom. viii. [26.]
[Rom. viii. 26.]
1 Cor. xii [8—11.]
Jer. ix. [24.]
John v. [39.]
Wisd. xiii. [1.]
Psal. i. [2.]
Psal. cxix. [105.]
Psal. xix. [7.]

t sheweth] shew 1623.
u out of] without 1623.
x which] who 1623.
y world] word 1563, 1623.
z that] he 1595.

express image of the Father. He that seeth Christ, seeth the Father. And contrariwise, as St Jerome saith[1], "the ignorance of Scripture is the ignorance of Christ." Not to know Christ is to be in darkness, in the midst of our worldly and carnal light of reason and philosophy. To be without Christ, is to be in foolishness: for he is the only wisdom of the Father, *in whom it pleased him that all fulness and perfection should dwell.* With whosoever is endued in heart by faith, and rooted fast in charity, hath laid a sure foundation to build on, whereby he *may be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth, length*[a] *and depth, and to know the love of Christ.* This universal and absolute knowledge is that wisdom which St Paul wisheth[b] these Ephesians to have, as under heaven the greatest treasure that can be obtained. For of this wisdom the wise man writeth thus of his experience: *All good things came to me together with her, and innumerable riches through her hands.* And addeth moreover in that same place, *She is the mother of all these things: for she is an infinite treasure unto men, which whoso use, become partakers of the love of God.*

Heb. i. [3.] John xiv. [9]; v. [23.]

Col. i. [19.]

Ephes. iii. [18.]

Wisd. vii. [11, 14.]

I might with many words move some of this audience to search for this wisdom; to sequester their reason; to follow God's commandment; to cast from them the wits of their brains; to favour this wisdom; to renounce the wisdom and policy of this fond world; to taste and savour that whereunto the favour and will of God hath called them, and willeth us finally to enjoy by his favour, if we would give ear. But I will haste to the third part of my text, wherein is expressed further in 'Wisdom,' how God giveth his elect an[c] understanding of the motions of the heavens, of the alterations and circumstances of time. Which as it followeth in words more plentiful[d] in the text which I have last cited unto you, so it must needs follow in them that be endued with this[e] spiritual wisdom. For as they can search where to find this wisdom, and know of whom to ask it; so know they again that in time it is found, and can therefore

[Wisd. vii. 17, 18.]

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[a] length] and length 1563.
[b] wisheth] wished 1563.
[c] an] *wanting* 1623.
[d] plentiful] plentifully 1563.
[e] this] his 1595.

[1] ["Ignoratio scripturarum ignoratio Christi est." Prolog. ad Isaiam: Opp. Tom. III. p. 1; ed Paris. 1704.]

attemper themselves to the occasion of the time, to suffer no time to pass away, wherein they may labour for this wisdom. And to increase therein, they know how God of his infinite mercy and lenity giveth all men here time and place
Job xxiv. of repentance. And they see how the wicked, as Job writeth, abuse the same to their pride, and therefore do the godly take the better hold of the time, to redeem it out of such use as it is spoiled in by the wicked. They which have this wisdom of God can gather by the diligent and earnest study of the worldlings of this present life; how[f] they wait their times, and apply themselves to every occasion of time to[g] get riches, to increase their lands and patrimony. They see the time pass away, and therefore take hold on it, in such wise, that otherwhiles they will with loss of their sleep and ease, with suffering many pains, catch the offer of their[h] time, knowing that that which is once[i] past cannot be returned again: repentance may follow, but remedy is[k] none. Why should not they then, that be spiritually[l] wise in their generation, wait their time, to increase as fast in their state, to win and gain everlastingly? They reason what a brute forgetfulness it were in man, endued with reason, to be ignorant of their times[m] and tides, when they see the turtle-dove, the stork, and the swallow to wait their times, as Jeremy
Jer. viii. [7.] saith: *The stork in the air knoweth her appointed times; the turtle, the crane*[n], *and the swallow observe the time of their coming: but my people knoweth not the judgment of*
Ephes. v. [16] *the Lord.* St Paul willeth us *to redeem the time, because the days are evil.* It is not the counsel of St Paul only, but of all other that ever gave precepts of wisdom. There is no precept more seriously given and commanded, than to know the time. Yea, Christian men, for that they hear how grievously God complaineth, and threateneth in the Scriptures them which will not know the time of his visitations, are learned thereby the rather earnestly to apply themselves thereunto. After our Saviour Christ had prophesied with weeping tears of the destruction of Jerusalem,
Luke xix. [44.] at the last he putteth the cause, *For that thou hast not known the time of thy visitation.* O England, ponder the

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[f] how] now 1587, 1595.
[g] to] and to 1623.
[h] their] the 1563.
[i] once] *wanting* 1623.
[k] is] in 1623.
[l] spiritually] spiritual 1623.
[m] times] time 1595.
[n] the crane] and the crane 1563.

time of God's merciful visitation, which is shewed thee from day to day, and yet wilt[o] not regard it, neither wilt thou with his punishment be driven to thy duty, nor with his benefits be provoked to thanks! If thou knewest what may fall upon thee for thine unthankfulness, thou wouldest provide for thy peace.

Brethren, howsoever the world in generality is forgetful of God, let us particularly attend to our time, and win the time with diligence, and apply ourselves to that light and grace that is offered us. Let us, if God's favour and judgments, which he worketh in our time, cannot stir us to call home to[p] ourself to do that belong[q] to our salvation, at the least way let the malice of the devil, the naughtiness of the world, which we see exercised in these[r] perilous and last times, wherein we see our days so dangerously set, provoke us to watch diligently to our vocation, to walk and go forward therein. Let the misery and short transitory joys spied in the casualty of our days move us while we have them in our hands, and seriously stir us to be wise, and to expend the gracious good will of God to us ward, which *all the day long stretcheth out his hands*, as the prophet saith, unto us; for the most part his merciful hands, sometime his heavy hands; that we being learned thereby, may escape the danger that must needs fall on the unjust, who lead their days in felicity and pleasure, without the knowing of God's will toward[s] them; but suddenly they go down into hell. Let us be found watchers, found in the peace of the Lord; that at the last day we may be *found without spot, and blameless;* yea, let us endeavour ourselves, good Christian people, diligently to keep the presence of his holy Spirit. Let us renounce all uncleanness, for he is the Spirit of purity. Let us avoid all hypocrisy, for this *holy Spirit will flee from that which is feigned.* Cast we off all malice and all evil will, for this Spirit will never enter into an evil-willing soul. Let us cast away all the whole[t] lump of sin that standeth about us, for he will never dwell in that body that is subdued to sin. We cannot be seen thankful to Almighty God, and work *such despite to the Spirit of grace, by whom we be sanctified.* If we do our endea-

Isai. lxv. [2.]

Job xxii. [21.]

[2 Pet. iii. 14.]

Wisd. i. [5.]

Heb. xii. [1.]

Heb. x. [29.]

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[o] wilt] will 1563.

[p] to] in 1563.

[q] belong] belonging 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[r] these] those 1563.

[s] toward] towards 1587, 1595.

[t] whole] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

vour, we shall not need to fear. We shall be able to overcome all our enemies that fight against us. Only let us apply ourself[u] to accept that[x] grace that is offered us. Of Almighty God we have comfort by his goodness; of our Saviour Christ's mediation we may be sure. And this holy Spirit will suggest unto us that shall be wholesome, and confirm us in all things. Therefore it cannot be but true that [Rom. xi. 36.] St Paul affirmeth, *of him, by him, and in him be all things:* and in him, after this transitory life well passed, shall we [1 Cor. xv. 28.] have all things. For St Paul saith, *When the Son of God shall subdue all things unto him, then shall God be all in all.* If ye will know how God shall be all in all, verily after this sense may ye understand it: in this world ye see that we[y] be fain to borrow many things to our necessity, of many creatures. There is one thing that sufficeth all our necessities. If we be an hungered, we lust for bread. If we be athirst, we seek to be refreshed with ale or wine. If we be cold, we seek for cloth. If we be sick, we seek to the physician. If we be in heaviness, we seek for comfort of our friends, or of company: so that there is no one creature by itself that can content all our wants and desires. But in the world to come, in that everlasting felicity, we shall no more beg and seek our particular comforts and commodities of divers creatures; but we shall possess all that we can ask and desire, in God, and God shall be to us all things. He shall be to us both father and mother; he shall be bread and drink, cloth, physicians[z], comfort: he shall be all things to us, and that of much more blessed fashion, and more sufficient contentation, than ever these creatures were unto us; with much more declaration than ever man's reason [1 Cor. ii. [9.]] is able to conceive. *The eye of man is not able to behold, nor his ear can hear, nor it can*[a] *be compassed in the heart of man, what joy it is that God hath prepared for them that love him.* Let us all conclude then with one voice with [Ephes. iii. [22,]] the words of St Paul, *To him which is able to do abundantly*[b] *beyond our desires and thoughts, according to the power working in us, be glory and praise in his church, by Christ Jesus for ever, world without end. Amen.*

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[u] ourself] ourselves 1623.
[x] that] the 1563.
[y] we] ye 1563.
[z] physicians] physician 1595.
[a] can] cannot 1587, 1595.
[b] to do abundantly] abundantly to do 1563.

AN EXHORTATION

TO BE SPOKEN TO SUCH PARISHES WHERE THEY USE THEIR PERAMBULATION IN ROGATION WEEK; FOR THE OVERSIGHT OF THE BOUNDS AND LIMITS OF THEIR TOWN[a].

ALTHOUGH we be now assembled together, good Christian people, most principally to laud and thank Almighty God for his great benefits, by beholding the fields replenished with all manner of[b] fruit, to the maintenance of our corporal necessities, for our food and sustenance; and partly also to make our humble suits in prayers to his fatherly providence, to conserve the same fruits, in sending us seasonable weather, whereby we may gather in the said fruits, to that end for which his fatherly[c] goodness hath provided them: yet have we occasion secondarily given us in our walks on these[d] days, to consider the old ancient bounds and limits belonging to our own township, and to other our neighbours bordering about us; to the intent that we should be content with our own, and not contentiously strive for other's, to the breach of charity, by any incroaching one upon another, or[e] claiming one of the other: further than that in ancient right and custom our forefathers have peaceably laid out unto us for our commodity and comfort. Surely a great oversight it were in us, which be Christian men in one profession of faith, daily looking for that heavenly inheritance which is bought for every one of us by the blood-shedding of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to strive and fall to variance for the earthly bounds of our towns, to the disquiet of our life betwixt ourselves, to the wasting of our goods by vain expenses and costs in the law. We ought to remember that our habitation is but transitory and short in this mortal life. The more shame it were to fall out into immortal hatred among ourselves, for so brittle possessions, and so to lose our eternal inheritance in heaven. It may stand well with charity for a Christian man quietly to maintain his right and just title. And it is the part of every good townsman, to preserve as much as lieth in him the liberties, franchises, bounds,

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[a] town] towns 1563.
[b] of] *wanting* 1623.
[c] fatherly] merciful 1563.
[d] these] those 1623.
[e] or] for 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

and limits of his town and country: but yet so[f] to strive for our very rights and duties with the breach of love and charity, which is the only livery of a Christian man, or with the hurt of godly peace and quiet, by the which we be knit together in one general fellowship of Christ's family, in one common household of God, that is utterly forbidden. That doth God abhor and detest, which provoketh Almighty God's wrath otherwhile[g] to deprive[h] us quite of our commodities and liberties, because we do so abuse them, for matters of strife, discord, and dissension. St Paul blamed the Corinthians for such contentious suing among themselves, to the slander of their profession before the enemies of Christ's religion, saying thus unto them, *Now there is utterly a fault among you, because ye go to law one with another. Why rather suffer ye not wrong? Why rather suffer ye not harm?* If St Paul blameth the Christian men, whereof some of them for their own right went contentiously[i] so to law, commending thereby the profession of patience in a Christian man: if Christ our Saviour would have us rather to suffer wrong, and to turn our left cheek to him which hath smitten the right, to suffer one wrong after another, rather than by breach of charity to defend our own: in what state be they before God, who do the wrong! What curses do they fall[k] into, which[l] by false witness defraud either their neighbour or township of his due right and just possession; which will not let to take an oath by the holy name of God, the author of all truth, to set out a[m] falsehood and a wrong! *Know ye not*, saith St Paul, *that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God?* What shall we then win to increase a little the bounds and possessions of the earth, and lose the possession[n] of the inheritance everlasting? Let us therefore take such heed in maintaining of our bounds and possessions, that we commit not wrong by encroaching upon other. Let us beware of sudden verdict in things of doubt. Let us well advise ourselves to avouch that certainly, whereof either we have no good knowledge or remembrance; or to claim that we have no just title to. *Thou shalt not*, com-

1 Cor. vi. [7.]

Matt. v. [39.]

1 Cor. vi. [9.]

Deut. xix. [14.]

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[f] so] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[g] otherwhile] otherwhiles 1563.
[h] deprive] reprive 1563.
[i] contentiously] of contentiousness 1563.
[k] they fall] fall they 1587, 1595.
[l] which] who 1623.
[m] a] *wanting* 1623.
[n] possession] possessions 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

mandeth Almighty God in his law, *remove thy neighbour's mark which they of old time have set in thine*[o] *inheritance. Thou shalt not,* saith Solomon, *remove the ancient bounds which thy fathers have laid.* And, lest we should esteem it to be but a light offence so to do, we shall understand, that it is reckoned among[p] the curses of God pronounced upon sinners. *Accursed be he,* saith Almighty God by Moses, *who removeth his neighbour's doles and marks; and all the people shall say, answering Amen* thereto, as ratifying that curse upon whom it doth light. They do much provoke the wrath of God upon themselves, which used to grind up the doles and marks, which of ancient time were laid for division[q] of meers and balks in the fields, to bring the owners to their right. They do wickedly, which do turn up the ancient terries of the fields, that old men beforetimes with great pains did tread out; whereby the lord's records, which be the tenant's evidences, be perverted and translated sometime to the disheriting of the right owner, to the oppression of the poor fatherless, or the poor widow. These covetous men know not what inconveniences they be authors[r] of. Sometimes by such craft and deceit be committed great discords[s] and riots in the challenge of their lands, yea, sometimes murders[t] and bloodshed, whereof thou art guilty, whosoever thou be that givest the occasion thereof. This covetous practising therefore with thy neighbour's lands and goods is hateful to Almighty God. *Let no man subtilly compass or defraud his neighbour,* biddeth St Paul, *in any manner of cause. For God,* saith he, *is a revenger of all such.* God is the God of all equity and righteousness, and therefore forbiddeth all such deceit and subtilty in his law, by these words: *Ye shall not do*[u] *unjustly in judgment, in line, in weight, or measure. Ye*[x] *shall have just balances, true weights, and true measures. False balance*[y], saith Solomon, *are an abomination unto the Lord.* Remember what St Paul saith, *God is the revenger* of all wrong and

Prov. xxii. [28.]

Deut. xxvii. [17.]

1 Thess. iv. [6.]

Levit. xix. [35, 36.]

Prov. xx. [23.] 1 Thess. iv. 6.]

[o] thine] thy 1595, their 1623.
[p] among] amongst 1587, 1595.
[q] division] the division 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[r] authors] the authors 1582, 1587 1595, 1623.
[s] discords] disorders 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[t] murders] great murders 1587, 1595.
[u] do] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, deal 1623.
[x] Ye] You 1563.
[y] balance] balances 1595.

injustice, as we see by daily experience, however it thriveth ungraciously which is gotten by falsehood and craft. We be taught by experience, how Almighty God never suffereth the third heir to enjoy his father's wrong possessions; yea, many a time they are taken from himself in his own life-time. God is not bound to defend such possessions as be[z] gotten by the devil and his counsel. God will defend all such men's goods and possessions, which by him are obtained and possessed, and will defend them against the violent oppressor. So witnesseth Solomon, *The Lord will destroy the house of the proud man: but he will stablish the borders of the widow.* *No doubt of it,* saith David, *better is a little truly gotten to the righteous man, than the innumerable riches of the wrongful man.* Let us flee therefore, good people, all wrong practices in getting, maintaining, and defending our possessions, lands, and livelihoods[a], our bounds and liberties, remembering that such possessions be all under God's revengeance. But what do we speak of house and land? Nay, it is said in Scripture[b], that God in his ire doth root up whole kingdoms for wrongs and oppressions; and doth translate kingdoms from one nation to another, for unrighteous dealing, for wrongs and riches gotten by deceit. This is the practice of the Holy One, saith Daniel, *to the intent that living men may know, that the Most High hath power on*[c] *the kingdoms of men, and giveth them to whomsoever he will.* Furthermore, what is the cause of penury and scarceness, of dearth and famine? Any[d] other thing but a token of God's ire, revenging our wrongs and injuries one done[e] to another? *Ye have sown much,* upbraideth God by his prophet Haggai, *and yet bring in little; ye eat, but ye be not satisfied; ye drink, but ye be not filled; ye clothe yourselves, but ye be not warm; and he that earneth his wages, putteth it in a bottomless purse: ye look*[f] *for much increase, but lo, it came to little; and when ye brought it home into your barns, I did blow it away, saith the Lord.* O consider therefore the ire of God against gleaners, gatherers, and incroachers upon other men's lands and possessions! It is lamentable to see in some places, how

Prov. xv. [25.]

Psal. xxxvii. [16.]

Dan. iv. [17.]

Haggai i. [6–9.]

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[z] be] are 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[a] livelihoods] livelodes 1582, 1587, 1595, liveloods 1623.

[b] scripture] the scripture 1582.

[c] on] over 1623.

[d] Any] Is it any 1623.

[e] one done] done one 1623.

[f] look] looked 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

greedy men use to plough and grate upon their neighbour's land that lieth next them: how covetous men now-a-days plough up so nigh the common balks and walks, which good men before time made the greater and broader, partly for the commodious walk of his neighbour, partly for the better shack in harvest-time, to the more[g] comfort of his poor neighbour's cattle. It is a shame to behold the insatiableness of some covetous persons in their doings; that where their ancestors left of their land a broad and sufficient bier-balk, to carry the corpse to the christian sepulture[h], how men pinch at such bier-balks, which by long use and custom ought to be inviolably kept for that purpose: and now they either quite ear them up, and turn the dead body to be borne farther about in the high streets; or else, if they leave any such meer, it is too strait for two[i] to walk on.

These strange encroachments, good neighbours, should be looked upon. These should be considered in these days of our perambulations; and afterwards[k] the parties admonished, and charitably reformed, who be the doers of such private gaining, to the slander of the township, and to[l] the hinderance of the poor. Your highways should be considered in your walks, to understand where to bestow your days-works, according to the good statutes provided for the same. It is a good deed of mercy to amend the dangerous and noisome ways, whereby thy[m] poor neighbour, sitting on his silly weak beast, foundereth not in the deep thereof, and so the market the[n] worse served, for discouraging of poor victuallers to resort thither for the same cause. If now therefore ye will have your prayers heard before Almighty God, for the increase of your corn and cattle, and for the defence thereof from unseasonable mists and blasts[o], from hail and other such tempests, love equity and righteousness; ensue mercy and charity, which God most requireth at our hands. Which Almighty God respected[p] chiefly in making his civil laws for his people the Israelites, in charging the owners not to gather up their corn too nigh at harvest season, nor the grapes and olives in gathering time; but to leave behind some ears of corn for

Levit. xix. [9, 10.] Deut. xxiv. [19—21.] 1 Cor. ix. [9, 10.]

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g more] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
h sepulture] sepulchre 1563.
i two] him 1587, 1595.
k afterwards] afterward 1563.
l to] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
m thy] the 1563.
n market the] market is the 1563.
o blasts] beasts 1595.
p respected] respecting 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

the poor gleaners. By this he meant to induce them to pity the poor; to relieve the needy; to shew mercy and kindness. It cannot be lost, which for his sake is distributed to the poor. For he which *ministereth seed to the sower, and bread to the hungry*, which sendeth down the early and latter rain upon your fields, so to fill up the barns with corn, and the wine-presses with wine and oil; he, I say, who recompenseth all kind of benefits in the resurrection of the just, he will assuredly recompense all merciful deeds shewed to the needy, howsoever unable the poor is upon whom it is bestowed. *O*, saith Solomon, *let not mercy and truth forsake thee. Bind them about thy neck*, saith he, *and write them on the table of thy heart; so shalt thou find favour at God's hand.* Thus *honour thou the Lord with thy riches, and with the first-fruits of thine increase; so shall thy barns be filled with abundance, and thy presses shall burst*[q] *with new wine.* Nay, God hath promised to open the windows of heaven upon the liberal righteous man, that he shall want nothing. He will repress the devouring caterpillar, which should devour your fruits. He will give you peace and quiet to gather in your provision, that ye may *sit every man under his own vine quietly*, without fear of the foreign enemies to invade you. He will give you not only food to feed on, but stomachs and good appetites to take comfort of your fruits, whereby in all things ye may have sufficiency. Finally, he will bless you with all manner abundance in this transitory life, and endue you with all manner[r] benediction in the next world, in the kingdom of heaven, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour everlastingly[s]. Amen.

Joel ii. [23, 24.]

Prov. iii. [3, 4.]

[Zech. iii. 10.]

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[q] burst] brust 1563.

[r] manner] manner of 1623.

[s] everlastingly] everlasting 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

AN HOMILY

OF

THE STATE OF MATRIMONY.

THE word of Almighty God doth testify and declare whence the original beginning of matrimony cometh, and why it is ordained. It is instituted of God, to the intent that man and woman should live lawfully in a perpetual friendly fellowship[a], to bring forth fruit, and to avoid[b] fornication. By which means[c] a good conscience might be preserved on both parties, in bridling the corrupt inclinations of the flesh within the limits of honesty; for God hath straitly forbidden all whoredom and uncleanness, and hath from time to time taken grievous punishments[d] of this inordinate lust, as all stories and ages hath[e] declared. Furthermore, it is also ordained, that the church of God and his kingdom might by this kind of life be conserved and enlarged; not only in that God giveth children by his blessing, but also in that they be brought up by the parents godly, in the knowledge of God's word; that thus[f] the knowledge of God and true religion might be delivered by succession from one to another, that finally many might enjoy that everlasting immortality. Wherefore, forasmuch as matrimony serveth[g] as well to avoid sin and offence, as to increase the kingdom of God, you, as all other which enter the state, must acknowledge this benefit of God, with pure and thankful minds; for that he hath so ruled our[h] hearts, that ye follow not the example of the wicked world, who set their delight in filthiness of sin; where[i] both of you stand in the fear of God, and abhor all filthiness. For that is surely the singular gift of God; where the common example of the world declareth how the devil hath their hearts bound and entangled in divers snares, so that they in their wifeless state run into open abominations, without any grudge of their conscience. Which sort of men that liveth[k]

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[a] friendly fellowship] friendship 1623.
[b] avoid] void 1595.
[c] means] mean 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[d] punishments] punishment 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[e] hath] have 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[f] thus] this 1563.
[g] serveth] serveth us 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[h] our] your 1623.
[i] where] but 1623.
[k] liveth] live 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

so desperately and filthily[l], what damnation tarrieth for them!
Cor. vi. [9.] St Paul describeth it to them, saying, *Neither whoremongers*[m], *neither adulterers, shall inherit the kingdom of God.* This horrible judgment of God ye be escaped through his mercy, if so be that ye live inseparately, according to God's ordinance. But yet I would not have you careless, without watching. For the devil will assay to attempt all things to interrupt and hinder your hearts and godly purpose, if ye will give him any entry. For he will either labour to break this godly knot once begun betwixt you, or else at the least he will labour to incumber it with divers griefs and displeasures.

And this is his[n] principal craft, to work dissension of hearts of the one from the other; that whereas now there is pleasant and sweet love betwixt you, he[o] will in the stead thereof bring in most bitter and unpleasant discord. And surely that same adversary of ours doth, as it were from above, assault man's nature and condition. For this folly is ever from our tender age grown up with us, to have a desire to rule; to think highly of[p] ourself; so that none thinketh it meet to give place to another. That wicked vice of stubborn will and self-love is more meet to break and to dissever the love of heart, than to preserve concord. Wherefore married persons must apply their minds in most earnest wise to concord; and must crave continually of God the help of his holy Spirit, so to rule their hearts and to knit their minds together, that they be not dissevered by any division of discord. This necessity of prayer must be oft in the occupying[q] and using of married persons, that ofttimes[r] the one should pray for the other, lest hate and debate do arise betwixt them. And because few do consider this thing, but more few do perform it, I say, to pray diligently, we see how wonderful[s] the devil deludeth and scorneth this state; how few matrimonies there be without chidings, brawlings, tauntings, repentings, bitter cursings, and fightings. Which things whosoever do[t] commit, they do not consider that it is the instigation of the ghostly enemy, who taketh great delight therein; for else

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[l] filthily] filthy 1623.
[m] whoremongers] whoremonger 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[n] his] the 1623.
[o] he] we 1563.
[p] of] by 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
[q] occupying] practice 1623.
[r] ofttimes] ofttime 1563.
[s] wonderful] wonderfully 1563.
[t] do] doth *in all the other editions.*

they would with all earnest endeavour strive against these mischiefs, not only with prayer, but also with all possible diligence. Yea, they would not give place to the provocation of wrath, which stirreth them either to such rough and sharp words, or stripes, which is surely compassed by the devil; whose temptation, if it be followed, must needs begin and weave the web of all miseries and sorrows. For this is most certainly true, that of such beginnings must needs ensue the breach of true concord in heart, whereby all love must needs shortly be banished. Then can it not[u] be but a miserable thing to behold, that yet they are of necessity compelled to live together, which yet cannot be in quiet together. And this is most customable every where to be seen. But what is the cause thereof? Forsooth, because they will not consider the crafty trains of the devil, and therefore giveth[x] not themselves to pray to God, that he would vouchsafe to repress his power. Moreover, they do not consider how they promote the purpose of the devil, in that they follow the wrath of their hearts; while they threat one another; while they in their folly turn all upside down; while they will never give over their right, as they esteem it; yea, while many times they will not give over the wrong part indeed. Learn thou, therefore, if thou desirest to be void of all these miseries, if thou desirest to live peaceably and comfortably in wedlock, how to make thy earnest prayer to God, that he would govern both your hearts by his[y] holy Spirit, to restrain the devil's power; whereby your concord may remain perpetually. But to this prayer must be joined a singular diligence, whereof St Peter giveth this[z] precept, saying, *You husbands, deal with your wives according to knowledge, giving honour to the wife, as unto the weaker vessel, and as unto them that are heirs also of the grace of life, that your prayers be not hindered.* This precept doth particularly pertain to the husband: for he ought to be the leader and author of love, in cherishing and increasing concord; which then shall take place, if he will use measureableness[a] and not tyranny, and if he yield some things[b] to the woman. For the woman is a weak creature, not endued

1 Pet. iii. [7.]

[u] can it not] cannot it 1563.
[x] giveth] give 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[y] his] the 1623.
[z] this] his 1563.
[a] measureableness] moderation 1623.
[b] some things] some thing 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

with like strength and constancy of mind; therefore they be the sooner disquieted, and they be the more prone to all weak affections and dispositions of mind, more than men be; and lighter they be, and more vain in their phantasies and opinions. These things must be considered of the man, that he be not too stiff, so that he ought to wink at some things; and must gently expound all things, and to forbear. Howbeit, the common sort of men doth judge that such moderation should not become a man; for they say, that it is a token of womanish[c] cowardness, and therefore they think that it is a man's part to fume in anger, to fight with fist and staff. Howbeit, howsoever they imagine, undoubtedly St Peter doth better judge what should be seeming to a man, and what he should most reasonably perform. For he saith [1 Pet. iii. 7.] reasoning should be used, and not fighting. Yea, he saith more, that the woman ought to have a certain honour attributed to her; that is to say, she must be spared and borne with, the rather for that she is the weaker vessel; of a frail heart; inconstant; and with a word soon stirred to wrath. And therefore, considering these her frailties, she is to be the rather spared. By this means thou shalt not only nourish concord, but shalt have her heart in thy power and will. For honest natures will sooner be retained to do their duty[d] rather by gentle words than by stripes. But he which will do all things with extremity and severity, and doth use always rigour in words and stripes, what will that avail in the conclusion? Verily nothing, but that he thereby setteth forward the devil's work; he banisheth away concord, charity, and sweet amity; and bringeth in dissension, hatred, and irksomeness, the greatest griefs that can be in the mutual love and fellowship of man's life. Beyond all this, it bringeth another evil therewith, for it is the destruction and interruption of prayer. For in the time that the mind is occupied with dissension and discord, there can be no true prayer used. For the Lord's Prayer hath not only a respect to particular persons, but to the whole universal; in the which we openly pronounce, that we will forgive them which hath[e] offended against us, even as we ask forgiveness of our sins of God. Which thing how can it be done rightly, when

[c] womanish] a womanish 1563.
[d] duty] duties 1623.
[e] hath] have 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

their hearts be at dissension? How can they pray each for other, when they be at hate betwixt themselves? Now, if the aid of prayer be taken away, by what means can they sustain themselves in[f] any comfort? For they cannot otherwise either resist the devil, or yet have their hearts staid in stable comfort in all perils and necessities, but by prayer. Thus all discommodities, as well worldly as ghostly, follow this froward testiness, and cumbrous fierceness in manners; which be more meet for brute beasts than for reasonable creatures. St Peter doth not allow these things; but the devil desireth them gladly. Wherefore take the more heed. And yet a man may be a man, although he doth not use such extremity; yea, though[g] he should dissemble some things in his wife's manners. And this is the part of a christian man, which both pleaseth God, and serveth also in good use to the comfort of their marriage state.

Now as concerning the wife's duty. What shall become her? Shall she abuse the gentleness and humanity of her husband, and, at her pleasure, turn all things upside down? No, surely; for that[h] is far repugnant against God's commandment; for thus doth St Peter preach to them, *Ye wives, be ye*[i] *in subjection to obey your own husband*[k]. To obey is another thing than to control or command, which yet they may do to their children, and to their family: but as for their husbands, them must they obey, and cease from commanding, and perform subjection. For this surely doth nourish concord very much, when the wife is ready at hand at her husband's commandment; when she will apply herself to his will; when she endeavoureth herself to seek his contentation, and to do him pleasure; when she will eschew all things that might offend him: for thus will most truly be verified the saying of the poet[1], 'A good wife by obeying her husband shall bear the rule, so that he shall have a delight and a gladness the sooner at all times to return home to her.' But, on the contrary part, when the wives be stubborn, froward, and malapert, their husbands are com- 1 Pet. iii. [1.]

[f] in] to 1595.
[g] though] although 1582, 1623.
[h] that] this 1595.
[i] ye] *wanting* 1595.
[k] husband] husbands 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[1] cf. Euripid. Electr. 71 et seqq.; Menand. apud Stob. Florileg. LXVII. 9.]

pelled thereby to abhor and flee from their own houses, even as they should have battle with their enemies. Howbeit, it can scantly be, but that some offences shall sometime chance betwixt them: for no man doth live without fault, specially, for that the woman is the more frail party[l]. Therefore let them beware that they stand not in their faults and wilfulness; but rather let them acknowledge their follies, and say, 'My husband, so it is, that by my anger I was compelled to do this or that: forgive it me, and hereafter I will take better heed.' Thus ought the woman the[m] more readily to do, the more they be ready to offend. And they shall not do this only to avoid strife and debate, but rather in the[n] respect of the commandment of God, as St Paul expresseth it in this form of words: *Let women be subject to their husbands, as to the Lord: for the husband is the head of the woman, as Christ is the head of the church.* Here you understand, that God hath commanded that ye should acknowledge the authority of the husband, and refer to him the honour of obedience. And St Peter saith in that place before[o] rehearsed, that *holy matrons did sometime*[p] *deck themselves not with gold and silver, but in putting their whole hope in God, and in obeying their husbands; as Sarah obeyed Abraham, calling him lord; whose daughters ye be,* saith he, *if ye follow her example.* This sentence is very meet for women to print in their remembrance. Truth it is, that they must specially feel the grief[q] and pains of their matrimony, in that they relinquish the liberty of their own rule; in the pain of their travailing; in the bringing up of their children. In which offices they be in great perils, and be grieved with great afflictions, which they might be without, if they lived out of matrimony. But St Peter saith, that this is the chief ornament of holy matrons, in that they set their hope and trust in God; that is to say, in that they refused not from marriage for the business thereof, for the griefs[r] and perils thereof; but committed all such adventures to God, in most sure trust of help, after that they have

Eph. v. [22, 23.]

1 Pet. iii. [5, 6.]

[1 Pet. iii. 5.]

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[l] party] part 1563.

[m] the woman the] woman the 1563, the woman 1623.

[n] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[o] that place before] that same place afore 1563.

[p] sometime] sometimes 1563, in former time 1623.

[q] grief] griefs 1563.

[r] griefs] gifts 1623.

called upon his aid. O woman, do thou the like, and so shalt thou be most excellently beautified before God and all his angels and saints; and thou needest not to seek further for doing any better works. For, obey thy husband; take regard of his requests; and give heed unto him to perceive what he requireth of thee; and so shalt thou honour God, and live peaceably in thy house. And beyond all[s] this, God shall follow thee with his benediction, that all things shall well prosper, both to thee and to thy husband, as the psalm saith, *Blessed is the man which feareth God, and walketh in his ways; thou shalt have the fruit of thine own hands; happy shalt thou be, and well it shall*[t] *go with thee. Thy wife shall be as a vine plentifully spreading about thy house. Thy children shall be as the*[u] *young springs of the olives about thy table. Lo, thus shall that man be blessed,* saith David, *that feareth the Lord.* This let the wife have ever in mind, the rather admonished thereto by the apparel of her head, whereby is signified, that she is under covert or[x] obedience of her husband. And as that apparel is of nature so appointed, to declare her subjection; so biddeth St Paul, that all other of her raiment should express both shamefacedness and sobriety. For if it be not lawful for the woman to have her head bare, but to bear thereon the sign of her power, wheresoever she goeth; more is it[y] required that she declare the thing that is meant thereby. And therefore these ancient women of the old world called their husbands lords, and shewed them reverence in obeying them.

[Psal. cxxviii. 1—4.]

[1 Tim. ii. 9.]

[1 Cor. xi. 10.]

[Gen. xviii. 12.]

But peradventure she will say, that those men loved their wives indeed. I know that well enough, and bear it well in mind. But when I do admonish you of your duties, then call not to consideration what their duties be. For when we[z] ourselves do teach our children to obey us as their parents; or when we reform our servants, and tell them that they should obey their masters, not only at the eye, but as to[a] the Lord; if they should tell us again of our duties, we would[b] not think it well done. For when we be admonished of our duties and faults, we ought not then to seek what other men's duties be. For though a man had a com-

[Eph. vi. 6.]

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[s] all] *wanting* 1563.
[t] it shall] shall it 1563.
[u] the] thy 1582, 1589.
[x] or] and 1563.
[y] is it] it is 1587, 1595.
[z] we] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[a] to] *wanting* 1623.
[b] would] should 1623.

panion in his fault, yet should not he[c] thereby be without his fault. But this must be only looked on, by what means thou mayest make thyself without blame. For Adam did lay the blame upon the woman, and she turned it unto the serpent: but yet neither of them was thus excused. And therefore bring not such excuses to me at this time, but apply all thy diligence to hear thine obedience to thy[d] husband. For when I take in hand to admonish thy[e] husband to love thee, and to cherish thee; yet will I not cease to set out the law that is appointed for the woman, as well as I would require of the man what is written for his law. Go thou therefore about such things as becometh thee only, and shew thyself tractable to thy husband. Or rather, if thou wilt obey thy husband for God's precept, then allege such things as be in his duty to do; but perform thou diligently those things which the law-maker hath charged thee to do: for thus is it[f] most reasonable to obey God, if thou wilt not suffer thyself to transgress his law. He that loveth his friend seemeth to do no great thing: but he that honoureth him[g] that is hurtful and hateful to him, this man is worthy most[h] commendation. Even so think thou[i], if thou canst suffer an extreme husband, thou shalt have a great reward therefor: but if thou lovest him only because he is gentle and courteous, what reward will God give thee therefor? Yet I speak not these things, that I[k] would wish the husbands to be sharp towards their wives: but I exhort the women, that they would patiently bear the sharpness of their husbands. For when either parts do their best to perform their duties the one to the other, then followeth thereon great profit to their neighbours for their example's sake. For when the woman is ready to suffer a sharp husband, and the man will not extremely entreat his stubborn and troublesome wife, then be all things in quiet, as in a most sure haven. Even thus was it done in old time, that every one did their own duty and office, and was not busy to require the duty of their neighbours. Consider, I pray

[Gen. xii. 5.] thee, that Abraham took[l] to him his brother's son: his wife

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c not he] he not 1623.
d thy] thine 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
e thy] the 1587, 1595.
f is it] it is 1587, 1595.
g him] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
h most] much 1563.
i thou] you 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
k I] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
l took] taketh 1563.

did not blame him therefor. He commanded him to go with him a long journey: she did not gainsay it, but obeyed his precept. Again, after all those great miseries, labours, and pains of that journey, when Abraham was made[m] as lord over all, yet did he give place to Lot of his superiority: which matter Sarah took so little to grief, that she never once suffered her tongue to speak such words as the common manner of women is wont to do in these days, when they see their husbands in such rooms, to be made underlings, and to be put under their youngers. Then they upbraid them with cumbrous talk, and call them fools, dastards, and cowards for so doing. But Sarah was so far from speaking any such thing, that it came never into her mind and thought so to say, but allowed the wisdom and will of her husband. Yea, besides[n] all this, after the said Lot had thus his will, and left to his uncle the less[o] portion of land, he chanceth[p] to fall into extreme peril: which chance when it came to the knowledge of this said patriarch, he incontinently put all his men in harness, and prepared himself, with all his family and friends, against the host of the Persians. In which case, Sarah did not counsel him to the contrary, nor did say, as then might have been said, 'My husband, whither goest thou so unadvisedly? Why runnest thou thus on head? Why dost thou offer thyself to so great perils, and art thus ready to jeopard thine own life, and to peril the lives of all thine, for such a man as hath done thee such wrong? At the least way, if thou regardest not thyself, yet have compassion on me, which for thy love have forsaken my kindred and my country, and have the want both of my friends and kinsfolks, and am thus come into so far countries with thee. Have pity on me, and make me not here a widow, to cast me to[q] such cares and troubles.' Thus might she have said: but Sarah neither said nor thought such words, but she kept herself in silence in all things. [Gen. xiii. 9.]

Furthermore, all that time when she was barren, and took no pains[r] as other women did, by bringing forth fruit in his house, what did he? He complained not to[s] his wife, but to Almighty God. And consider how either of them did their

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[m] made] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[n] besides] beside 1563.
[o] less] lesser 1563.
[p] chanceth] chanced *in all the other editions.*
[q] to] into 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[r] pains] pain 1563.
[s] to] unto 1595.

duties as became them: for neither did he despise Sarah because she was barren, nor never did cast it in her teeth. [Gen. xvi. 4—6.] Consider again how Abraham expelled the handmaid out of the house, when she required it: so that by this I may truly prove, that the one was pleased and contented with the other in all things. But yet set not your eyes only on this matter; but look further what was done before this, that Hagar used her mistress despitefully, and that Abraham himself was somewhat provoked against her; which must needs be an intolerable matter and a painful, to a freehearted woman and a chaste. Let not therefore the woman be too busy to call for the duty of her husband, where she should be ready to perform her own; for that is not worthy any great commendation[t]. And even so again, let not the man only consider what longeth[u] to the woman, and to stand too[x] earnestly gazing thereon; for that is not his party or duty. But, as I have said, let either party[y] be ready and willing to perform that [Matt. v. 39.] which belongeth specially to themself[z]. For if we be bound to hold out our left cheek to strangers, which will smite us on the right cheek; how much more ought we to suffer an extreme and unkind husband! But yet I mean not that a man should beat his wife: God forbid that; for that is the greatest shame that can be, not so much to her that is beaten, as to him that doth the deed. But if by such fortune thou chancest upon such an husband, take it not too heavily; but suppose thou that thereby is laid up no small reward hereafter, and in this lifetime no small commendation to thee, if thou canst be quiet.

But yet to you that be men, thus I speak; let there be none so grievous fault to compel you to beat your wives. But what say I? your wives! No, it is not to be borne with, that an honest man should lay hands on his maid-servant to beat her. Wherefore, if it be a great shame for a man to beat his bond-servant, much more rebuke it is to lay violent hands upon his free-woman. And this thing be well understand[a] by the laws which the paynims[1]

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[t] commendation] commendations 1623.

[u] longeth] belongeth 1582, 1589, 1595, 1623.

[x] too] so 1563.

[y] party] parties 1563.

[z] themself] themselves 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[a] understand] understood 1623.

[1] [cf. Demosthenes apud Orator. Att. p. 1332, 13, ed. Reiske; Smith's Dict. of Antiq. *art.* Ἀπολείψεως δίκη.]

have made, which doth discharge her any longer to dwell with such an husband, as unworthy to have any further company with her that doth smite her. For it is an extreme point, thus so vilely to entreat her like a slave, that is fellow to thee of thy life, and so joined[b] unto thee beforetime in the necessary matters of thy living. And therefore a man may well liken such a man, if he may be called a man, rather than a wild beast, to a killer of his father or his mother. And whereas we be commanded to forsake our father and mother for our wives' sake, and yet thereby do work them none[c] injury, but do fulfil the law of God; how can it not appear then to be a point of extreme madness, to entreat her despitefully[d], for whose sake God hath commanded thee to leave parents? Yea, who can suffer such despite? Who can worthily express the inconvenience that is, to see what weepings and wailings be made in the open streets, when neighbours run together to the house of so unruly an husband, as to a bedlam-man, who goeth about to overturn all that he hath at home? Who would not think that it were better for such a man to wish the ground to open and to[e] swallow him in, than once ever after to be seen in the market?

But peradventure thou wilt object, that the woman provoketh thee to this point. But consider thou again, that the woman is a frail vessel, and thou art therefore made the ruler and head over her, to bear the weakness of her in this her subjection. And therefore study thou to declare the honest commendation of thine authority; which thou canst no way[f] better do, than to forbear to utter[g] her in her weakness and subjection. For even as the king appeareth so much the more noble, the more excellent and noble he maketh his officers and lieutenants, whom if he should dishonour, and despise the authority of their dignity, he should deprive himself of a great part of his own honour: even so, if thou dost despise her that is set in the next room beside thee, thou dost much derogate and decay the excellency and virtue of thine own authority. Recount all these things in thy mind, and be gentle and quiet. Understand that God hath given thee children with her, and art made a father, and by such reason

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[b] joined] conjoined 1563.
[c] none] no 1595.
[d] despitefully] pitifully 1587, 1595.
[e] to] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[f] canst no way] no way canst 1595.
[g] utter] urge 1623.

appease thyself. Dost thou not[h] see the husbandmen, what diligence they use to till that ground which once they have taken to farm, though it be never so full of faults? As for an example, though it be dry; though it bringeth forth weeds; though the soil cannot bear too much wet; yet he tilleth it, and so winneth fruit thereof: even in like manner, if thou wouldest use like diligence to instruct and order the mind of thy spouse; if thou wouldest diligently apply thyself to weed out by little and little the noisome weeds of uncomely manners out of her mind, with wholesome precepts; it could not be, but in time thou shouldest feel the pleasant fruit thereof to both your comforts. Therefore that this thing chance not so, perform this thing that I do here counsel thee: whensoever[i] any displeasant matter riseth at home, if thy wife hath done aught amiss, comfort her, and increase not the heaviness. For though thou shouldest be grieved with never so many things, yet shalt thou[k] find nothing more grievous than to want the benevolence of thy wife at home. What offence soever thou canst name, yet shalt thou find none more intolerable than to be at debate with thy wife. And for this cause most of all oughtest thou to have this love in reverence. And if reason moveth thee to bear any burden at any other men's hands, much more at thy wife's. For if she be poor, upbraid her not; if she be simple, taunt her not, but be the more courteous: for she is thy body, and made one flesh with thee.

But thou peradventure wilt say, that she is a wrathful woman, a drunkard, and[l] beastly, without wit and reason. For this cause bewail her the more. Chafe not in anger, but pray to[m] Almighty God. Let her be admonished and holpen[n] with good counsel, and do thou thy best endeavour, that she may be delivered of all these affections. But if thou shouldest beat her, thou shalt increase her evil affections: for frowardness and sharpness is not amended with frowardness, but with softness and gentleness. Furthermore, consider what reward thou shalt have at God's hand: for where thou mightest beat her, and yet, for the respect of the fear of God, thou wilt abstain and bear patiently her great offences, the rather in respect of

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[h] thou not] not thou 1563.
[i] whensoever] whatsoever 1563.
[k] shalt thou] thou shalt 1563.
[l] and] a 1563.
[m] to] unto 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[n] holpen] helped 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

that law, which forbiddeth that a man should cast out his wife, what fault soever she be cumbered[o] with, thou shalt have a very great reward; and before the receipt of that reward, thou shalt feel many commodities. For by this means she shall be made the more obedient, and thou for her[p] sake shalt be made the more meek. It is written in a story of a certain strange philosopher[1], which had a cursed wife, a froward, and a drunkard; when he was asked for what consideration he did so bear her evil manners, he made answer, "By this means," said he, "I have at home a schoolmaster, and an example how I should behave myself abroad: for I shall," saith he, "be the more quiet with other[q], being thus daily exercised and taught in the forbearing of her." Surely it is a shame that paynims should be wiser than we; we, I say, that be commanded to counterfeit[r] angels, or rather[s] God himself, through meekness. And for the love of virtue, this said philosopher Socrates would not expel his wife out of his house. Yea, some say that he did therefore marry his wife, to learn this virtue by that occasion. Wherefore, seeing many men be far behind the wisdom of this man, my counsel is, that first and before all things, that[t] man do his best endeavour to get him a good wife, endued[u] with all honesty and virtue: but if it so chance that he is deceived, that he hath chosen such a wife as is neither good nor tolerable, then let the husband follow this philosopher, and let him instruct his wife in every condition, and never lay these matters to sight. For the merchantman, except he first be at composition with his factor to use his interaffairs[x] quietly, he will neither stir his ship to sail, nor yet will lay hands upon his merchandise: even so, let us do all things, that we may have the fellowship of our wives, which is the factor of all our doings at home, in great quiet and rest. And by these means all things shall prosper quietly, and so shall we pass through the

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[o] cumbered] encumbered 1587, 1595.
[p] her] his 1563.
[q] other] others 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[r] counterfeit] resemble 1623.
[s] rather] other 1582, 1587, 1595.
[t] that] a 1623.
[u] endued] endowed 1595.
[x] interaffairs] interfairs 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[1] [See Xenophon. Conviv. cap. II. § 10. ed. Schneider; and comp. St Chrysostom, Hom. XVI. in 1 Cor., where the exact words are found.]

dangers of the troublous sea of this world. For this state of life will be more honourable and comfortable than our houses, than servants, than money, than lands and possessions, than all things that can be told. As all these, with sedition and discord[y], can never work us any comfort; so shall all things turn to our commodity and pleasure, if we draw this yoke in one concord of heart and mind.

Whereupon do your best endeavour, that after this sort ye use your matrimony, and so shall ye be armed on every side. Ye have escaped the snares of the devil, and the unlawful lusts of the flesh; ye have the quietness of conscience by this institution of matrimony, ordained by God: therefore use oft prayer to him, that he would be present by you, that he would continue concord and charity betwixt you. Do the best ye can of your parts, to custom yourselves to softness and meekness, and bear well in worth such oversights as chance; and thus shall your conversation be most pleasant and comfortable. And although—which can no otherwise be—some adversities shall follow, and otherwhiles now one discommodity, now another shall appear; yet in this common trouble and adversity, lift up both your hands unto heaven; call upon the help and assistance of God, the author of your marriage; and surely the promise of relief is at hand. For Christ affirmeth in his gospel, *Where two or three be gathered together in my name, and be agreed, what matter soever they pray for, it shall be granted them of my heavenly Father.* Why therefore shouldest thou be afraid[z] of the danger, where thou hast so ready a promise, and so nigh an help? Furthermore, you must understand how necessary it is for Christian folk to bear Christ's cross: for else we shall never feel how comfortable God's help is unto us. Therefore give thanks to God for his great benefit, in that ye have taken upon you this state of wedlock; and pray you instantly that Almighty God may luckily defend and maintain you therein; that neither ye be overcome[a] with any temptations[b], nor with any adversity. But, before all things, take good heed that ye give no occasion to the devil to let and hinder your prayers by discord and dissension: for there is no stronger defence and stay

[Matt. xviii. 19, 20.]

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y discord] concord 1582, 1587, 1595.
z afraid] afeard 1563.
a overcome] overcomed 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.
b temptations] temptation 1563, 1582, 1587, 1595.

in all our life than is prayer; in the which we may call for the help of God, and obtain it; whereby we may win his blessing, his grace, his defence, and protection, so to continue therein to a better life to come: which grant us he that died for us all, to whom be all honour and praise for ever and ever. Amen.

AN HOMILY

AGAINST IDLENESS.

FORASMUCH as man, being not born to ease and rest, but to labour and travail, is by corruption of nature through sin so far degenerated and grown out of kind, that he taketh idleness to be no evil at all, but rather a commendable thing, seemly for those that be wealthy; and therefore is greedily embraced of most part of men, as agreeable to their sensual affection, and all labour and travail is diligently avoided, as a thing painful and repugnant to the pleasure of the flesh; it is necessary to be declared unto you, that by the ordinance of God, which he hath set in the nature of man, every one ought, in his lawful vocation and calling, to give himself to labour; and that idleness, being repugnant to the same ordinance, is a grievous sin; and also, for the great inconveniences and mischiefs which spring thereof, an intolerable evil: to the intent that, when ye understand the same, ye may diligently flee from it, and on the other part earnestly apply yourselves, every man in his vocation, to honest labour and business, which as it is enjoined unto man by God's appointment, so it wanteth not his manifold blessings and sundry benefits.

Almighty God, after that he had created man, put him into paradise, that he might dress and keep it: but when he had transgressed God's commandment, eating the fruit of the tree which was forbidden him, Almighty God forthwith did
Gen. iii. [19.] cast him out of paradise into this woful vale of misery, enjoining him to labour the ground that he was taken out of, and to eat his bread in the sweat of his face all the days of his life. It is the appointment and will of God, that every man, during the time of this mortal and transitory life, should give himself to some[a] honest and godly exercise and labour, and every one to do[b] his own business, and to walk
Job v. [7.] uprightly in his own calling. *Man*, saith Job, *is born to labour*. And we are commanded by Jesus Sirach, not to
Eccles. vii. [15.] *hate painful works, neither husbandry*, or other such mysteries of travail, *which the Highest hath created*. The wise

[a] some] such 1623. [b] to do] follow 1623.

man also exhorteth us *to drink the waters of our own cistern, and of the rivers that run out of the midst of our own well;* meaning thereby that we should live of our own labours, and not devour the labours of other. St Paul hearing that among the Thessalonians there were certain that lived dissolutely and out of order, that is to say, which did not work, but were *busy-bodies;* not getting their own living with their own travail, but eating other men's bread of free cost; did command the said Thessalonians, not only to withdraw themselves, and abstain from the familiar company of such inordinate persons, but also, that, if there were any such among them *that would not labour, the same should not eat,* nor have any living at other men's hands. Which doctrine of St Paul, no doubt, is grounded upon the general[c] ordinance of God, which is, that every man should labour; and therefore it is to be obeyed of all men, and no man can justly exempt himself from the same.

Prov. v. [15.]

2 Thess. iii. [11, 12.]

But when it is said, all men should labour, it is not so straitly meant that all men should use handy labour: but as there be divers sorts of labour[d], some of the mind, and some of the body, and some of both; so every one—except by reason of age, debility of body, or want of health, he be unapt to labour at all—ought both for the getting of his own living honestly, and for to profit others, in some kind of labour to exercise himself, according as the vocation, whereunto God hath called him, shall require. So that whosoever doth good to the commonweal and society of men with his industry and labour,—whether it be by governing the commonweal publicly; or by bearing public office or ministry; or by doing any common necessary affairs of his country; or by giving counsel; or by teaching and instructing others; or by what other means soever he be occupied; so that a profit and benefit redound thereof unto others,—the same person is not to be accounted idle, though he work no bodily labour; nor is to be denied his living, if he attend his vocation, though he work not with his hands. Bodily labour is not required of them, which by reason of their vocation and office are occupied in the labour of the mind, to the profit[e] and help of others. St Paul exhorteth Timothy to eschew and refuse

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[c] general] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[d] labour] labours 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[e] profit] succour 1623.

1 Tim. v. [13.] idle widows, *which go about from house to house, because they are not only idle, but prattlers also, and busy-bodies, speaking things which are not comely.* The prophet Ezekiel, declaring what the sins of the city of Sodom were, reckoneth idleness to be one of the principal. *The sins,* saith he, *of Sodom were these; pride, fulness*[f] *of meat, abundance, and idleness: these things had Sodom and her daughters;* meaning the cities subject to her. The horrible and strange kind of destruction of that city, and all the country about the same,—which was fire and brimstone raining from heaven,—most manifestly declareth what a grievous sin idleness is, and ought to admonish us to flee from the same, and embrace honest and godly labour. But if we give ourselves to idleness and sloth; to lurking and loitering; to wilful wandering; and wasteful spending: never settling ourselves to honest labour, but living like drone bees by the labours of other men, then do we break the Lord's commandment; we go astray from our vocation; and incur the danger of God's wrath and heavy displeasure, to our endless destruction, except by repentance we turn again unfeignedly unto[g] God.

Ezek. xvi. [49.]

The inconveniences and mischiefs that come of idleness, as well to man's body as to his soul, are more than can in short time be well rehearsed. Some we shall declare and open unto you, that by considering them ye may the better with yourselves gather the rest. *An idle hand,* saith Solomon, *maketh poor, but a quick labouring hand maketh rich.* Again, *He that tilleth his land shall have plenteousness of bread; but he that floweth in idleness is a very fool, and shall have poverty enough.* Again, *A slothful body will not go to plough for cold of the winter; therefore shall he go a begging in summer, and have nothing.* But what shall we need to stand much about the proving of this, that poverty followeth idleness? We have too much experience thereof—the thing is the more to be lamented—in this realm. For a great part of the beggary that is among the poor can be imputed to nothing so much as to idleness, and to the negligence of parents; which do not bring up their children either in good learning; honest labour; or some commendable occupation or trade; whereby, when they come

Prov. x. [4.]

Prov. xii. [11.] xxviii. [19.]

Prov. xx. [4.]

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[f] fulness] filthiness 1595.

[g] unto] to 1587, 1595.

to age, they might get their living. Daily experience also teacheth, that nothing is more enemy or pernicious to the health of a man's body, than is idleness; too much ease and sleep, and want of exercise.

But these and such like incommodities, albeit they be great and noisome, yet because they concern chiefly the body and external goods[h], they are not to be compared with the mischiefs and inconveniences, which through[i] idleness happen to the soul, whereof we will recite some. Idleness is never alone, but hath always a long tail of other vices hanging on, which corrupt and infect the whole man after such sort, that he is made at length nothing else but a lump of sin. *Idleness*, saith Jesus Sirach, *bringeth much evil and mischief.* St [Bernard][k] calleth it[2] "the mother of all evils, and stepdame of all virtues;" adding moreover, that it doth prepare, and as it were tread the way to hell-fire. Where idleness is once received, there the devil is always[l] ready to set in his foot, and to plant all kind of wickedness and sin, to the everlasting destruction of man's soul. Which thing to be most true, we are plainly taught in the thirteenth of Matthew, where it is said, that *the enemy came while men were asleep, and sowed naughty tares among the good wheat.* In very deed, the best time that the devil can have to work his feat is when men be asleep, that is to say, idle: then is he most busy in his work; then doth he soonest catch men in the snare of perdition; then doth he fill them with all iniquity, to bring them, without God's special favour, unto utter destruction. Hereof we have two notable examples most lively set before our eyes. The one in king David, who tarrying at home idly, as the Scripture saith, at such times as other kings go forth to battle, was quickly seduced of Satan to forsake the Lord his God, and to commit two grievous and abominable sins in his sight,—adultery and murder. The plagues that ensued these offences were horrible and grievous, as it may easily appear to them that will read the story.

Ecclus. xxxiii. [27.]

Matt. xiii. [25.]

2 Sam. xi. [1.]

2 Sam. xii. [9, 11.]

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[h] external goods] external goodness 1563, eternal goods 1587, 1595.

[i] through] thorough 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[k] Bernard] Barnabe, 1574, 1582.

[l] always] *wanting* 1623.

[2 'Fugienda proinde otiositas, mater nugarum, noverca virtutum.' 'De Consideratione,' Lib. II. cap. 13; Opp. col. 874, E; ed. Antv. 1616.]

Judges xvi. [1—25.] Another example of Samson, who, so long as he warred with the Philistines, enemies to the people of God, could never be taken or overcome; but after that he gave himself to ease and idleness, he not only committed fornication with the strumpet Dalilah, but also was taken of his enemies, and had his eyes miserably put out; was put in prison, and compelled to grind in a mill; and at length was made the[m] laughing-stock of his enemies. If these two, who were so excellent men, so well-beloved of God, so endued with singular and divine gifts, the one namely of prophecy, and the other of strength; and such men as never could by vexation, labour, or trouble, be overcome, were overthrown and fell into grievous sins, by giving themselves for a short time to ease and idleness, and so consequently incurred miserable plagues at the hands of God; what sin, what mischief, what inconvenience and plague is not to be feared of them, which all their life long give themselves wholly to idleness and ease?

Let us not deceive ourselves, thinking little hurt to come of doing nothing; for it is a true saying, 'When one doth nothing, he learneth to do evil.' Let us therefore always be doing of some honest work, that the devil may find us occupied. He himself is ever occupied, never idle; but walketh [1 Pet. v. 8, 9.] continually seeking to devour us. Let us resist him with our diligent watching, in labour, and in[n] well-doing. For he that diligently exerciseth himself in honest business is not easily catched in the devil's snare. When man through idleness, or for default of some honest occupation or trade to live upon, is brought to poverty and want of things necessary, we see how easily such a man is induced for his gain to lie; to practise how he may deceive his neighbour; to forswear himself; to bear false witness, and oftentimes to steal and murder; or to use some other ungodly mean to live withal; whereby not only his good name, honest reputation, and a good conscience, yea, his life is utterly lost, but also the great displeasure and wrath of God, with divers and sundry grievous plagues, are procured. Lo here the end of the idle and sluggish bodies, whose hands cannot away with honest labour,—loss of name, fame, reputation, and life, here in this world, and, without the great mercy of God, the purchasing of everlasting destruc-

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[m] the] a 1595. [n] in] *wanting* 1595.

tion in the world to come. Have not all men then good cause to beware and take heed of idleness, seeing they that embrace and follow it have commonly of their pleasant idleness, sharp and sour displeasures?

Doubtless, good and godly men, weighing the great and manifold harm[o] that come by idleness to a commonweal, have from time to time provided with all diligence, that sharp and severe laws might be made for the correction and amendment of this evil. The Egyptians[1] had a law, that every man should weekly bring his name to the chief rulers of the province, and therewithal declare what trade of life he occupied[p], to the intent that idleness might be worthily punished, and diligent labour duly rewarded. The Athenians[2] did chastise sluggish and slothful people no less than they did heinous and grievous offenders, considering, as the truth is, that idleness causeth much mischief. The Areopagites[3] called every man to[q] a straight account how he lived; and if they found any loiterers, that did not profit the commonweal by one means or other, they were driven out and banished, as unprofitable members, that did only hurt and corrupt the body. And in this realm of England[4] good and godly laws have been divers times made, that no idle vagabonds and loitering runagates should be suffered to go from town to town, from place to place, without punishment; which neither serve God nor their prince, but devour the sweet fruits of other men's labour; being common liars, drunkards, swearers, thieves, whoremasters, and murderers; refusing all honest labour, and give themselves to nothing else but to invent and do mischief, whereof they are more desirous and greedy than is any lion of his prey. Herodotus.

To remedy this inconvenience, let all parents and others, which have the care and governance of youth, so bring them up either in good learning, labour, or some honest occupation or trade, whereby they may be able in time to come not only to sustain themselves competently, but also to relieve and

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o harm] harms 1563, 1582, 1587, 1623.
p occupied] used 1623.
q to] unto 1587, 1595.

1 [Herodot. Lib. II. cap. 177.]
2 [Valer. Max. II. 6, 3.]
3 [Isocrat. Areopag. p. 148, d, ed. Bekker.]
4 [e.g. 1° Edw. VI. cap. 3.]

supply the necessity and want of others. And St Paul
Eph. iv. [28.] saith, *Let him that hath stolen steal no more, and he that hath deceived others, or used unlawful ways to get his living, leave off the same; and labour rather, working with his hands that thing which is good; that he may have that which is necessary for himself, and also be able to give unto*[r] *others that stand in need of his help.* The prophet David thinketh him happy that liveth upon his labour, saying,
Psal. cxxviii. [2.] *When thou eatest the labours of thy hands, happy art thou, and well is thee.* This happiness or blessing consisteth in
Eccles. iii. [13.] these and such like points. First, *It is the gift of God,* as Solomon saith, *when one eateth and drinketh, and receiveth good of his labour.* Secondarily[s], when one liveth of his own labour, so it be honest and good, he liveth of it with a good conscience; and an upright conscience is a treasure inestimable. Thirdly, he eateth his bread not with brawling and chiding, but with peace and quietness, when he quietly labour-eth for the same, according to St Paul's admonition. Fourthly, he is no man's bondman for his meat sake, nor needeth not for that to hang upon the good will of other men; but so liveth of his own, that he is able to give part to others. And, to conclude, the labouring man and his family, whiles they are busily occupied in their labour, be free from many[t] temptations and occasions of sin, which they that live in idleness are subject unto.

And here ought artificers and labouring men, who be at wages for their work and labour, to consider their conscience to God, and their duty to their neighbour, lest they abuse their time in idleness, so defrauding them which be at charge both with great wages, and dear commons. They be worse than idle men indeed, for that they seek to have wages for their loitering. It is less danger to God to be idle for no gain, than by idleness to win out of their neighbours' purses wages for that which is not deserved. It is true, that Almighty God is angry with such as do defraud the hired man
James v. 4.] of his wages; the cry of that injury ascendeth up to God's ear for vengeance. And as true it is, that the hired man,
I Thess. iv. 6.] who useth deceit in his labour, is a thief before God. *Let no man,* saith St Paul to the Thessalonians, *subtilly beguile his*

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[r] unto] to 1587, 1595.
[s] secondarily] secondly 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[t] many] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

brother; let him not defraud him in his business, for the Lord is a revenger of such deceits. Whereupon he that will have a good conscience to God—that labouring man, I say, which dependeth wholly on God's benediction, ministering all things sufficient for his living—let him use his time in faithful[u] labour; and when his labour by sickness or other misfortune doth cease, yet let him think for that in his health he served God and his neighbour truly, he shall not want in time of necessity. God upon respect of his fidelity in health will recompense his indigence, to move the hearts of good men to relieve such decayed men in sickness. Where otherwise, whatsoever is gotten by idleness shall have no foison[x] to help in time of need. Let the labouring man therefore eschew for his part this vice of idleness and deceit, remembering that St Paul exhorteth every man to lay away deceit, dissimulation, and lying, and to use truth and plainness to his neighbour, *because,* saith he, *we be members together in one body,* Eph. iv. [15.] *under one head, Christ our Saviour.*

And here might be charged the serving-men of this realm, who spend their time in much idleness of life, nothing regarding the opportunity of their time; forgetting how service is no heritage; how age will creep upon them: where wisdom were they should expend their idle time in some good business, whereby they might increase in knowledge, and so the more worthy to be ready for every man's service. It is a great rebuke to them, that they study not either to write fair; to keep a book of account; to study the tongues; and so to get wisdom and knowledge in such books and works, as be now plentifully set out in print of all manner languages[y]. Let young men consider the precious value of their time, and waste it not in idleness, in jollity, in gaming[z], in banqueting, in ruffians' company. Youth is but vanity, and must be accounted for before God. *How merry and glad soever thou be in thy youth, O young man,* saith the preacher, how glad soever thy heart be in thy young days, how fast and freely soever thou *follow the ways of thine own heart, and the lust of thine own eyes; yet be thou sure that God shall bring thee into judgment for all these things.* God of his mercy put it into the hearts and minds of all them that have the sword of punishment in their Eccles. xi. [9.]

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[u] faithful] a faithful 1623.
[x] foison] means 1623.
[y] languages] of languages 1623.
[z] gaming] gamning 1563.

hands, or have families under their governance, to labour to redress this great enormity, of all such as live idly and unprofitably in the commonweal, to the great dishonour of God, and the grievous plague of his silly people! To leave sin unpunished, and to neglect the good bringing up of youth, is nothing else but to kindle the Lord's wrath against us, and to heap plagues upon our own heads. As long as the adulterous people were suffered to live licentiously without reformation, so long did the plague continue and increase in Israel, as ye may see in the book of Numbers. But when due correction was done upon them, the Lord's anger was straightway pacified, and the plague ceased. Let all officers therefore look straitly to their charge. Let all masters of households reform this abuse in their families; let them use the authority that God hath given them; let them not maintain vagabonds and idle persons, but deliver the realm and their households from such noisome loiterers; that idleness, the mother of all mischief, being clean taken away, Almighty God may turn his dreadful anger away from us, and confirm the covenant of peace upon us for ever, through the merits of Jesus Christ, our only Lord and Saviour: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Numb. xxv. [8.]

AN HOMILY

OF

REPENTANCE, AND OF TRUE RECONCILIATION UNTO GOD.

THERE is nothing that the Holy Ghost doth so much labour in all the Scriptures to beat into men's heads, as repentance, amendment of life, and speedy returning unto the Lord God of hosts. And no marvel why; for we do daily and hourly, by our wickedness and stubborn disobedience, horribly fall away from God, thereby purchasing unto ourselves, if he should[a] deal with us according to his justice, eternal damnation. So that no doctrine is so necessary in the church of God, as is the doctrine of repentance and amendment of life. And verily the true preachers of the gospel of the kingdom of heaven, and of the glad and joyful tidings of salvation, have always in their godly sermons and preachings unto the people, joined these two together,—I mean repentance and forgiveness of sins;—even as our Saviour Jesus Christ did appoint himself, saying, *So it behoved Christ to suffer, and to rise again the third day; and that repentance and forgiveness of sins should be preached in his name among all nations.* And therefore the holy apostle doth in the Acts speak after this manner, *I have witnessed both to the Jews and to the Gentiles, the repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesu*[b] *Christ.* Did not John Baptist, Zachariah's son, begin his ministry with the doctrine of repentance, saying, *Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand?* The like doctrine did our Saviour Jesus Christ preach himself, and commanded his apostles to preach the same.

The doctrine of repentance is most necessary.

Luke xxiv. [46, 47.]

Acts xx. [21.]

Matt. iii. [2.]

Matt. iv. [17.]

I might here allege very many places out of the prophets, in the which this most wholesome doctrine of repentance is very earnestly urged, as most needful for all degrees and orders of men: but one shall be sufficient at this present time. These are the words of Joel the prophet: *Therefore also now the Lord saith, Return unto me with all your heart, with fasting, weeping, and mourning. Rent*[c] *your*

Joel ii. [12, 13.]

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[a] should] would 1595.

[b] Jesu] Jesus 1623.

[c] rent] And rent 1563.

hearts, and not your clothes, and return[d] *unto the Lord your God; for he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, and of great compassion, and ready to pardon wickedness.*

A perpetual rule which all must follow.

Whereby it is given us to understand, that we have here a perpetual rule appointed unto us, which ought to be observed and kept at all times, and that there is none other way, whereby the wrath of God may be pacified, and his anger assuaged, that the fierceness of his fury, and the plagues or[e] destruction, which by his righteous judgment he had determined to bring upon us, may depart, be removed, and taken away. Where he saith, *But now therefore*, saith the Lord, *return unto me:* it is not without great importance that the prophet speaketh so. For he had afore set forth at large unto them the horrible vengeance of God, which no man was able to abide, and therefore he doth move them to[f] repentance, to obtain mercy; as if he should say, 'I will not have these things to be so taken, as though there were no hope of grace left. For although ye do by your sins deserve to be utterly destroyed; and God by his righteous judgments hath determined to bring no small destruction upon you; yet now[g] that ye are in a manner on the very edge of the sword, if ye will speedily return unto him, he will most gently and most mercifully receive you into favour again.' Whereby we are admonished, that repentance is never too late, so that it be true and earnest. For sith that God in the Scriptures will be called our Father, doubtless he doth follow the nature and property of gentle and merciful fathers, which seek nothing so much as[h] the returning again, and amendment of their children, as Christ doth abundantly teach in the parable of the prodigal son. Doth not the Lord himself say by the prophet, *I will not the death of the wicked, but that he turn from his wicked ways, and live?* And in another place, *If we confess our sin*[i], *God is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to make us clean from all wickedness?* Which most comfortable promises are confirmed by many examples of the Scriptures. When the Jews did willingly receive and embrace the wholesome counsel of the prophet Isaiah, God by and by did reach his helping hand unto them,

Luke xv. [11—32.] Ezek. xviii. [23.] Isai. i. [16.] 1 John i. [9.]

Isai. xxxvii. [21, 33, 36.]

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[d] return] turn 1587, 1595.
[e] or] of 1623.
[f] to] unto 1587, 1595.
[g] now] know 1623.
[h] as] than 1563.
[i] sin] sins 1563.

and by his angel did in one night slay the most worthy and valiant soldiers of[k] Sennacherib's camp. Whereunto may king Manasseh be added, who after all manner of damnable wickedness returned unto the Lord, and therefore was heard of him, and restored again into his kingdom. The same grace and favour did the sinful woman Magdalene, Zacchæus, the poor thief, and many other feel. All which things ought to serve for our comfort against the temptations of our consciences, whereby the devil goeth about to shake, or rather overthrow our faith. For every one of us ought to apply the same unto himself, and say, Yet now return unto the Lord: neither let the remembrance of thy former life discourage thee; yea, the more wicked that it hath been, the more fervent and earnest let thy repentance or returning be, and forthwith thou shalt feel the ears of the Lord wide open unto thy prayers.

2 Chron. xxxiii. [12, 13.]

Luke vii. [48; xix. 9; xxiii. 43.]

But let us more narrowly look upon the commandment of the Lord touching this matter. *Turn unto me,* saith he by his[l] holy prophet Joel, *with all your hearts, with fasting, weeping*[m], *and mourning. Rent your hearts, and not your garments,* &c. In which words he comprehendeth all manner of things that can be spoken of repentance, which is a returning[n] again of the whole man unto God, from whom we be fallen away by sin. But that the whole discourse thereof may the better be borne away, we shall first consider in order four principal points; that is, from what we must return; to whom we must return; by whom we may be able to convert; and the manner how to turn to God.

[Joel ii. 12, 13.]

First, from whence, or from what things, we must return. Truly, we must return from those things, whereby we have been withdrawn, plucked, and led away from God. And these generally are our sins, which, as the holy prophet Isaiah doth testify, do separate God and us, and hide his face, that he will not hear us. But under the name of sin, not only those gross words and deeds, which by the common judgment of men are counted to be filthy and unlawful, and so consequently abominable sins; but also the filthy lusts and inward concupiscences of the flesh, which, as St Paul testifieth, do resist the will and spirit of God, and therefore

From whence we must return.

Isai. lix. [2.]

Gal. v. [17.]

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[k] of] in 1587, 1595.
[l] his] the holy 1623.
[m] weeping] with weeping 1563.
[n] returning] turning 1563.

ought earnestly to be bridled and kept under. We must repent of the false and erroneous opinions that we have had of God, and the wicked superstition that doth breed of the same; the unlawful worshipping and service of God, and other like. All these things must they forsake, that will truly turn unto the Lord, and repent aright. For sith that

Eph. v. [6.]

for such things the wrath of God cometh upon the children of disobedience, no end of punishment ought to be looked for, as long as we continue in such things. Therefore they be here condemned, which will seem to be repentant sinners, and yet will not forsake their idolatry and superstition.

Unto whom we ought to return.

Secondly, we must see unto whom we ought to return. *Revertimini usque ad me,* saith the Lord, that is, *Return as far as unto me.* We must then return unto the Lord; yea, we must return unto him alone; for he alone is the truth, and the fountain of all goodness: but we must labour that we do return as far as unto him, and that we do never cease nor[o] rest till we have apprehended and taken hold upon him. But this must be done by faith. For sith that God is a spirit, he can by no[p] other mean[q] be apprehended and taken hold upon. Therefore[r], first, they do greatly err, which do not turn unto God, but unto the creatures, or unto the inventions of men, or unto their own merits. Secondly, they that do begin to return unto the Lord, and do faint in the midway, afore[s] they come to the mark that is appointed unto them.

By whom we must return unto God.

Thirdly, because we have of our own[t] selves nothing to present us to God, and do no less flee from him after our fall, than our first parent Adam did, which[u], when he had sinned, did seek to hide himself from the sight of God; we have need of a Mediator for to bring and reconcile us unto him, who for our sins is angry with us. The same is Jesus Christ; who being true and natural God, equal and of one substance with the Father, did at the time appointed take upon him our frail nature, in the blessed virgin's womb, and that of her undefiled substance; that so he might be a mediator betwixt[x] God and us, to pacify his wrath. Of him doth the Father

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o nor] and 1563.
p no] none 1563.
q mean] means 1623.
r Therefore] Wherefore 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
s afore] before 1623.
t own] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
u which] who 1623.
x betwixt] between 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

himself speak from heaven, saying, *This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well*[y]*-pleased.* And he himself in his gospel doth cry out and say, *I am the way, the truth, and the life; no man cometh unto the Father but by me.* For he alone did with the sacrifice of his body and blood make satisfaction unto the justice of God for our sins. The apostles do testify that he was *exalted for to give repentance and remission of sins unto Israel.* Both which things he himself did command to be preached in his name. Therefore they are greatly deceived that preach repentance without Christ, and teach the simple and ignorant that it consisteth only in the works of men. They may indeed speak many things of good works, and of amendment of life and manners; but without Christ they be all vain and unprofitable. They that think that they have done much of themselves towards[z] repentance, are so much more the farther from God, because that[a] they do seek those things in their own works and merits, which ought only to be sought in our Saviour Jesus[b] Christ, and in the merits of his death, passion[c], and blood-shedding.

Matt. iii. [17.] John xiv. [6.] 1 Pet. i. [19.] Acts v. [31.] Luke xxiv. [47.]

Fourthly, this holy prophet Joel doth lively express the manner of this our returning or repentance, comprehending all the inward and outward things that may be here observed. First, he will have us to return unto God with our whole heart, whereby he doth remove and put away all hypocrisy, lest the same might justly be said unto us, *This people draweth near unto me with their mouth, and worshippeth*[d] *me with their lips; but their heart is far off from me.* Secondly, he requireth a sincere and pure love of godliness, and of the true worshipping and service of God; that is to say, that, forsaking all manner of things that are repugnant and contrary unto God's will, we do give our hearts unto him, and all[e] the whole strength of our bodies and souls, according to that which is written in the law, *Thou shalt love the*[f] *Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy strength.* Here therefore nothing is left unto us that we may give unto the world, and unto the lusts of

The manner of our turning.

Isai. xxix. [13.] Matt. xv. [8, 9.] Deut. vi. [5.]

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[y] well] *wanting* 1563.
[z] towards] toward 1563.
[a] that] *wanting* 1623.
[b] Jesus] Jesu 1563.
[c] passion] and passion 1623.
[d] worshippeth] worship 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[e] all] *wanting* 1623.
[f] the] thy 1563.

the flesh. For sith that the heart is the fountain of all our works, as many as do with their[g] whole heart turn unto the Lord, do live unto him only. Neither do they yet repent truly, that, halting on both sides, do either whiles obey God, but by and by do think, that, laying him aside, it is lawful for them to serve the world and the flesh. And because that we are letted by the natural corruption of our own flesh, and the wicked affections of the same, he doth bid us also to return with fasting: not thereby understanding a superstitious abstinence and choosing of meats, but a true discipline or taming of the flesh, whereby the nourishments of filthy lusts, and of stubborn contumacy and pride, may be withdrawn and plucked away from it. Whereunto he doth add *weeping and mourning*, which do contain an outward profession of repentance, which is very needful and necessary, that so we may partly set forth the righteousness of God, when by such means we do testify that we deserved punishments at his hands, and partly stop the offence that was openly given unto the weak. This did David see, who, being not content to have bewept and bewailed his sins privately, would publicly in his psalms declare and set forth the righteousness of God, in punishing sin; and also stay them that mought[h] have abused his example to sin the more boldly. Therefore they are farthest[i] from true repentance, that will not confess and acknowledge their sins[k], nor yet bewail them; but rather do most ungodly glory and rejoice in them.

Halting on both sides.

True fast.

Psal. xxv.; xxxii.

Now lest any man should think that repentance doth consist in outward weeping and mourning only, he doth rehearse that wherein the chief of the whole matter doth lie, when he saith, *Rent your hearts, and not your garments, and turn unto the Lord your God.* For the people of the east part of the world were wont to rent their garments, if anything had[l] happened unto them that seemed intolerable. This thing did hypocrites sometime counterfeit and follow, as though the whole repentance did stand in each outward gesture. He teacheth then, that another manner of thing is required, that is, that they must be contrite in their hearts; that they must utterly detest and abhor sins; and, being at

[Joel ii. 13.]

Hypocrites do counterfeit all manner of things.

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[g] their] *wanting* 1623.

[h] mought] might 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[i] farthest] farthelest 1563.

[k] sins] sin 1563.

[l] had] *wanting* 1623.

defiance with them, return unto the Lord their God, from whom they went away before. For God hath no pleasure in the outward ceremony, but requireth a contrite and humble heart, which he will never despise, as David doth testify. Psal. li. [17.] There is, therefore, none other use to the outward ceremonies, but as far forth as we are stirred up by them, and do serve to the glory of God, and to the edifying of other.

How repentance is not unprofitable.

Now doth he add unto this doctrine or exhortation certain godly[m] reasons[n], which he doth ground upon the nature and property of God, and whereby he doth teach, that true repentance can never be unprofitable or unfruitful. For as in all other things men's heart do quail and faint, if they once perceive that they travail in vain; even so most specially in this matter must we take heed, and beware that we suffer not ourselves to be persuaded that all that we do is but labour lost: for thereof either sudden desperation doth arise, or a licentious boldness to sin, which at length bringeth unto desperation. Lest any such thing then should happen unto them, he doth certify them of the grace and goodness of God, who is always most ready to receive them into favour again, that turn speedily unto him. Which thing he doth prove with the same titles wherewith God doth describe and set forth himself unto Moses, speaking on this manner, *For he is gracious and merciful, slow to anger, of great kindness, and repenteth him of the evil*; that is, such a one as is sorry for your afflictions[o]. First, he calleth him gentle and gracious, as he who of his own nature is more prompt and ready to do good, than to punish. Whereunto this saying of Isaiah the prophet seemeth to pertain, where he saith, *Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous his own imaginations, and return unto the Lord, and he will have pity on him; and to our God, for he is very ready to forgive.* Secondly, he doth attribute unto him mercy, or rather, according to the Hebrew word, the bowels of mercies, whereby he[p] signified the natural affections of parents towards their children. Which thing David doth set forth goodly, saying, *As a father hath compassion on[q] his children, so hath the Lord compassion on them that*

Exod. xxxiv. [6.]

Isai. lv. [7.]

Psal. ciii. [13.]

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[m] godly] goodly 1563.
[n] reasons] reason 1587, 1595.
[o] afflictions] affliction 1563.
[p] he] are 1563.
[q] on] of 1563.

fear him; for he knoweth whereof we be made, he remembereth that we are but dust. Thirdly, he saith, that *he is slow to anger,* that is to say, long-suffering, and which is not lightly provoked to wrath. Fourthly, that he is of much kindness, for he is that bottomless well of all goodness, who rejoiceth to do good unto us: therefore did he create and make men, that he might have whom he should do good unto, and make partakers of his heavenly riches. Fifthly, *He repenteth of the evil;* that is to say, he doth call back again and revoke the punishment which he had[r] threatened, when he seeth men repent, turn, and amend. Whereupon we do not without a just cause detest and abhor the damnable opinion of them, which do most wickedly go about to persuade the simple and ignorant people, that if we chance, after we be once come to God, and graffed[s] in his Son Jesu[t] Christ, to fall into some horrible sin, repentance[u] shall be unprofitable unto us; there is no more hope of reconciliation, or to be received again into the favour and mercy of God. And that they may give the better colour unto their pestilent and pernicious error, they do commonly bring in the sixth and tenth chapters of the epistle to the Hebrews, and the second chapter of the second epistle of Peter; not considering that in those places the holy apostles do not speak of the daily falls that we, as long as we carry about this body of sin, are subject unto; but of the final falling away from Christ and his gospel; which is a sin against the Holy Ghost, that shall never be forgiven: because that they that[x] do utterly forsake the known truth, do hate Christ and his word, they do crucify and mock him, but to[y] their utter destruction; and therefore fall into desperation, and cannot repent. And that this is the true meaning of the holy Spirit of God, it appeareth by many other places of the Scriptures, which promiseth unto all true repentant sinners, and to them that with their whole heart do turn[z] unto the Lord their God, free pardon and remission of their sins. For the probation hereof, we read this, *O Israel,* saith the holy prophet Jeremiah, *if thou return, return unto me, saith the Lord; and if thou put away thine abominations out of my sight, then shalt thou*

Against the Novatians.

Heb. vi; x. 2 Pet. ii.

Matt. xii. [31.] Mark iii. [29.] The sin against the Holy Ghost.

Jer. iv. [1.]

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r had] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595.
s graffed] grafted 1623.
t Jesu] Jesus 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
u repentance] *wanting* 1623.
x that] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
y to] unto 1587, 1595.
z turn] return 1563.

not be moved[a]. Again, these are Isaiah's words, *Let the wicked forsake his own ways, and the unrighteous his own imaginations, and turn again unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he is ready to forgive.* And in[b] the prophet Hosea, the godly do exhort one another after this manner, *Come, and let us turn again unto the Lord; for he hath smitten us, and he will heal us; he hath wounded us, and he will bind us up again.* Isai. lv. [7.] Hos. vi. [1.]

It is most evident and plain, that these things ought to be understanded[c] of them that were with the Lord afore, and by their sins and wickednesses[d] were gone away from him. For we do not turn again unto him with whom we were never before, but we come unto him. Now, unto all them that will return unfeignedly unto the Lord their God, the favour and mercy of God unto forgiveness of sins is liberally offered. Whereby it followeth necessarily, that although we do, after we be once come to God, and graffed[e] in his Son Jesus[f] Christ, fall into great sins,—for there is no righteous man upon the earth that sinneth not; and *if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us*—yet if we rise again by repentance, and, with a full purpose of amendment of life, do flee unto the mercy of God, taking sure hold thereupon, through faith in his Son Jesu Christ, there is an assured and[g] infallible hope of pardon and remission of the same; and that we shall be received again into the favour of our heavenly Father. It is written of David, *I have found a man according to mine*[h] *own heart;* or, *I have found David, the son of Jesse, a man according to mine own heart, who will do all things that I will.* This is a godly[i] commendation of David. It is also most certain, that he did stedfastly believe the promise that was made him touching the Messias, who should come of him touching the flesh, and that by the same faith he was justified and graffed[e] in our Saviour Jesu Christ to come; and yet afterwards he fell horribly, committing most detestable adultery and damnable murder: and yet as soon as he cried, *Peccavi, I have sinned unto the Lord,* his sin being forgiven, he was received into Note. Ecclus. vii. [20.] 1 John i. [8, 9.] Acts xiii. [22.] 2 Sam. xi. [4, 15, 17.] 2 Sam. xii. [13.]

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[a] moved] removed 1623.
[b] in] *wanting* 1623.
[c] understanded] understood 1595, 1623.
[d] wickednesses] wickedness 1563, 1595.
[e] graffed] grafted 1623.
[f] Jesus] Jesu 1563.
[g] assured and] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[h] mine] my 1587, 1595.
[i] godly] great 1623.

Peter. favour again. Now will we come unto Peter, of whom no man can doubt but that he was graffed[k] in our Saviour Jesus[l] Christ, long afore his denial. Which thing may easily be proved by the answer which he did in his name, and in the name of his fellow apostles, make unto our Saviour Jesu

John vi. [67—69.] Christ, when he said unto them, *Will ye also go away? Master*, saith he, *to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life; and we believe and know that thou art that*[m] *Christ, the Son of the living God.* Whereunto may be added the like confession of Peter, where Christ doth give

[Matt. xvi. 17.] this[n] most infallible testimony, *Thou art blessed, Simon, the*[o] *son of Jonas; for neither flesh nor blood hath revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven.* These words are sufficient to prove that Peter was already justified, through this his lively faith in the only-begotten Son of God, whereof

Matt. xxvi. [69—75.] he made so notable and so solemn a confession. But did not he afterwards most cowardly deny his master, although

Matt. x. [33.] he had heard of him, *Whosoever denieth me before men, I will deny him before my Father?* Nevertheless, as soon as with weeping eyes and with a sobbing heart he did acknowledge his offence[p], and with earnest[q] repentance did flee unto the mercy of God, taking sure hold thereupon, through faith in him whom he had so shamefully denied, his sin was forgiven him; and, for a certificate and assurance thereof, the room of his apostleship was not denied unto him. But

Acts ii. [1—4.] now mark what doth follow: After the same holy apostle had on Whitsunday with the rest of the disciples received the gift of the Holy Ghost most abundantly, he committed no small offence in Antioch, by bringing the consciences of

Gal. ii. [11.] the faithful into doubt by his example; so that Paul was fain to rebuke him to his face, because that he walked not uprightly, or went not the right way in the gospel. Shall we now say, that, after this grievous offence, he was utterly excluded and shut out from the grace and mercy of God, and that this his trespass, whereby he was a stumblingblock unto many, was unpardonable? God defend[r] we should say so.

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[k] graffed] grafted 1623.
[l] Jesus] Jesu 1563.
[m] that] the 1563.
[n] this] us 1623.
[o] the] *wanting* 1563.
[p] offence] offences 1595.
[q] earnest] an earnest 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[r] defend] forfend 1563.

But as these examples are not brought in to the end that we should thereby take a boldness to sin, presuming on the mercy and goodness of God, but to the end that if, through the frailness of our own flesh and the temptation of the devil, we fall into like[s] sins, we should in no wise despair of the mercy and goodness of God; even so must we beware and take heed that we do in no wise think in our hearts, imagine, or believe, that we are able to repent aright, or to turn effectually unto the Lord by our own might and strength. For this must be verified in all men, *Without me ye can do nothing.* Again, *Of ourselves we are not able as much as to think a good thought.* And in another place, *It is God that worketh in us both the will and the deed.* For this cause, although Jeremiah had said before, *If thou return, O Israel, return unto me, saith the Lord;* yet afterwards he saith, *Turn thou me, O Lord, and I shall be turned; for thou art the Lord my God.* And therefore that holy writer and ancient father Ambrose[1] doth plainly affirm, that "the turning of the heart unto God is of God," as the Lord himself doth testify by his prophet, saying, *And I will give thee an heart to know me, that I am the Lord, and they shall be my people, and I will be their God; for they shall return unto me with their whole heart.*

What we must beware of.

John xv. [5.]

2 Cor. iii. [5.]

Phil. ii. [13.]

Jer. iv. [1.]

Jer. xxxi. [18.]

Ambros. de Vocat. Gent. Lib. i. cap. 8.

[Jer. xxiv. 7.]

These things being considered, let us earnestly pray unto the living God our heavenly Father, that he will vouchsafe by his holy Spirit to work a true and unfeigned repentance in us, that, after the painful labours and travails of this life, we[t] may live eternally with his Son Jesus Christ: to whom be all praise and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

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[s] like] the like 1563.

[t] we] *wanting* 1623.

1 ["Omnis homo qui ad Deum convertitur, Dei primum gratia commovetur." Pseudo-Ambros. de Vocatione Gentium, Lib. i. cap. 8. cf. Prosper. Opp. Tom. i. p. 460.]

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY OF REPENTANCE.

HITHERTO have ye[u] heard, well-beloved, how needful and necessary the doctrine of repentance is, and how earnestly it is, throughout all the Scriptures of God, urged and set forth, both by the ancient prophets, by our Saviour Jesu[y] Christ, and his apostles: and that forasmuch as it is the conversion or turning again of the whole man unto God, from whom we go away by sin, these four points ought to be observed: that is, from whence, or from what things we must return; unto whom this our returning must be made; by whose means it ought to be done, that it may be effectual; and last of all, after what sort we ought to behave ourselves in the same, that it may be profitable unto us, and attain unto the thing that we do seek by it. Ye have also learned, that as the opinion of them that deny the benefit of repentance unto those, that, after they be come to God, and graffed[z] in our Saviour Jesu[a] Christ, do through the frailness of their flesh, and the temptation of the devil, fall into some grievous and detestable sin, is most pestilent and pernicious; so we must beware that we do in no wise think that we are able of our own selves, and of our own strength, to return unto the Lord our God, from whom we are gone away by our wickedness and sin. Now it shall be declared unto you, what be the true parts of repentance, and what things ought to move us to repent, and to return unto[b] the Lord our God with all speed.

There be four parts of repentance.

Repentance, as it is said before, is a true returning unto God, whereby men, forsaking utterly their idolatry and wickedness, do with a lively faith embrace, love, and worship the true living God only, and give themselves to all manner of good works, which by God's word they know to be acceptable unto him. Now there be four parts of repentance, which being set together may be likened to[c] an easy and short ladder, whereby we may climb from the bottomless pit of perdition, that we cast ourselves into by our daily offences and grievous sins, up into the castle or tower of eternal and

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[u] ye] you 1587, 1595.
[y] Jesu] Jesus 1587, 1595, 1623.
[z] graffed] grafted 1623.
[a] Jesu] Jesus 1623.
[b] unto] to 1587, 1595.
[c] to] unto 1563.

endless salvation. The first is the contrition of the heart: for we must be earnestly sorry for our sins, and unfeignedly lament and bewail that we have by them so grievously offended our most bounteous and merciful God; who so tenderly loved us, that he gave his only-begotten Son to die a most bitter death, and to shed his dear heart-blood for our redemption and deliverance. And verily this inward sorrow and grief being conceived in the heart for the heinousness of sin, if it be earnest and unfeigned, is as a sacrifice to God; as the holy prophet David doth testify, saying, *A sacrifice to God is a troubled spirit; a contrite and broken heart, O Lord, thou wilt not despise.* Psal. li. [17.] But that this may take place in us, we must be diligent to read and hear the Scriptures and word[d] of God, which most lively do paint out before our eyes our natural uncleanness[e] and the enormity of our sinful life. For unless we have a thorough feeling of our sins, how can it be that we should earnestly be sorry for them? Afore David did hear the word of the Lord by the mouth of the prophet Nathan, what heaviness, I pray you, was in him for the adultery and murder[f] that he had committed? So that it might be said right well, that he slept in his own sin. 2 Sam. xii. [13.] We read in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the people had heard the sermon of Peter, they were compunct *and pricked in their hearts.* Acts ii. [37.] Which thing would never have been, if they had not heard that wholesome sermon of Peter. They therefore that have no mind at all neither to read nor yet to hear God's word, there is but small hope of them, that they will as much as once set their feet, or take hold upon the first staff or step of this ladder; but rather will sink deeper and deeper into the bottomless pit of perdition. For if at any time, through the remorse of their conscience, which accuseth them, they feel any inward grief, sorrow, or heaviness for their sins; forasmuch as they want the salve and comfort of God's word, which they do despise, it will be unto them rather a mean to bring them to utter desperation, than otherwise.

The second is, an unfeigned confession and acknowledging of our sins unto God; whom by them we have so griev-

[d] word] the word 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[e] uncleanness] uncleanliness 1563.

[f] murder] the murder 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

ously offended, that, if he should deal with us according to his justice, we do deserve a thousand hells, if there could be so many. Yet if we will with a sorrowful and contrite heart make an unfeigned confession of them unto God, he will freely and frankly forgive them; and so put all our wickedness out of remembrance before the sight of his Majesty, that they shall no more be thought upon. Hereunto doth pertain the golden saying of the holy prophet David, where he saith on this manner, *Then I acknowledged my sin*[g] *unto thee, neither did I hide mine iniquity: I said, I will confess against myself my wickedness unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the ungodliness of my sin.* These are also the words of John the evangelist: *If we confess our sins, God is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to make us clean from all our wickedness.* Which ought to be understanded[h] of the confession that is made unto God. For these are St Augustine's[1] words: 'That confession which is made unto God is required by God's law; whereof John the apostle speaketh, saying, *If we confess our sins, God is faithful and righteous to forgive us our sins, and to make us clean from all our wickedness.* For without this confession, sin is not forgiven.' This is then the chiefest and most principal confession that in the Scriptures and word of God we are bidden to make, and without the which we shall never obtain pardon and forgiveness of our sins.

Ezek. xviii. 27.]
Psal. xxxii. 5.]
1 John i. [9.]
In Epist. ad Gal. Comit. 30.
1 John i. 9.]

Indeed, besides this there is another kind of confession, which is needful and necessary. And of the same doth St James speak after this manner, saying, *Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be saved.* As if he should say, Open that which grieveth you, that a remedy may be found. And this is commanded both for[i] him that complaineth, and for him that heareth, that the one should shew his grief to the other. The true meaning of it is, that the faithful ought to acknowledge their offences, whereby some hatred, rancour, ground[k],

James v. 16.]

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g sin] sins 1595.
h understanded] understood 1595, 1623.
i for] of 1595.
k ground] grudge 1563.

1 [Ad hoc enim Deus exigit confessionem, ut liberet humilem. Ad hoc damnat non confitentem ut superbum puniat in æternum. Ad Fratres in Erem. 30. Opp. Tom. VI. Append. col. 337, A.]

or malice, having[1] risen or grown among them one to another, that a brotherly reconciliation may be had; without the which nothing that we do can be acceptable unto God, as our Saviour Jesus Christ doth witness himself, saying, *When thou offerest thine offering at the altar, if thou rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thine offering, and go and be reconciled; and when thou art reconciled, come and offer thine*[m] *offering.* It may also be thus taken, that we ought to confess our weakness and infirmities one to another; to the end that, knowing each other's frailness, we may the more earnestly pray together unto Almighty God, our heavenly Father, that he will vouchsafe to pardon us our infirmities, for his Son Jesus Christ's sake, and not to impute them unto us, when he shall render to every man according to his works. Matt. v. [23.]

And whereas the adversaries go about to wrest[n] this place, for to maintain their auricular confession withal, they are greatly deceived themselves, and do shamefully deceive others. For if this text ought to be understanded[o] of auricular confession, then the priests are as[p] much bound to confess themselves unto the lay-people, as the lay-people are bound to confess themselves to them. And if to pray is to absolve, then the laity by this place hath as great authority to absolve the priests, as the priests have to absolve the laity. This did Johannes Scotus[2], otherwise called Duns[q] well perceive, who upon this place writeth on this manner: "Neither doth it seem unto me that James did give this commandment, or that he did set it forth as being received of Christ. For first and foremost, whence had he authority to bind the whole church, sith that he was only bishop of the church of Answer to the adversaries, which maintain auricular confession. Joh. Scotus, Lib. iv. Sent. Dist. xvii. Quæst. 1.

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[1] having] have 1563.
[m] thine] thy 1587, 1595.
[n] wrest] wrast 1563.
[o] understanded] understood 1587, 1595, 1623.
[p] as] so 1595.
[q] Duns] Downs 1563.

[2] ["Sed nec per hoc videtur mihi quod Jacobus præceptum hoc dedit, nec præceptum a Christo promulgavit. Primum non. Unde enim sibi auctoritas obligandi totam ecclesiam, cum esset episcopus ecclesiæ Hierosolymitanæ? Nisi dicas illam ecclesiam in principio fuisse principalem, et per consequens ejus episcopum principalem patriarcham; quod non concederent Romani, nec quod illa auctoritas proprie pro tempore illo erat sibi subtracta." Duns Scot. Sentent. Lib. iv. Dist. 17. Qu. 1. Tom. ii. p. 291, Ed. Antverp. 1620.]

Jerusalem? Except thou wilt say, that the same church was at the beginning the head church, and consequently that he was the head bishop; which thing the see of Rome will never grant." The understanding of it then is as in these words: *Confess your sins one to another:* a persuasion to humility, whereby he willeth us to confess ourselves generally unto our neighbours, that we are sinners, according to this saying, *If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.* And where that they[r] do allege this saying of our Saviour Jesus[s] Christ unto the leper, to prove auricular confession to stand on God's word, *Go thy way, and shew thyself unto the priest;* do they not see that the leper was cleansed from his leprosy, afore he was by Christ sent unto the priest, for to shew himself unto him? By the same reason we must be cleansed from our spiritual leprosy, I mean our sins must be forgiven us, afore[t] that we come to confession. What need we then to tell forth our sins into the ear of the priest, sith that they be already taken away? Therefore holy Ambrose[1], in his second sermon upon the hundred and nineteenth psalm, doth say full well, "*Go shew thyself unto the priest.* Who is the true priest, but he which is the priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedech?" Whereby this holy father doth understand, that, both the priesthood and the law being changed, we ought to acknowledge none other priest for deliverance from our sins, but our Saviour Jesus Christ, who, being our[u] sovereign bishop, doth with the sacrifice of his body and blood, offered once for ever upon the altar of the cross, most effectually cleanse the spiritual leprosy, and wash away the sins of all those that with true confession of the same do flee unto him. It is most evident and plain, that this auricular confession hath not his warrant of God's word, else it had not been lawful for Nectarius[2], bishop of Constantinople, upon a just occasion to

Matt. viii. [4.]

Ambrose.

Sect. Sozom. Eccles. Hist. lib. vii. cap. vi.

[r] they] we 1587, 1595.
[s] Jesus] Jesu 1563.
[t] afore] before 1587, 1595.
[u] our] *wanting* 1623.

[1] ["Sed ut plenius sanaretur aperuit oculos ejus dicens: 'Vade, ostende te sacerdoti.' Multos sacerdotes habebat synagoga: sed qui oculos aperit falsos non videt sacerdotes, verum adspicit. Quis est verus sacerdos, nisi ille qui est sacerdos in æternum? Et ideo Pater dixit ad eum, 'Tu es sacerdos in æternum'." S. Ambros. in Psal. cxix. Serm. 2.]

[2] [Sozomen. Hist. Eccles. Lib. VII. cap. 16.]

have put it down. For when any thing ordained of God is by the lewdness of men abused, the abuse ought to be taken away, and the thing itself suffered to remain. Moreover, these are St Augustine's[1] words: "What have I to do with men, that they should hear my confession, as though they were able to heal all[x] my diseases? A curious sort of men to know another man's life, and slothfully[y] to correct and amend their own! Why do they seek to hear of me what I am, which will not hear of thee what they are? And how can they tell, when they hear by me of myself, whether I tell the truth or not; sith that[z] no mortal man knoweth what is in man, but the spirit of man which is in him?" Augustine would not have written thus, if auricular confession had been used in his time. Being therefore not led with the conscience thereof, let us with fear and trembling, and with a true contrite heart, use that kind of confession that God doth demand in his word; and then doubtless, as *he is faithful and righteous, he will forgive us our sins, and make us clean from all wickedness.* I do not say, but that, if any do find themselves troubled in conscience, they may repair to their learned curate or pastor, or to some other godly learned man, and shew the trouble and doubt of their conscience to them, that they may receive at their hand the comfortable salve of God's word: but it is against the true Christian liberty, that any man should be bound to the numbering of his sins, as it hath been used heretofore in the time of blindness and ignorance. Lib. x. Conf. cap. iii.

The third part of repentance is faith, whereby we do apprehend and take hold upon the promises of God, touching the free pardon and forgiveness of our sins: which promises are sealed up unto us, with the death and blood-shedding of

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[x] all] *wanting* 1623.
[y] slothfully] slothful 1563.
[z] that] *wanting* 1623.

[1] ["Quid mihi ergo est cum hominibus ut audiant confessiones meas, quasi ipsi sanaturi sint omnes languores meos? Curiosum genus ad cognoscendam vitam alienam, desidiosum ad corrigendam suam. Quid a me quærunt audire qui sim, qui nolunt a te audire qui sint? Et unde sciunt, cum a meipso de meipso audiunt, an verum dicam; quandoquidem nemo scit hominum quid agatur id homine, nisi spiritus hominis qui in ipso est?" S. Augustin. Confess. Lib. x. cap. 3, Opp. Tom. I. 127, c.]

his Son Jesu Christ. For what should avail and profit us to be sorry for our sins; to lament and bewail that we have offended our most bounteous and merciful Father; or to confess and acknowledge our offences and trespasses, though it be done never so earnestly, unless we do stedfastly believe, and be fully persuaded, that God, for his Son Jesu[a] Christ's sake, will forgive us all our sins, and put them out of remembrance, and from his sight? Therefore they that teach repentance without a lively faith in our Saviour Jesu[b] Christ, do teach none other but Judas' repentance, as all the schoolmen[1] do, which do only allow these three parts of repentance; the contrition of the heart, the confession of the mouth, and the satisfaction of the work. But all these things we find in Judas' repentance, which in outward appearance did far exceed and pass the repentance of Peter. For first and foremost, we read in the gospel that Judas was so sorrowful and heavy, yea, that he was filled with such anguish and vexation of mind, for that which he had done, that he could not abide to live any longer. Did not he also, afore he hanged himself, make an open confession of his fault, when he said, *I have sinned, betraying the*[c] *innocent blood?* And verily this was a very bold confession, which might have brought him to great trouble. For by it he did lay to the high priests and elders' charge the shedding of innocent blood, and that they were most abominable murderers. He did also make a certain kind of satisfaction, when he did cast their money unto them again. No such thing do we read of Peter, although he had committed a very heinous sin, and most grievous offence, in denying of his master. We find that *he went out, and wept bitterly;* whereof Ambrose[2] speaketh on this manner, "Peter was sorry and wept, because he erred as a man. I do not find what he said; I know that he wept. I read of his tears, but not of his satisfaction." But how chance that the one was received into favour again with God, and the other cast away, but because that the one did, by a

he repentnce of the choolmen.

udas and is repentnce.

Matt. xxvii. 4.]

Peter and his epentance.

Matt. xxvi. 5.]

De Pœnit. Dist. i. cap. Petr.

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[a] Jesu] Jesus 1623.
[b] Jesu] Jesus 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[c] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

1 [e. g. Lombard. Lib. IV. Distinct. 16.]

2 ["Petrus doluit et flevit, quia erravit ut homo. Non invenio quid dixerit, invenio quod fleverit; lacrymas ejus lego, satisfactionem non lego." Decret. Pars II. de Pœnit. Dist. 1. cap. 1.]

lively faith in him whom he had denied, take hold upon the mercy of God; and the other wanted faith, whereby he did despair of the goodness and mercy of God? It is evident and plain then, that although we be never so earnestly sorry for our sins, acknowledge and confess them; yet all these things shall be but means to bring us to utter desperation, except we do stedfastly believe that God our heavenly Father will, for his Son Jesu[d] Christ's sake, pardon and forgive us our offences and trespasses, and utterly put them out of remembrance in his sight. Therefore, as we said before, they that teach repentance without Christ, and a lively faith in the mercy of God, do only teach Cain's or Judas' repentance.

The fourth is, an amendment of life, or a new life, in bringing forth fruits worthy of repentance. For they that do truly repent must be clean altered and changed; they must become new creatures; they must be no more the same that they were before. And therefore thus said John Baptist unto the Pharisees and Sadducees that came unto his baptism, *O generation of vipers, who hath forewarned you to flee from the anger to come? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance.* Whereby we do learn, that if we will have the wrath of God to be pacified, we must in no wise dissemble, but turn unto him again with a true and sound repentance, which may be known and declared by good fruits, as by most sure and infallible[e] signs thereof. They that do from the bottom of their hearts acknowledge their sins, and are unfeignedly sorry for their offences, will cast off hypocrisy, and put on true humility and lowliness of heart. They will not only receive the physician of the soul, but also with a most fervent desire long for him. They will not only abstain from the sins of their former life, and from all other filthy vices, but also flee, eschew, and abhor all the occasions of them. And as they did before give themselves to uncleanness of life, so will they from henceforwards with all diligence give themselves to innocency, pureness of life, and true godliness. We have the Ninevites for an example, which at the preaching of Jonas did not only proclaim a general fast, and that they should every one put on sackcloth, but they all did turn from their evil ways, and from the wickedness that was

Matt. iii. [7, 8.]

Jonas iii. [5, 10.]

[d] Jesu] Jesus 1623. [e] infallible] fallible 1623

in their hands. But above all other, the history of Zacchæus is most notable: for being come unto our Saviour Jesu Christ, he did say, *Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give to the poor; and if I have defrauded any man, or taken aught away by extortion or fraud, I do restore him fourfold.* Here we see that after his repentance he was no more the man that he was before, but was clean changed and altered. It was so far off that he would continue and bide[f] still in his unsatiable covetousness, or take aught away fraudulently from any man, that rather he was most willing and ready to give away his own, and to make satisfaction unto all them that he had done injury and wrong unto. Here may we right well add the sinful woman, which, when she came to our Saviour Jesu[g] Christ, did pour down such abundance of tears out of those wanton eyes of hers, wherewith she had allured many unto folly, that she did with them wash his feet, wiping them with the hairs of her head, which she was wont most gloriously to set out, making of them a net of the devil. Hereby we do learn what is the satisfaction that God doth require of us, which is, that we cease from evil, and do good; and, if we have done any man wrong, to endeavour ourselves to make him true amends to the uttermost of our power; following in this the example of Zacchæus, and of this sinful woman, and also that goodly lesson that John Baptist, Zachariah's son, did give unto them that came to ask counsel of him. This was commonly the penance that Christ enjoined sinners, *Go thy way, and sin no more.* Which penance we shall never be able to fulfil, without the special grace of him that doth say, *Without me ye can do nothing.*

Luke xix. 8.]
Luke vii. 37.]
1 Pet. iii. 11.]
Luke xix. 8.]
Luke iii. 10, &c.]
John viii. 11.]
John xv. 5.]

It is therefore our parts, if at least we be desirous of the health and salvation of our own selves, most earnestly to pray unto our heavenly Father, to assist us with his holy Spirit, that we may be able to hearken unto the voice of the true shepherd, and with due obedience to follow the same. Let us hearken to the voice of Almighty God, when he calleth us to repentance; let us not harden our hearts, as such infidels do, who abuse[h] the time given them of God to repent, and turn it to continue their pride and contempt

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[f] bide] abide 1563.
[g] Jesu] Jesus 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[h] abuse] do abuse 1563.

against God and man; which know not how much they heap God's wrath upon themselves, for the hardness of their hearts, which cannot repent at the day of vengeance. Where we have offended the law of God, let us repent us of our straying from so good a Lord. Let us confess our unworthiness before him; but yet[i] let us trust in God's free mercy for Christ's sake, for the pardon of the same. And from henceforth let us endeavour ourselves to walk in a new life, as new-born babes, whereby we may glorify our Father which is in[k] heaven, and thereby to bear in our consciences a good testimony of our faith; so at[l] the last to obtain the fruition of everlasting life, through the merits of our Saviour; to whom be all praise and honour for ever. Amen.

THE THIRD PART OF THE HOMILY OF REPENTANCE.

IN the homily last spoken unto you, right well-beloved people in our Saviour Christ, ye heard of the true parts and tokens of repentance; that is, hearty contrition and sorrowfulness of our hearts; unfeigned confession in word of mouth for our unworthy living before God; a stedfast faith to the merits of our Saviour Christ for pardon; and a purpose of ourselves by God's grace to renounce our former wicked life; and a full conversion[m] to God in a new life to glorify his name; and to live orderly and charitably, to the comfort of our neighbour, in all righteousness; and to live soberly and modestly to ourselves, by using abstinence and temperance in word and in deed; in mortifying our earthly members here upon earth.

Now, for a further persuasion to move you to those parts of repentance, I will declare unto you some causes, which should the rather move you to repentance. First, the commandment of God, who in so many places of the[n] holy and sacred Scriptures doth bid us return unto him. *O ye children of Israel*, saith he, *turn again from your infidelity, wherein*

The causes that should move us to repent.

Isai. xxxi. [6.]

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[i] yet] *wanting* 1563.
[k] is in] *wanting* 1623.
[l] so at] so that at 1623.
[m] conversion] conversation 1595.
[n] the] his 1563.

Ezek. xxxiii. [11.] *ye drowned yourselves.* Again, *Turn you, turn you, from your evil ways: for why will ye die, O ye house of Israel?* And, in another place, thus doth he speak by his holy prophet Hosea: Hos. xiv. [1, 2.] *O Israel, return unto the Lord thy God; for thou hast taken a great fall by thine iniquity. Take unto you these words with you, when you*[o] *turn unto the Lord, and say unto him, Take away all iniquity, and receive us graciously; so will we offer the calves of our lips unto thee.* In all these places we have an express commandment given unto us of God for to return unto him. Therefore we must take good heed unto ourselves, lest, whereas we have already by our manifold sins and transgressions provoked and kindled the wrath of God against us, we do by breaking this his commandment double our offences, and so heap still damnation upon our own heads by our daily offences and trespasses, whereby we provoke the eyes of his majesty, we do well deserve—if he should deal with us according to his justice—to be put away for ever from the fruition of his glory. How much more then are we worthy of the endless torments of hell, if when we be so gently called again after our rebellion, and commanded to return, we will in no wise hearken unto the voice of our heavenly Father, but walk still after the stubbornness of our own hearts!

Secondly, the most comfortable and sweet promise, that the Lord our God did of his mere mercy and goodness join Jer. iv. [1.] unto his commandment. For he doth not only say, *Return unto me, O Israel;* but also, *if thou wilt return, and put away all thine abominations out of my sight, thou shalt never be moved.* These words also have we in the prophet Ezek. xviii. [21.] Ezekiel, *At what time soever a sinner doth repent him of his sin from the bottom of his heart, I will put all his wickedness out of my remembrance, saith the Lord, so that they shall be no more*[p] *thought upon.* Thus are we sufficiently instructed, that God will, according to his promise, freely pardon, forgive, and forget all our sins, so that we shall never be cast in the teeth with them, if, obeying his commandment, and allured by his sweet promises, we will unfeignedly return unto him.

Thirdly, the filthiness of sin, which is such, that as long as we do abide in it, God cannot but detest and abhor us,

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[o] you] ye 1563. [p] be no more] no more be 1563.

neither can there be any hope that we shall enter into the heavenly Jerusalem, except we be first made clean and purged from it. But this will never be, unless, forsaking our former life, we do with our whole heart return unto the Lord our God, and, with a full purpose of amendment of life, flee unto his mercy, taking sure hold thereupon through faith in the blood of his Son Jesu[q] Christ. If we should suspect any uncleanness to be in us, wherefor the earthly prince should loathe and abhor the sight of us, what pains would we take to remove and put it away! How much more ought we, with all diligence and speed that may be, to put away that unclean filthiness, that doth separate and make a division betwixt us and our God, and that hideth his face from us, that he will not hear us! And verily herein doth appear how filthy a thing sin is, sith that it can by no other means be washed away, but by the blood of the only-begotten Son of God. And shall we not from the bottom of our hearts detest and abhor, and with all earnestness flee[r] from it, sith that it did cost the dear heart-blood of the only-begotten Son of God, our Saviour and Redeemer, to purge us from it? Plato[1] doth in a certain place write, that 'if virtue could be seen with bodily eyes, all men would wonderfully be inflamed and kindled with the love of it': even so, on the contrary, if we might with our bodily eyes behold the filthiness of sin, and the uncleanness thereof, we could in no wise abide it; but, as most present and deadly poison, hate and eschew it. We have a common experience of the same in them which when they have committed any heinous offence, or some filthy and abominable sin, if it once come to light, or if they chance to have a through feeling of it, they be so ashamed,—their own conscience putting before their eyes the filthiness of their act,—that they dare look no man in the face, much less that they should be able to stand in the sight of God.

Isai. lix. [2.]

Plato.

Fourthly, the uncertainty and brittleness of our own lives, which is such, that we cannot assure ourselves that we shall live one hour, or one half quarter of it. Which by expe-

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[q] Jesu] Jesus 1623.

[r] flee] fly 1563.

[1] [Phædr. cap. 31: Opp. Tom. IV. § 1, p. 98; ed. Stallbaum. See also Xenophon, de Venat. cap. 12, sub fin.]

rience we do find daily to be true in them that being now merry and lusty, and sometimes feasting and banqueting with their friends, do fall suddenly dead in the streets, and otherwhiles, under the board, when they are yet[s] at meat. These daily examples, as they are most terrible and dreadful, so ought they to move us to seek for to be at one with our heavenly Judge, that we may with a good conscience appear before him, whensoever it shall please him for to call us, whether it be suddenly or otherwise, for we have no more charter of our life than they have. But as we are most certain that we shall die, so are we most uncertain when we shall die. For our life doth lie in the hand of God, who will take it away when it pleaseth him. And verily, when the highest sumner of all, which is death, shall come, he will not be said nay; but we must forthwith be packing, to be present[t] before the judgment-seat of God, as he doth find us; according as it is written, *Whereas the tree falleth, whether it be toward the south, or toward the north, there it shall lie.* Whereunto agreeth the saying of the holy martyr of God, St Cyprian[1], saying, 'As God doth find thee when he doth call, so doth he judge thee.' Let us therefore follow the counsel of the wise man, where he saith, *Make no tarrying to turn unto the Lord, and put not off from day to day. For suddenly shall the wrath of the Lord break forth, and in thy security shalt thou*[u] *be destroyed, and shalt perish in time*[x] *of vengeance.* Which words I desire you to mark diligently, because they do most lively put before our eyes the fondness of many men, which[y], abusing the long-suffering and goodness of God, do never think on repentance or amendment of life. *Follow not,* saith he, *thine own mind and thy strength, to walk in the ways of thy heart, neither say thou, Who will bring me under for my works? For God the revenger will revenge the wrong done by thee. And say not, I have sinned, and what evil hath come unto me? For the Almighty is a patient rewarder; but he will not leave thee*

Death the Lord's sumner.

Eccles. xi. [3.]

Contr. Demetr.

Ecclus. v. [7.]

[Ecclus. v. 2—6.]

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[s] yet] *wanting* 1623.
[t] present] presented 1563.
[u] shalt thou] thou shalt 1563.
[x] time] the time 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[y] which] who 1623.

[1] ["Quando istinc excessum fuerit, nullus jam pœnitentiæ locus est, nullus satisfactionis effectus: hic vita aut amittitur aut tenetur." S. Cyprian. ad Demet. sub fin. Opp. p. 196, ed. Fell.]

unpunished. Because thy sins are forgiven thee, be not without fear to heap sin upon sin. Say not neither, The mercy of God is great, he will forgive my manifold sins. For mercy and wrath come from him, and his indignation cometh upon unrepentant sinners. As if ye should say, Art thou strong and mighty? Art thou lusty and young? Hast thou the wealth and riches of the world? Or when thou hast sinned, hast thou received no punishment for it? Let none of all these things make thee to be the slower to repent, and to return with speed unto the Lord: for in the day of punishment and of his sudden vengeance, they shall not be able to help thee. And specially when thou art, either by the preaching of God's word, or by some inward motion of his Holy Spirit, or else by some other means, called unto repentance, neglect not the good occasion that is ministered unto thee; lest, when thou wouldst repent, thou hast not the grace for to do it. For to repent is a good gift of God, which he will never grant unto them, which[z], living in carnal security, do make a mock of his threatenings, or seek to rule his spirits[a] as they list, as though his working and gifts were tied unto their will.

Fifthly, the avoiding of the plagues of God, and the utter destruction that by his righteous judgment doth hang over the heads of them all that will in no wise return unto the Lord. *I will,* saith the Lord, *give them for a terrible plague to all the kingdoms of the earth, and for a reproach, and for a proverb, and for a curse in all places where I shall cast them, and will send the sword of*[b] *famine, and the pestilence among them, till they be consumed out of the land.* And wherefore is this? Because they hardened their hearts, and would in no wise return from their evil ways, nor yet forsake the wickedness that was in their own hands, that the fierceness of the Lord's fury might depart from them. But yet this is nothing in comparison of the intolerable and endless torments of hell-fire, which they shall be fain to suffer, who *after their hardness of heart, that cannot repent, do heap unto themselves wrath against the day of anger, and of the declaration of the just judgment of God.* Whereas if we will repent, and be earnestly sorry

Jer. xxiv. [9.]

Rom. ii. [5.]

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[z] which] who 1623.

[a] spirits] spirit 1563, 1623.

[b] of] the 1563.

for our sin, and with a full purpose and[c] amendment of life flee unto the mercy of our God, and taking sure hold thereupon through[d] faith in our Saviour Jesus Christ, do bring forth fruits worthy of repentance, he will not only pour his manifold blessings upon us here in this world, but also at the last, after the painful travails of this life, reward us with the inheritance of his children, which is the kingdom of heaven; purchased unto[e] us with the death of his Son Jesu Christ our Lord. To whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost be all praise, glory, and honour, world without end. Amen.

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[c] and] of 1563.
[d] through] thorough 1582, 1587, 1595.
[e] unto] to 1587, 1595.

AN HOMILY

AGAINST

DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION.

THE FIRST PART.

AS God the Creator and Lord of all things appointed his angels and heavenly creatures in all obedience to serve and to honour his majesty; so was it his will that man, his chief creature upon the earth, should live under the obedience of his Creator and Lord: and for that cause, God, as soon as he had created man, gave unto him a certain precept and law, which he, being yet in the state of innocency, and remaining in paradise, should observe as a pledge and token of his due and bounden obedience; with denunciation of death, if he did transgress and break the said law and commandment. And as God would have man to be his obedient subject, so did he make all earthly creatures subject unto man, who kept their due obedience unto man, so long as man remained in his obedience unto God: in the which obedience if man had continued still, there had been no poverty, no diseases, no sickness, no death, nor other miseries, wherewith mankind is now infinitely and most miserably afflicted and oppressed. So here appeareth the original kingdom of God over angels and man, and universally over all things; and of man over earthly creatures which God had made subject unto him; and withal the felicity and blessed state, which angels, man, and all creatures had remained in, had they continued in due obedience unto God their king. For as long as in this first kingdom the subjects continued in due obedience to God their king, so long did God embrace all his subjects with his love, favour, and grace, which to enjoy is perfect felicity; whereby it is evident, that obedience is the principal virtue of all virtues, and indeed the very root of all virtues, and the cause of all felicity. But as all felicity and blessedness should have continued with the continuance of obedience; so with the breach of obedience, and breaking in[a] of rebellion, all vices and miseries did withal break in,

Psal. xcvi. 8 cii. 21: cxlviii. 2: Dan. iii. 28; vii. [14.] Matt. xxvi. 53. Col. i. 16. Heb. i. 14. Rev. xix. 10 Gen. ii. 17. Gen. i. 28.

[a] in] *wanting* 1595.

att. iv. 9: v. 41. ohn viii. 44. Pet ii. 4. ude 6. ev. xii. 7. en. iii. 1, c 'isd. ii. 24. en. iii. 8, 9, e. : xvii. , 24.

and overwhelm the world. The first author of which rebellion, the root of all vices, and mother of all mischiefs, was Lucifer, first God's most excellent creature, and most bounden subject; who, by rebelling against the majesty of God, of the brightest and most glorious angel, is become the blackest and most foulest fiend and devil; and from the height of heaven is fallen into the pit and bottom of hell.

Here you may see the first author and founder of rebellion, and the reward thereof: here you may see the grand captain and father of all[b] rebels; who persuading the following of his rebellion against God their Creator and Lord, unto our first parents Adam and Eve, brought them in high displeasure with God; wrought their exile and banishment out of paradise, a place of all pleasure and goodness, into this wretched earth and vale of all[c] misery; procured unto them sorrows of their minds, mischiefs, sickness, diseases, death of their bodies; and, which is far more horrible than all worldly and bodily mischiefs, he had wrought thereby their eternal and everlasting death and damnation, had not God by the obedience of his Son Jesus Christ repaired that, which man by disobedience and rebellion had destroyed, and so of his mercy had pardoned and forgiven him: of which all and singular the premises the holy Scriptures do bear record in sundry places.

om. v. 12, e.: 19, &c.

Thus you do[d] see, that neither heaven nor paradise could suffer any rebellion in them, neither be places for any rebels to remain in. Thus became rebellion, as you see, both the first and greatest[e], and the very root of all other sins; and the first and principal cause both of all worldly and bodily miseries, sorrows, diseases, sicknesses, and deaths; and, which is infinitely worse than all these, as is said, the very cause of death and damnation eternal also. After this breach of obedience to God, and rebellion against his majesty, all mischiefs and miseries breaking in therewith, and overflowing the world, lest all things should come unto confusion and utter ruin, God forthwith, by laws given unto mankind, repaired again the rule and order of obedience thus by rebellion overthrown; and, besides the obedience due unto his

n. iii. 17.

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[b] all] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[c] all] *wanting* 1623.
[d] you do] do you 1623.
[e] greatest] the greatest 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

majesty, he not only ordained, that in families and households the wife should be obedient unto her husband, the children unto their parents, the servants unto their masters; but also, when mankind increased and spread itself more largely over the world, he by his holy word did constitute and ordain in cities and countries several and special governors and rulers, unto whom the residue of his people should be obedient. As in reading of the holy Scriptures we shall find in very many and almost infinite places, as well of the Old Testament as of the New, that kings and princes, as well the evil as the good, do reign by God's ordinance, and that subjects are bounden to obey them; that God doth give princes wisdom, great power, and authority; that God defendeth them against their enemies, and destroyeth their enemies horribly; that the anger and *displeasure of the prince is as the roaring of a lion, and the very messenger of death;* and that[f] the subject that provoketh him to displeasure, sinneth against his own soul: with many other things concerning both the authority of princes and the duty[g] of subjects.

Gen. iii. 16. [Eph. vi. 1—5.] Job xxxiv. 30, & xxxvi 7. Eccl. viii. 2, & x. 16, 17, 20. Psal. xviii. 50: xx. 6: xxi. 1. Prov. viii. 15. [Prov. xix. 12: xvi. 14.

But here let us rehearse two special places out of the New Testament, which may stand in stead of all other. The first out of St Paul's epistle to the Romans, and the thirteenth chapter, where he writeth thus unto all subjects: *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers, for there is no power but of God, and the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For princes are not to be feared for good works, but for evil. Wilt thou then be without fear of the power? Do well, so shalt thou have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God for thy wealth: but if thou do evil, fear; for he beareth not the sword for nought, for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance upon him that doth evil. Wherefore ye must be subject, not because of wrath only, but also for conscience sake: for, for this cause ye pay also tribute, for they are God's ministers, serving for the same purpose. Give to every man therefore his duty; tribute to whom tribute belongeth; custom to whom custom is due; fear to whom fear belongeth; honour to whom ye owe*

Rom. xiii. [1—7.]

[f] that] *wanting* 1587, 1595. [g] duty] duties 1587, 1595.

honour. Thus far are St Paul's words. The second place is in St Peter's first[h] epistle, and the second chapter, whose words are these: *Submit yourselves unto all manner ordinance*[i] *of man for the Lord's sake, whether it be unto the king, as unto the chief head; either unto*[k] *rulers, as unto them that are sent of him for the punishment of evil-doers, but for the cherishing of them that do well. For so is the will of God, that with well doing ye may stop the mouths of ignorant*[l] *and foolish men: as free, and not as having the liberty for a cloak of maliciousness, but even as the servants of God. Honour all men, love brotherly fellowship, fear God, honour the king. Servants, obey your masters with fear, not only if they be good and courteous, but also though they be froward.* Thus far out of St Peter.

1 Pet. ii. 13–18.]

By these two places of the holy Scriptures it is most evident that kings, queens, and other princes,—for he speaketh of authority and power, be it in men or women,—are ordained of God, are to be obeyed and honoured of their subjects; that such subjects as are disobedient or rebellious against their princes, disobey God, and procure their own damnation; that the government of princes is a great blessing of God, given for the commonwealth, specially[m] of the good and godly; for the comfort and cherishing of whom, God giveth and setteth up princes; and, on the contrary part, to the fear and for the punishment of the evil and wicked. Finally, that if servants ought to obey their masters, not only being gentle, but such as be froward; as well, and much more, ought subjects to be obedient, not only to their good and courteous, but also to their sharp and rigorous princes. It cometh therefore neither of chance and fortune, as they term it, nor of the ambition of mortal men and women, climbing up of their own accord to dominion, that there be kings, queens, princes, and other governors over men being their subjects; but all[n] kings, queens, and other governors are specially appointed by the ordinance of God. And as God himself, being of an infinite majesty, power, and wisdom, ruleth and governeth all things in heaven and in[o] earth, as the universal monarch and only king and emperor over all, as being only able to take and

Prov. viii. 15; xxi. 1; Dan. ii. 21; v. 6, &c.; Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

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[h] first] *wanting* 1623.
[i] ordinance] of ordinances 1623.
[k] unto] to 1587, 1595.
[l] ignorant] the ignorant 1587, 1595.
[m] specially] especially 1587, 1595.
[n] all] also 1595.
[o] in] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

bear the charge of all; so hath he constituted, ordained, and set earthly princes over particular kingdoms and dominions in earth, both for the avoiding of all confusion, which else would be in the world, if it should be without such[p] governors, and for the great quiet and benefit of earthly men their subjects; and also that the princes themselves in authority, power, wisdom, providence, and righteousness, in government of people and countries committed to their charge, should resemble his heavenly governance, as the majesty of heavenly things may by[q] the baseness of earthly things be shadowed and resembled. And for that similitude that is between the heavenly monarchy and earthly kingdoms well governed, our Saviour Christ in sundry parables saith, that *the kingdom of heaven is resembled unto a man, a king:* and as the name of the king is very often attributed and given unto God in the holy Scriptures; so doth God himself in the same Scriptures sometime[r] vouchsafe to communicate his name with earthly princes, terming them *gods:* doubtless for that similitude of government which they have, or should have, not unlike unto God their king;—unto the which similitude of heavenly government, the nearer and nearer[s] that an earthly prince doth come in his regiment, the greater blessing of God's mercy is he unto that country and people, over whom he reigneth: and the further and further that an earthly prince doth swerve from the example of the heavenly government, the greater plague he is[t] of God's wrath and punishment by God's justice unto that[u] country and people, over whom God for their sins hath placed such a prince and governor. For it is indeed evident, both by the Scriptures and by daily[x] experience, that the maintenance of all virtue and godliness, and consequently of the wealth and prosperity of a kingdom and people, doth stand and rest more in a wise and good[y] prince on the one part, than in great multitudes of other men being subjects: and, on the contrary part, the overthrow of all virtue and godliness, and consequently the decay and utter ruin of a realm and people, doth grow and come more by an undiscreet and evil governor,

Eccles. xvii. [17.]

Matt. xviii. 23: xxii. 2.

Psal. x. 16: xlv. 6: xlvii. 2.

Matt. xxii. 13: xxv. 34. Psal. lxxxii. 6.

p such] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
q by] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
r sometime] sometimes, 1587, 1595.
s and nearer] and that 1587, 1595.
t he is] is he 1623.
u that] the 1595.
x by daily] daily by 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
y good] a good 1587, 1595.

than by many thousands of other men being subjects. Thus say the holy Scriptures: *Well is thee, O thou land,* saith the preacher, *whose king is come of nobles, and whose princes eat in due season, for necessity and not for lust.* Again, a wise and righteous king maketh his realm and people wealthy: and a good, merciful, and gracious prince is as a shadow in heat, as a defence in storms, as dew, as sweet showers, as fresh water springs in great droughts. Again, the Scriptures, of undiscreet and evil princes, speak thus: *Woe be to thee, O thou land, whose king is but a child, and whose princes are early at their banquets.* Again, *When the wicked do reign, then men go to ruin.* And again, *A foolish prince destroyeth the people, and a covetous king undoeth his subjects.* Thus speak the Scriptures, thus experience testifieth of good and evil princes.

Eccles. x. 17.
Prov. xvi. [12,] & xxix. [14.]
Eccles. x. Isai. xxxii. [1, 2.] [Wisd. vi. 24.]
Eccles. x. 16.
Prov. xxviii. [15, 16.] xxix. [2, 4.]

What shall subjects do then? Shall they obey valiant, stout, wise, and good princes, and contemn, disobey, and rebel against children being their princes, or against undiscreet and evil governors? God forbid: for first, what a perilous thing were it to commit unto the subjects the judgment, which prince is wise and godly, and his government good, and which is otherwise; as though the foot must judge of the head,—an enterprise very heinous, and must needs breed rebellion. For who else be they that are most inclined to rebellion, but such haughty spirits? From whom springeth such foul ruin of realms? Is not rebellion the greatest of all mischiefs? And who are most ready to the greatest mischiefs, but the worst men? Rebels therefore, the worst of all subjects, are most ready to rebellion, as being the worst of all vices, and furthest[z] from the duty of a good subject: as, on the contrary part, the best subjects are most firm and constant in obedience, as in the special and peculiar virtue of good subjects. What an unworthy matter were it then to make the naughtiest subjects, and most inclined to rebellion and all evil, judges over their princes, over their government, and over their counsellors; to determine which of them be good or tolerable, and which be evil, and so intolerable, that they must needs be removed by rebels; being ever ready, as the naughtiest subjects, soonest to rebel against the best princes, specially if they be young in age,

[z] furthest] farthest 1623.

women in sex, or gentle and courteous in government; as trusting by their wicked boldness easily to overthrow their weakness and gentleness; or at the least so to fear the minds of such princes, that they may have impunity of their mischievous doings!

But whereas indeed a rebel is worse than the worst prince, and rebellion worse than the worst government of the worst prince that hitherto hath been; both are rebels[a] unmeet ministers, and rebellion an unfit and unwholesome medicine to reform any small lacks in a prince, or to cure any little griefs in government; such lewd remedies being far worse than any other maladies and disorders that can be in the body of a commonwealth. But whatsoever the prince be, or his government, it is evident that for the most part those princes, whom some subjects do think to be very godly, and under whose government they rejoice to live, some other subjects do take the same to be evil and ungodly, and do wish for a change. If therefore all subjects that mislike of their prince should rebel, no realm should ever be without rebellion. It were more meet that rebels should hear the advice of wise men, and give place unto their judgment, and follow the example of obedient subjects; as reason is that they whose understanding is blinded with so evil an affection[b] should give place to them that be of sound judgment, and that the worse[c] should give place to the better: and so might realms continue in long obedience, peace, and quietness. But what if the prince be undiscreet, and evil indeed, and it[d] also evident to all men's eyes, that he so is? I ask again, what if it belong of the wickedness of the subjects, that the prince is undiscreet and evil, shall the subjects both by their wickedness provoke God, for their deserved punishment, to give them an undiscreet or evil prince; and also rebel against him, and withal against God, who for the punishment of their sins did give them such a prince? Will you hear the Scriptures concerning this point? *God*, say the holy Scriptures, *maketh a wicked man to reign for the sins of the people.* Again, *God giveth a prince in his anger*,—meaning an evil one,—*and taketh away a prince in his*

Job xxxiv. 30. [Isai. xix. 4.]

Hos. xiii. 11.

[a] are rebels] rebels are 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[b] affection] infection 1595.

[c] worse] worst 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[d] it] is 1623.

displeasure, meaning specially when he taketh away a good prince for the sins of the people: as in our memory he took away our good Josias, king Edward, in his young and good years, for our wickedness. And contrarily the Scriptures do teach, that *God giveth wisdom unto princes, and maketh a wise and good king to reign over that people whom he loveth*[e], *and who loveth him.* Again, *If the people obey God, both they and their king shall prosper and be safe, else both shall perish*, saith God by the mouth of Samuel.

2 Chron. ii.: ix. Prov. xvi. [12.] 1 Sam. xii. [14, 25.]

Here you see that God placeth as well evil princes as good, and for what cause he doth both. If we therefore will have a good prince, either to be given us, or to continue; now we have such a one, let us, by our obedience to God and to our prince, move God thereunto. If we will have an evil prince—when God shall send such a one—taken away, and a good in his place, let us take away our wickedness, which provoketh God to place such a one over us, and God will either displace him, or of an evil prince make him a good prince, so that we first will change our evil into good. For will you hear the Scriptures? *The heart of the prince is in God's hand; which way soever it shall please him, he turneth it.* Thus say the Scriptures. Wherefore let us turn from our sins unto the Lord with all our hearts, and he will turn the heart of the[f] prince unto our quiet and wealth. Else for subjects to deserve through their sins to have an evil prince, and then to rebel against him, were double and treble evil, by provoking God more to plague them. Nay, let us either deserve to have a good prince, or let us patiently suffer and obey such as we deserve. And whether the prince be good or evil, let us, according to the counsel of the holy Scriptures, pray for the prince, for his continuance and increase in goodness if he be good, and for his amendment, if he be evil.

Prov. xxi. 1. 1 Esdr. viii. [25.]

Will[g] you hear the Scriptures concerning this most necessary point? *I exhort therefore*, saith St Paul, *that, above all things, prayers, supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks, be had for all men; for kings, and all that are in authority; that we may live a quiet and peaceable life with all godliness: for that is good and acceptable in the*

1 Tim. ii. 1, &c.

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e loveth] loved 1595.
f the] our 1595.
g Will] Well 1582, 1623.

sight of God our Saviour, &c. This is St Paul's counsel. And who, I pray you, was prince over the most part of Christians[h], when God's holy Spirit by St Paul's pen gave them this lesson? Forsooth, Caligula, Clodius[i], or Nero; who were not only no Christians, but pagans; and also either foolish rulers, or most cruel tyrants. Will you yet hear the word of God to the Jews, when they were prisoners under Nabuchodonosor king of Babylon, after he had slain their king, nobles, parents, children, and kinsfolks, burned their country, cities, yea, Jerusalem itself, and the holy temple, and had carried the residue remaining alive captives with him unto[k] Babylon? Will you hear yet what the prophet Baruch said unto God's people being in this captivity? *Pray you*, saith the prophet, *for the life of Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, and for the life of Balthasar his son, that their days may be as the days of heaven upon the earth, that God also may give us strength, and lighten our eyes, that we may live under the defence of Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, and under the protection of Balthasar, his son; that we may long do them service, and find favour in their sight. Pray for us also unto[k] the Lord our God, for we have sinned against the Lord our God.* Baruc. i. 11.

Thus far the prophet Baruch his words, which are spoken by him unto the people of God, of that king who was an heathen, a tyrant, and cruel oppressor of them, and had been a murderer of many thousands of their nation, and a destroyer of their country, with a confession that their sins had deserved such a prince to reign over them. And shall the old Christians, by St Paul's exhortation, pray for Caligula, Clodius[i], or Nero? Shall the Jews pray for Nabuchodonosor —these emperors and kings being strangers unto them, being pagans and infidels, being murderers, tyrants, and cruel oppressors of them, and the[l] destroyers of their country, countrymen, and kinsmen, the burners of their villages, towns, cities, and temples—and shall not we pray for the long, prosperous, and godly reign of our natural prince? No stranger—which is observed as a great blessing in the Scriptures—of our Christian, our most gracious sovereign; no heathen, nor pagan prince? Shall we not pray for the health Deut. xvii. 15.

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[h] Christians] the Christians 1623.
[i] Clodius] Claudius 1623.
[k] unto] to 1587, 1595.
[l] the] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

of our most merciful, most loving sovereign; the preserver of us and our country in so long peace, quietness, and security; no cruel person, no tyrant, no spoiler of our goods, no shedder of our[m] bloods, no burner and destroyer of our towns, cities, and country[n]; as were those, for whom yet, as we have heard, Christians being their subjects ought to pray? Let us not commit so great ingratitude against God and our sovereign, as not continually to thank God for this[o] government, and for his great and continual benefits and blessings poured upon us by such government. Let us not commit so great a sin against God, against ourselves, and our country, as not to pray continually unto God for the long continuance of so gracious a ruler unto us and our country. Else shall we be unworthy any longer to enjoy those benefits and blessings of God, which hitherto we have had by her; and[p] shall be most worthy to fall into all those mischiefs and miseries, which we and our country have by God's grace through her government hitherto escaped.

What shall we say of those subjects? May we call them by the name of subjects, who neither be thankful, nor make any prayer to God for so gracious a sovereign; but also themselves take armour wickedly, assemble companies and bands of rebels, to break the public peace so long continued; and to make not war but rebellion; to endanger the person of such a gracious sovereign; to hazard the estate of their country, for whose defence they should be ready to spend their lives; and, being Englishmen, to rob, spoil, destroy, and burn in England Englishmen; to kill and murder their own neighbours and kinsfolk; their own countrymen; to do all evil and mischief; yea, and more too than foreign enemies would or could do? What shall we say of these men, who use themselves thus rebelliously against their gracious sovereign? Who, if God for their wickedness had given them an heathen tyrant to reign over them, were by God's word bound to obey him, and to pray for him? What may be spoken of them? So far doth their unkindness, unnaturalness, wickedness, mischievousness in their doings, pass and excel any thing, and all things that can be expressed or[q] uttered by words. Only let us wish unto all such most

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[m] our] *wanting* 1623.
[n] country] countries 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[o] this] his 1623.
[p] and] *wanting* 1623.

speedy repentance, and with so grievous sorrow of heart as such so horrible sins against the majesty of God do require; who in most extreme unthankfulness do rise, not only against their gracious prince, against their natural country, but against all their countrymen, women, and children; against themselves, their wives, children, and kinsfolks, and by so wicked an example against all Christendom, and against whole mankind of all manner of people throughout the wide world—such repentance, I say, such sorrow of heart, God grant unto all such, whosoever rise of private and malicious purpose, as is meet for such mischiefs attempted, and wrought by them. And unto us, and all other subjects, God of his mercy grant, that we may be most unlike to all such, and most like to good, natural, loving, and obedient subjects: nay, that we may be such indeed, not only shewing all obedience ourselves, but as many of us as be able to the uttermost of our power, ability, and understanding, to stay and repress all rebels, and rebellions against God, our gracious prince, and natural country, at every occasion that is offered[r] unto us. And that which we all are able to do, unless we do it, we shall be most wicked, and most worthy to feel in the end such extreme plagues as God hath ever poured upon rebels.

Let us all[s] make continual prayers unto Almighty God, even from the bottom of our hearts, that he will give his grace, power, and strength unto our gracious queen Elizabeth, to vanquish and subdue all, as well rebels at home as foreign enemies, that all domestical rebellions being suppressed and pacified, and all outward invasions repulsed and abandoned, we may not only be sure and long continue in all obedience unto our gracious sovereign, and in that peaceable and quiet life which hitherto we have led under her majesty, with all security; but also that both our gracious queen Elizabeth, and we her subjects, may all together in all[t] obedience unto God the[u] King of all[x] kings, and unto his holy laws, lead our lives so in this world, in all virtue and godliness, that in the world to come we may enjoy his everlasting kingdom: which I beseech God to grant, as well to our gra-

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[r] is offered] is once offered 1587, 1595.
[s] all] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[t] all] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[u] the] and the 1587, 1595.
[x] all] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

cious sovereign, as unto us all, for his Son our[y] Saviour Jesus Christ's sake: to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God and King immortal, be all glory, praise, and thanksgiving, world without end. Amen.

Thus have you heard the first part of this homily.
Now, good people, let us pray.

THE PRAYER[z].

O MOST mighty God, the Lord of hosts, the governor of all creatures, the only giver of all victories, who alone art able to strengthen the weak against the mighty, and to vanquish infinite multitudes of thine enemies with the countenance of a few of thy servants calling upon thy name, and trusting in thee; defend, O Lord, thy servant, and our governor under thee, our queen Elizabeth, and all thy[a] people committed to her[b] charge. O Lord, withstand the cruelty of all those which be common enemies as well to the truth of thy eternal word, as to their own natural prince and country, and manifestly to[c] this crown and realm of England, which thou hast of thy divine providence assigned in these our days to the government of thy servant, our sovereign and gracious queen. O most merciful Father, if it be thy holy will, make soft and tender the stony hearts of all those that exalt themselves against thy truth, and seek either to trouble the quiet of this realm of England, or to oppress the crown of the same; and convert them to the knowledge of thy Son, the only Saviour of the world, Jesus Christ, that we and they may jointly glorify thy mercies. Lighten, we beseech thee, their ignorant hearts to embrace the truth of thy word; or else so abate their cruelty, O most mighty Lord, that this our Christian region[d], with others that confess thy holy gospel, may obtain, by thine aid and strength, surety from all enemies, without shedding of Christian blood; whereby all they which be oppressed with their tyranny may be relieved, and they which be in fear of their cruelty may be comforted; and, finally, that all Christian realms, and specially this realm of England,

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[y] our] and 1595.

[z] The Prayer] The Prayer as in that time it was published 1623.

[a] thy] the 1587, 1595.

[b] her] our 1587, 1595.

[c] to] in 1587, 1595.

[d] region] religion 1582, 1587, 1595, realm 1623.

may by thy defence and protection continue in the truth of the gospel, and enjoy perfect peace, quietness, and security; and that we for these thy mercies, jointly all together with one consonant heart and voice, may thankfully render to thee all laud and praise; that we, knit in one godly concord and unity amongst ourselves, may continually magnify thy glorious name, who with thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Holy Ghost, art one eternal, Almighty, and most merciful God: to whom be all laud and praise, world without end. Amen.

THE SECOND PART OF THE HOMILY AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION[e].

AS in the first part of this treaty of obedience of subjects to their princes, and against disobedience and rebellion, I have alleged divers sentences out of the holy Scriptures for proof; so shall it[f] be good, for the better[g] declaration and confirmation of the said wholesome doctrine, to allege one example or two out of the same[h] holy Scriptures, of the obedience of subjects, not only unto[i] their good and gracious governors, but also unto[i] their evil and unkind princes. As king Saul was not of the best, but rather of the worst sort of princes, as being out of God's favour for his disobedience against God in sparing, in a wrong pity, the king Agag, whom Almighty God commanded to be slain, according to the justice of God against his sworn enemy; and although Saul of a devotion meant to sacrifice such things as he spared of the Amaleckites to the honour and service of God; yet Saul was reproved for his wrong mercy and devotion, and was told, that obedience would have more pleased him than such lenity: which sinful humanity, saith holy Chrysostom[1], 'is more cruel before God, than any murder or shedding of

1 Sam. xv 11, 22, 35.

Chrys. Tom. I. Hom. 1. adversus Judæos.

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[e] The second part, &c.] The Homily ... rebellion the second part M.

[f] shall it] it shall 1595.

[g] better declaration] better both declaration M: better consideration 1595.

[h] same] *wanting* 1582,1587,1595,1623.

[i] unto] to 1587, 1595.

[1] [Κἂν φείσηταί τις καὶ φιλανθρωπεύσηται παρὰ τὸ δοκεῖν ἐκείνῳ [sc. Θεῷ] φόνου παντὸς ἀνοσιωτέρα γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ φειδώ. Advers. Judæos. Orat. IV. Opp. Tom. I. 617, B.]

1 Sam. xviii. 10, 12; xvi. 14, 15; xix. 9, 20; xvii. 26, &c. xviii. 27; xix. 5, 8.

blood, when it is commanded of God.' But yet how evil soever Saul the king was, and out of God's favour; yet was he obeyed of his subject David, the very best of all[k] subjects, and most valiant in the service of his prince and country in the wars; the most obedient and loving in peace; and always most true and faithful to his sovereign and lord; and furthest off from all manner[l] rebellion. For the which his most painful, true, and faithful service, king Saul yet rewarded him not only with great unkindness, but also sought his destruction and death by all means possible; so that David was fain to save his life, not by rebellion, nor[m] any resistance, but by flight and hiding himself from the king's sight. Which notwithstanding, when king Saul upon a time came alone into the cave where David was, so that David might easily have slain him, yet would he neither hurt him himself, neither suffer any of his men to lay hands upon him. Another time also David entering by night with one Abishai, a valiant and a[n] fierce man, into the tent where king Saul did[o] lie asleep, where also he might yet more easily have slain him; yet would he neither hurt him himself, nor suffer Abishai, who was willing and ready to slay king Saul, once to touch him. Thus did David deal with Saul his prince, notwithstanding that king Saul continually sought his death and destruction. It shall not be amiss unto these deeds of David to add his words, and to shew you what he spake unto such as encouraged him to take his opportunity and advantage to slay king Saul, as his mortal enemy, when he might. *The Lord keep me*, saith David, *from doing that thing, and from laying hands upon my lord, God's anointed. For who can lay his hand upon the Lord's anointed, and be guiltless? As truly as the Lord liveth, except that*[p] *the Lord do smite him, or his days shall come to die, or that he go down to war, and be slain in battle—the Lord be merciful unto me, that I lay not my hand upon the Lord's anointed.*

1 Sam. xxiii. xxvii.

1 Sam. xviii. 9, 25, 29.

1 Sam. xxvi. 25.

1 Sam. xix. 4; xxi. xxii.

1 Sam. xxiv. 6.

1 Sam. xxvi.

1 Sam. xxiv. [6, &c.]

1 Sam. xxvi. 9, 10, &c.

These be David's words, spoken at sundry times to divers his servants provoking him to slay king Saul, when opportunity served him thereunto. Neither is it to be

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[k] all] all his 1587, 1595, 1623.

[l] manner] manner of 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[m] nor] or 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[n] a] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[o] Saul did] Saul was did 1587.

[p] that] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

omitted and left out, how when an Amalekite had slain king Saul, even at Saul's own bidding and commandment,— 2 Sam. i. 7, 9. for he would live no longer now, for that he had lost the field against his enemies the Philistines,—the said Amalekite 2 Sam. i. [10.] making great haste to bring first word and news thereof unto David, as joyous unto him for the death of his mortal enemy, bringing withal the crown that was upon king Saul's head, and the bracelet that was upon[q] his arm, both as a proof of the truth of his news, and also as fit and pleasant presents unto David, being by God appointed to be king Saul his successor in the kingdom; yet was that faithful and godly David so far from rejoicing at these news, that he rent his 2 Sam. i. 11, 12. clothes, wept, and mourned, and fasted: and so far off from thanksgiving to the messenger, either for his deed in killing the king, though his deadly enemy, or for[r] his message and news, or for his presents that he brought, that he said unto him, *How happened it that thou wast not afraid to lay thy* 2 Sam. i. 14, 15. *hands upon the Lord's anointed, to slay him?* Whereupon, immediately he commanded one of his servants to kill the messenger, and said, *Thy blood be upon thine own head; for* [2 Sam. i. 16.] *thine own mouth hath witnessed against theeself*[s], *in confessing*[t] *that thou hast slain the Lord's anointed.*

This example, dearly beloved, is notable, and the circumstances thereof are well to be considered, for the better instruction of all subjects in their bounden duty of obedience; and perpetual fearing of them from attempting of[u] any rebellion, or hurt against their prince. On the one part, David was not only a good and true subject, but also such a subject as, both in peace and war, had served and saved his prince's honour and life; and delivered his country and countrymen from great danger of infidels, foreign and most cruel enemies, horribly invading the king and his country: for the which David was in singular[x] favour with all the 1 Sam. xviii. [6, 7.] people; so that he might have had great numbers of them at his commandment, if he would have attempted any thing. Besides this, David was no common or absolute subject, but 1 Sam. xvi. 12, &c. heir-apparent to the crown and kingdom, by God appointed 1 Sam. xviii. 11. 1 Sam. xviii. 10, 12.

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q upon] about 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

r his deed in killing the king, though his deadly enemy, or for] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

s theeself] thyself 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

t confessing] confession, 1595.

u of] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

x in singular] in a singular 1623.

to reign after Saul; which, as it increased the favour of the people that knew it towards David, so did it make David's cause and case much differing from the case of common and absolute subjects. And, which is most of all, David was highly and singularly in the favour of God: on the contrary part, king Saul was out of God's favour, for that cause which is before rehearsed, and he as it were God's enemy; and therefore like in war and peace to be hurtful and pernicious unto the commonwealth: and that was known to many of his subjects, for that he was openly rebuked of Samuel for his disobedience unto God, which might make the people the less to esteem him. King Saul was also unto David a mortal and deadly enemy, though without David's deserving; who, by his faithful, painful, profitable, yea, most necessary service, had well deserved, as of his country, so of his prince. But king Saul far otherwise: the more was his unkindness, hatred, and cruelty towards such a good subject, both odious and detestable. Yet would David neither himself slay nor hurt such an enemy, for that he was his prince and lord; nor would suffer any other to kill, hurt, or lay hand upon him, when he might have been slain without any stir, tumult, or danger of any man's life.

[1 Sam. xv. 10, 11.]

[1 Sam. xviii. [8, 9]]

[1 Sam. xxii. 11—19.]

[1 Sam. xxvi. 7—9.]

Now let David answer to such demands, as men, desirous of rebellion, do use to make. 'Shall not we, specially being so good men as we are, rise and rebel against a prince, hated of God, and God's enemy; and therefore like not to prosper either in war or peace, but to be hurtful and pernicious to the commonwealth?' 'No,' saith good and godly David, God's and such a king's faithful subject: and so convicting such subjects as attempt any rebellion against such a king, to be neither good subjects nor good men. 'But,' say they, 'shall we not rise and rebel against so unkind a prince, nothing considering or regarding our true, faithful, and painful service; or the safeguard of our posterity?' 'No,' saith good David, whom no such unkindness could cause to forsake his due obedience to his sovereign. 'Shall we not,' say they, 'rise and rebel against our known, mortal, and deadly enemy, that seeketh our lives?' 'No,' saith godly David, who had learned the lesson that our Saviour afterward plainly taught, that we should do no hurt to our fellow-subjects, though they hate us, and be our enemies; much less unto our prince, though he were our enemy. 'Shall we not assemble

The demand.

The answer.

The demand.

The answer.

The demand.

an army of such good fellows as we are; and, by hazarding of our lives and the lives of such as shall withstand us, and withal hazarding the whole estate of our country, remove so naughty a prince?' 'No,' saith godly David; 'for I, when I might, without assembling force or number of men; without tumult or hazard of any man's life, or shedding of any drop of blood, have delivered myself and my country of an evil prince, yet would I not do it.' 'Are not they,' say some, 'lusty and courageous captains, valiant men of stomach, and good men's bodies, that do venture by force to kill and depose their king, being a naughty prince, and their mortal enemy?' 'They may be as lusty, as[y] courageous as they list, yet,' saith godly David, 'they can be no good nor godly men that so do: for I not only have rebuked, but also commanded him to be slain as a wicked man, which slew king Saul mine enemy; though[z] he, being weary of his life for the loss of the victory against his enemies, desired that man to slay him.' What shall we then do to[a] an evil, to[a] an unkind prince, an enemy to[a] us, hated of God, hurtful to[a] the commonwealth, &c.? 'Lay no violent hand upon him,' saith good David; 'but let him live until God appoint and work his end, either by natural death, or in war by lawful enemies, not by traitorous subjects.'

The answer.

The demand.

The answer.

The demand.

The answer.

Thus would godly David make answer; and St Paul, as ye heard[b] before, willeth us to pray also[c] for such a prince. If king David would make these answers, as by his deeds and words recorded in the holy Scriptures, indeed he doth make unto all such demands concerning rebelling against evil princes, unkind princes, cruel princes, princes that be to their good subjects mortal enemies, princes that are out of God's favour, and so hurtful or like to be hurtful to the commonwealth; what answer, think you, would he make to those that demand, whether they, being naughty and unkind subjects, may not, to[a] the great hazard of the life of many thousands, and the utter danger of the state of the commonwealth and whole realm, assemble a sort of rebels, or[d] to depose, to put in fear[e], or to destroy their natural and

An unnatural and wicked question.

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y as] and as 1595, and 1623.

z though] although 1587, 1595.

a to] unto 1587, 1595.

b heard] have heard 1587, 1595.

c pray also] also pray 1623.

d or] either 1623.

e to depose, to put in fear] to put in fear or to depose M.

loving princess[f], enemy to none; good to all, even to them the worst of all other; the maintainer of perpetual peace, quietness, and security; most beneficial to the commonwealth; most necessary for the safeguard of the whole realm? What answer would David make to their demand, whether they may not attempt cruelly and unnaturally to destroy so peaceable and merciful a princess[f]? What, I say, would David, so reverently speaking of Saul, and so patiently suffering so evil a king, what would he answer and say to such demands? What would he say, nay, what would he do to such high attempters, who so said and did, as you before have heard, unto him that slew the king his master, though a most wicked prince? If he punished with death, as a wicked doer, such a man, with what reproaches of words would he revile such, yea, with what torments of most shameful deaths would he destroy such hell-hounds rather than evil men, such rebels, I mean, as I last spake of? For if they who do disobey an evil and unkind prince, be most unlike[g] unto David, that good subject; what be they who do rebel against a most natural and loving prince? And if David, being so good a subject, that he obeyed so evil a king, was worthy of a subject to be made a king himself; what be they, who[h] are so evil subjects, that they will rebel against their gracious prince, worthy of? Surely no mortal man can express with[i] words, nor conceive in mind, the horrible and most dreadful damnation that such be worthy of, who, disdaining to be the quiet and happy subjects of their good prince, are most worthy to be the miserable captives and vile slaves of that infernal tyrant Satan, with him to suffer eternal slavery and torments. This one example of the good subject David, out of the Old Testament, may suffice, and, for the notableness of it, serve for all.

Luke ii. 1, &c.

In the New Testament, the excellent example of the blessed virgin Mary, the mother of our Saviour Christ, doth at the first offer itself. When proclamation or commandment was sent into Jewry from Augustus the emperor of Rome, that the people there should repair unto their own cities and dwelling-places, there to be taxed; neither did

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[f] princess] prince 1595.
[g] unlike] unkind 1595.
[h] who] which 1623.
[i] with] worth M.

the blessed virgin, though both[k] highly in God's favour, and also being of the royal blood of the ancient natural kings of Jewry, disdain to obey the commandment of an heathen and foreign prince, when God had placed such a one over them; neither did she allege for an[l] excuse, that she was great with child, and most near her time of deliverance; neither grudged she at the length and tediousness of the[m] journey from Nazareth to Bethlehem, from whence and whither she must go to be taxed; neither repined she at the sharpness of the dead time of winter, being the latter end of December, an unhandsome[n] time to travel in, specially a long journey for a woman being in her case: but, all excuses set apart, she obeyed, and came to the appointed place; where at her coming she found such great resort and throng of people, that, finding no place in any inn, she was fain, after her long painful and tedious journey, to take up her lodging in a stable, where also she was delivered of her blessed child; and this also declareth how near her time she took that journey. This obedience of this most noble and most virtuous lady, to a foreign and pagan prince, doth well teach us, who in comparison of[o] her are most base and vile, what ready obedience we do owe to our natural and gracious sovereign. Howbeit, in this case the obedience of the whole Jewish nation being otherwise a stubborn people unto the commandment of the same foreign heathen prince, doth prove, that such Christians as do not most readily obey their natural gracious sovereign, are far worse than the stubborn Jews, whom yet we[p] account as the worst of all[q] people. But no example ought to be of more force with us Christians, than the example of Christ, our master and Saviour; who, though he were the Son of God, yet did always behave himself most reverently to such men as were in authority in the world in his time, and he not rebelliously behaved himself, but openly did teach the Jews to pay tribute unto the Roman emperor, though a foreign and a pagan prince; yea, himself with his apostles paid tribute unto him: and finally, being brought before Pontius Pilate, a stranger born, and

Luke ii. 7.

Luke ii. 3. Matt. xvii. 25, &c. Mark xii. 17. Luke xx. 25. Matt. xxvii. 1, &c. Luke xxiii. 1. John xix. [11.] Luke xxiii. 24.

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k both] most 1595.
l an] any 1595.
m tediousness of the] tedious 1623.
n unhandsome] unfit 1623.
o of] to M.
p yet we] we yet 1623.
q all] all the 1595.

an heathen man, being lord president of Jewry, he acknowledged his authority and power to be given him from God, and obeyed patiently the sentence of most painful and shameful death, which the said judge pronounced and gave most unjustly against him, without any grudge, murmuring, or evil word once giving.

There be many and divers other examples of the obedience to princes, even such as be evil, in the New Testament, to the utter confusion of disobedient and rebellious people: but this one may be an eternal example, which the Son of God, and so the Lord of all, Jesus Christ hath given to us his Christians and servants, and such as may serve for all, to teach us to obey princes, though strangers, wicked, and wrongful, when God for our sins shall place such over us. Whereby it followeth unavoidably, that such as do disobey or rebel against their own natural gracious sovereigns, howsoever they call themselves, or be named of others, yet are they indeed no true Christians, but worse than Jews, worse than heathens, and such as shall never enjoy the kingdom of heaven, which Christ by his obedience purchased for true Christians, being obedient to him the King of all kings, and to their prince, whom he hath placed over them: the which kingdom, the peculiar place of all such obedient subjects, I beseech God our heavenly Father, for the same our Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, to grant unto us: to whom with the Holy Ghost be all laud, honour, and glory, now and for ever. Amen.

Thus have you heard the second part of this homily.
Now, good people, let us pray.

The Prayer as before[r].

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[r] as before] as in that time it was published 1623. In this Edition the Prayer is also given at length after each Part of the Homily.

THE THIRD PART OF THE HOMILY AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION[s].

AS I have in the first part of this treatise shewed unto[t] you the doctrine of the holy Scriptures, as concerning the obedience of true subjects to their princes, even as well to such as be evil, as unto the good; and in the second part of the same treaty confirmed the same doctrine by notable examples, likewise taken out of the holy Scriptures; so remaineth it now, that I partly do declare unto you in this third part, what an abominable sin against God and man rebellion is; and how dreadfully the wrath of God is kindled and enflamed against all rebels; and what horrible plagues, punishments, and deaths, and finally eternal damnation, doth hang over their heads: as how, on the contrary part, good and obedient subjects are in God's favour, and be partakers of peace, quietness, and security, with other God's manifold blessings in this world, and, by his mercies, through our Saviour Christ, of life everlasting also in the world to come.

How horrible a sin against God and man rebellion is, cannot[u] possibly be expressed according unto[t] the greatness thereof. For he that nameth rebellion, nameth not a singular or one only sin, as is theft, robbery, murder, and such like; but he nameth the whole puddle and sink of all sins against God and man; against his prince; his country; his countrymen; his parents; his children; his kinsfolks; his friends; and against all men universally; all sins, I say, against God and all men heaped together, nameth he that nameth rebellion. For concerning the offence of God's majesty, who seeth not that rebellion riseth first by[x] contempt of God and of his holy ordinances and laws, wherein he so straitly commandeth obedience, forbiddeth disobedience and rebellion? And besides the dishonour done by rebels unto God's holy name, by their breaking of their[y] oath made to their prince, with the attestation of God's name, and calling of his majesty to witness; who heareth not the horrible oaths and blasphe-

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[s] The Homily ... rebellion the third part M.

[t] unto] to 1587, 1595.

[u] cannot] can 1587, 1595.

[x] by] to 1595.

[y] their] the M.

mies of God's holy name, that are used daily amongst rebels, that is either amongst them, or heareth[z] the truth of their behaviour? Who knoweth not that rebels do not only themselves leave all works necessary to be done upon work-days undone, whiles they accomplish their abominable work of rebellion, and to[a] compel others, that would gladly be well occupied to do the same; but also how rebels do not only leave the sabbath-day of the Lord unsanctified, the temple and church of the Lord unresorted unto, but also do by their works of wickedness most horribly profane and pollute the sabbath-day, serving Satan, and, by doing of his work, making it the devil's day, instead of the Lord's day? Besides that, they compel good men, that would gladly serve the Lord, assembling in his temple and church upon his day, as becometh the Lord's servants, to assemble and meet armed in the field, to resist the fury of such rebels. Yea, and many rebels, lest they should leave any part of God's commandments in the first table of his law unbroken, or any sin against God undone, do make rebellion for the maintenance of their images and idols, and of their idolatry committed, or to be committed by them; and, in despite of God, cut and tear in sunder his holy word, and tread it under their feet, as of late ye know was done.

The fifth commandment.

As concerning the second table of God's law, and all sins that may be committed against man, who seeth not that they be not[b] contained in rebellion? For first, the rebels do not only dishonour their prince, the parent of their country, but also do dishonour and shame their natural parents, if they have any; do shame their kindred and friends; do disherit[c] and undo for ever their children and heirs. Thefts, robberies, and murders, which of all sins are most loathed of most men, are in no men so much, nor so perniciously and mischievously, as in rebels. For the most arrant thieves, and[d] cruellest murderers that ever were, so long as they refrain from rebellion, as they are not many in number, so spreadeth their wickedness and damnation unto a few; they spoil but a few; they shed the blood but of few[e] in comparison. But rebels are the cause of infinite robberies, and

The sixth and eighth commandment.

[z] heareth] hearing 1595.
[a] to] do M.
[b] not] *wanting* 1623.
[c] disherit] disinherit 1623.
[d] and] *wanting* 1623.
[e] few] a few 1623.

murders of great multitudes, and of those also[f] whom they should defend from the spoil and violence of other: and as rebels are many in number, so doth their wickedness and damnation spread itself unto many. And if whoredom and adultery amongst such persons as are agreeable to such wickedness, are—as they indeed be—most damnable; what are the forcible oppressions of matrons and men's wives, and the violating and deflowering of virgins and maids, which are most rife with rebels? How horrible and damnable, think you, are they? Now besides that, rebels, by breach of their faith given, and oath[g] made to their prince, be guilty of most damnable perjury: it is wondrous to see what false colours and feigned causes, by slanderous lies made upon their prince, and the counsellors, rebels will devise to cloak their rebellion withal, which is the worst and most damnable of all false witness-bearing that may be possible. For what should I speak of coveting or desiring of other men's wives, houses, lands, goods, and servants, in rebels, who by their wills would leave unto no man any thing of his own!

The seventh commandment.

The ninth commandment.

The tenth commandment.

Thus you see that all God's[h] laws are by rebels violated and broken, and that all sins possible to be committed against God or man be contained in rebellion: which sins if a man list to name by the accustomed names of the seven capital or deadly sins, as pride, envy, wrath, covetousness, sloth, gluttony, and lechery, he shall find them all in rebellion, and amongst rebels. For first, as ambition and desire to be aloft, which is the property of pride, stirreth up many men's minds to rebellion, so cometh it of a Luciferian pride and presumption, that a few rebellious subjects should set themselves up against the majesty of their prince; against the wisdom of the counsellors; against the power and force of all nobility, and the faithful subjects and people of the whole realm. As for envy, wrath, murder, and desire of blood, and covetousness of other men's goods, lands, and livings, they are the inseparable accidents of all rebels, and peculiar properties that do usually stir up wicked men unto rebellion.

Now such as by riotousness, gluttony, drunkenness,

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[f] also whom] also of whom 1587, 1595.

[g] and oath] the oath 1623, an oath 1587, 1595.

[h] God's] good 1623.

excess of apparel, and unthrifty games, have wasted their own goods unthriftily, the same are most apt unto, and most desirous of rebellion; whereby they trust to come by other men's goods unlawfully and violently. And where other gluttons and drunkards take too much of such meats and drinks as are served to tables, rebels waste and consume in short space all corn in barns, fields, or elsewhere; whole garners[i]; whole storehouses; whole cellars; devour whole flocks of sheep; whole droves of oxen and kine. And as rebels that are married, leaving their own wives at home, do most ungraciously; so much more do unmarried men,—worse than any stallands[k] or horses—being now by rebellion set at liberty from correction of laws, which bridled them before; which abuse by force other men's wives and daughters, and ravish virgins and maidens most shamefully, abominably, and damnably.

Thus all sins, by all names that sins may be named, and by all means that all[l] sins may be committed and wrought, do all wholly upon heaps follow rebellion, and are to be found altogether amongst rebels. Now whereas pestilence, famine, and war, are by the holy Scriptures declared to be the greatest worldly plagues and miseries that lightly[m] can be; it is evident, that all the miseries that[n] all these plagues have in them do wholly altogether follow rebellion; wherein, as all their miseries be, so is there much more mischief than in them all. For it is known that in the resorting of great companies of men together, which in rebellion happeneth both upon the part of true subjects, and of the rebels, by their close lying together, and corruption of the air and place where they do lie, with ordure and much filth in the hot weather, and by unwholesome lodging, and lying often upon the ground, specially in cold and wet weathers[o] in winter; by their unwholesome diet, and feeding at all times; and often by famine and lack of meat and drink in due time, and again by taking too much at other times: it is well known, I say, that as well plagues and pestilences, as all other kinds of sickness[p]

2 Sam. xxiv 14.

[i] garners] graners M.
[k] stallands] allands M.
[l] all] *wanting* 1623.
[m] lightly] likely 1623.
[n] that] which M.
[o] weathers] weather 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[p] sickness] sicknesses 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

and maladies, by these means grow upon and[q] amongst men, whereby moe men are consumed at the length, than are by dint of sword suddenly slain in the field. So that not only pestilences, but also all other sicknesses[p], diseases, and maladies do follow rebellion; which are much more horrible than plagues, pestilences, and diseases, sent directly from God, as hereafter shall appear more plainly.

And as for hunger and famine, they are the peculiar companions of rebellion: for whiles[r] rebels do in short time spoil and consume all corn and necessary provision, which men with their labours had gotten and appointed upon, for their finding the whole year after; and also do let all other men, husbandmen, and others, from their husbandry, and other necessary works, whereby provision should be made for times to come; who seeth not that extreme famine and hunger must needs shortly ensue and follow rebellion? Now whereas the wise king and godly prophet David judged war to be worse than either famine or pestilence, for that these two are often suffered by God, for man's amendment, and be not sins of themselves: but wars have always the sins and mischiefs of men upon the one side or other joined with them, and therefore is war the greatest of these worldly mischiefs. But of all wars, civil war is the worst, and far more abominable yet is rebellion than any civil war, being unworthy the name of any war, so far it exceedeth all wars in all naughtiness, in all mischief, and in all abomination. And therefore our Saviour Christ denounceth desolation and destruction to that realm, that by sedition and rebellion is divided in itself.

2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

Matt. xii. [25.]

Now as I have shewed before that pestilence and famine, so is it yet more evident that all the calamities, miseries, and mischiefs of war, be more grievous, and do more follow rebellion, than any other war; as being far worse than all other wars. For not only those ordinary and usual mischiefs and miseries of other wars do follow rebellion, as corn, and other things necessary to man's use, to be spoiled; houses, villages, towns, cities to be taken, sacked, burned, and destroyed; not only many very wealthy men, but whole countries to be impoverished and utterly beggared; many thou-

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q grow upon and] grow up and spring 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

r whiles] while 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

sands of men to be slain and murdered; women and maids to be violated and deflowered; which things when they are done by foreign enemies, we do much mourn, as we have great causes; yet are all these miseries without any wickedness wrought by any of our own[s] countrymen. But when these mischiefs are wrought in rebellion by them that should be friends; by countrymen; by kinsmen; by those that should defend their country and countrymen from such miseries; the misery is nothing so great as is the mischief and wickedness, when the subjects unnaturally do rebel against their prince; whose honour and life they should defend, though it were with the loss of their own lives: countrymen to disturb the public peace and quietness of their country, for defence of whose quietness they should spend their lives: the brother to seek, and often to work the death of his brother; the son of the father; the father to seek or procure the death of his sons, being at man's age, and by their faults to disherit[t] their innocent children and kinsmen their heirs for ever, for whom they might purchase livings and lands, as natural parents do take care and pains, and be[u] at great costs and charges; and universally, instead of all quietness, joy, and felicity, which do follow blessed peace and due obedience; to bring in all trouble, sorrow, disquietness of minds and bodies, and all mischief and calamity[x]; to turn all good order upside down, to bring all good laws in contempt, and to tread them under feet; to oppress all virtue and honesty, and all virtuous and honest persons; and to set all vice and wickedness, and all vicious and wicked men at liberty; to work their wicked wills, which were before bridled by wholesome laws; to weaken, to overthrow, and to consume the strength of the realm, their natural country; as well by the spending and wasting of the[y] money and treasure of the prince and realm, as by murdering of[z] the people of the same, their own countrymen, who should defend the honour of their prince, and liberty of their country, against the invasion of foreign enemies: and so finally to make their country, thus by their mischief weakened, ready to be a prey and spoil to all outward enemies that will invade it, to the utter and perpetual

Prov. xiv. [28.]

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[s] any of our own] any our M.
[t] disherit] disinherit 1623.
[u] be] to be 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[x] calamity] calamities M.
[y] the] *wanting* 1623.
[z] of] *wanting* 1623.

captivity, slavery, and destruction of all their countrymen, their children, their friends, their kinsfolks left alive, whom by their wicked rebellion they procure to be delivered into the hands of foreign[a] enemies, as much as in them doth lie.

In foreign wars our countrymen in[b] obtaining the victory win the praise of valiantness; yea, and though they were overcomed and slain, yet win they an honest commendation in this world, and die in a good conscience for serving God, their prince, and their country; and be children of eternal salvation; but in rebellion, how desperate and strong soever they be, yet win they shame here in fighting against God, their prince, and country, and therefore justly do fall headlong into hell, if they die, and live in shame and fearful conscience, though they escape.

But commonly they be rewarded with shameful deaths, their heads and carcases set upon poles, or[c] hanged in chains, eaten with kites and crows, judged unworthy the honour of burial; and so their souls, if they repent not, as commonly they do not, the devil harrieth[d] them into hell in the midst of their mischief. For which dreadful execution St Paul sheweth the cause[e] of obedience, not only for fear of death, but also in conscience to Godward; for fear of eternal damnation in the world to come. Rom. xii. [2.]

Wherefore, good people, let us, as the children of obedience, fear the dreadful execution of God, and live in quiet obedience, to be the children of everlasting salvation. For as heaven is the place of good obedient subjects, and hell the prison and dungeon of rebels against God and their prince; so is that realm happy where most obedience of subjects doth appear, being the very figure of heaven: and contrariwise, where most rebellions and rebels be, there is the express similitude of hell, and the rebels themselves are the very figures of fiends and devils, and their captain the ungracious pattern of Lucifer and Satan, the prince of darkness; of whose rebellion as they be followers, so shall they of his damnation in hell undoubtedly be partakers; and as undoubtedly children of peace, the inheritors of heaven with

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[a] foreign] the foreign 1582,1587,1595.
[b] in] in the 1587, 1595.
[c] or] and 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[d] harrieth] hurrieth 1623.
[e] cause] course 1587, 1595.

God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost: to whom be all honour and glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Thus have you heard the third part of this homily. Now, good people, let us pray.

The Prayer as before[f].

THE FOURTH PART OF THE HOMILY AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION[g].

FOR your further instruction, good people, to shew unto you how much Almighty God doth abhor disobedience and wilful rebellion,—specially when rebels advance themselves so high, that they arm themselves with weapon, and stand in field to fight against God, their prince, and their country,—it shall not be out of the way to shew some examples set out in Scriptures, written for our eternal erudition. We may soon know, good people, how heinous offence the treachery of rebellion is, if we call to remembrance the heavy wrath and dreadful indignation of Almighty God against such[h] subjects as do only but inwardly grudge, mutter, and murmur against their governors; though their inward treason, so privily hatched in their breasts, come not to open declaration of their doings; as hard it is, whom the devil hath so far enticed against God's word, to keep themselves there: no, he meaneth still to blow the coal, to kindle their rebellious hearts to flame into open deeds, if he be not with grace speedily withstanded[i].

Numb. xi. [1, 33]: xii. 10: xvi. [32, 33, 35.] Psal. lxxviii. [30, 31, 50.]

Some of the children of Israel, being murmurers against their magistrates appointed over them by God, were stricken with foul leprosy; many were burnt up with fire suddenly sent from the Lord; sometime a great sort of thousands were consumed with the pestilence; sometime they were stinged to death with a strange kind of fiery serpents; and—which is most horrible—some of the captains with their band of murmurers not dying by any usual or natural death of

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[f] as before] The prayer as in that time it was published 1623. The Prayer is given at length.

[g] The fourth part ... rebellion] The Homily...rebellion. The fourth part M.

[h] such] *wanting* 1623.

[i] withstanded] withstood 1595, 1623.

men, but the earth opening, they, with their wives, children, and families, were swallowed quick down into hell. Which horrible destructions of such Israelites as were murmurers against Moses, appointed by God to be their head and chief magistrate, are recorded in the book of Numbers, and other places of the Scriptures, for perpetual memory and warning to all subjects how highly God is displeased with the mumuring and evil speaking of subjects against their princes; for that, as the Scripture recordeth, their murmur was not[k] against their prince only, being a mortal creature, but against God himself also. Now if such strange and horrible plagues did fall upon such subjects as did only murmur and speak evil against their heads, what shall become of those most wicked imps of the devil, that do conspire, arm themselves, assemble great numbers of armed rebels, and lead them with them against their prince and country, spoiling and robbing, killing and murdering all good subjects that do withstand them, as many as they may prevail against? But those examples are written to stay us not only from such mischiefs, but also from[l] murmuring, or[m] speaking once an evil word against our prince; which though any should do never so secretly, yet do the holy Scriptures shew that the very birds of the air will bewray them: and these so many examples before noted out of the same[n] holy Scriptures do declare, that they shall not escape horrible punishment therefor.

Numb. xvi. [31, 32.]

Exod. xvi. 7, &c.

Eccles. x. [20.]

Now concerning actual rebellion, amongst many examples thereof[o] set forth in the holy Scriptures, the example of Absalom is notable; who entering into conspiracy against king David his father, both used the advice of very witty men, and assembled a very great and huge company of rebels; the which Absalom, though he were most goodly of person, of great nobility, being the king's son, in great favour of the people, and so dearly beloved of the king himself, so much that he gave commandment, that, notwithstanding his rebellion, his life should be saved;—when, for these considerations, most men were afraid to lay their hands upon him, a great tree stretching out his arm, as it were for that purpose, caught

2 Sam. xv. 12. xvii. 1, &c.: xii. 18: vii. 18.

2 Sam. xviii. 5.

[k] not] not only 1587, 1595.
[l] from] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[m] or] and 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[n] same] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[o] thereof] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

2 Sam. xviii. 9. him by the great and long bush of his goodly hair, lapping about it as he fled hastily bareheaded under the said tree, and so hanged him up by the hair of his head in the air, to give an eternal document, that neither comeliness of personage, neither nobility, nor favour of the people, no nor the favour of the king himself, can save a rebel from due punishment: God, the King of kings[p], being so offended with him, that rather than he should lack due execution for his treason, every tree by the way will be a gallows or gibbet unto him, and the hair of his own head will be unto him instead of an halter, to hang him up with, rather than he should lack one. A fearful example of God's punishment, good people, to consider. Now Ahitophel, though otherwise an exceeding wise man, yet the mischievous counsellor of Absalom, in this wicked rebellion, for lack of an hangman, a convenient servitor for such a traitor, went and hanged up himself. A worthy end of all false[q] rebels, who, rather than they should lack due execution, will, by God's just judgment, become hangmen unto themselves. Thus happened it to the captains of that rebellion; beside forty thousand of rascal rebels slain in the field and in the chase. Likewise is it to be seen in the holy Scriptures, how that great rebellion, which the traitor Sheba moved in Israel, was suddenly appeased, the head of the captain traitor, by the means of a[r] silly woman, being cut off.

Ahitophel.

2 Sam. xv. 12: xvi. 21, 23: xvii. 23: xviii. 7, 8, 9.

2 Sam. xx. [22.]

And as the holy Scriptures do shew, so doth daily experience prove, that the counsels, conspiracies, and attempts of rebels never took effect, neither came to good, but to most horrible end. For though God doth[s] oftentimes prosper just and lawful enemies, which be no subjects, against their foreign enemies; yet did he never long prosper rebellious subjects against their prince, were they never so great in authority, or so many in number. Five princes or kings—for so the Scripture termeth them—with all their multitudes, could not prevail against Chedorlaomer, unto whom they had promised loyalty and obedience, and had continued in the same certain years; but they were all overthrown and taken prisoners by him: but Abraham with his family and kinsfolks, an handful of men in respect, owing no subjection unto Chedorlaomer,

Gen. xiv. [4, 10, 14, &c.]

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p of kings] of all kings M.

q false] such 1587, 1595.

r a] *wanting* 1582, 1595.

s doth] do M.

overthrew him and all his host in battle; and recovered the prisoners, and delivered them. So that though war be so dreadful and cruel a thing as it is, yet doth God often[t] prosper a few in lawful wars with foreign enemies against many thousands; but never yet prospered he subjects being rebels against their natural sovereign, were they never so great or noble, so many, so stout, so witty, and politic; but always they came by the overthrow, and to a shameful end: so much doth God abhor rebellion more than other wars, though otherwise being so dreadful, and so great a destruction to mankind. Though not only great multitudes of the rude and rascal commons, but sometime also men of great wit, ability[u], and authority, have moved rebellions against their lawful princes;—whereas true nobility should most abhor such villainous, and true wisdom should most detest such frantic rebellion—though they would[x] pretend sundry causes; as the redress of the commonwealth,—which rebellion of all other mischiefs doth most destroy,—or reformation of religion; —whereas rebellion is most against all true religion;—though they have made a great shew of[y] holy meaning by beginning their rebellions with a counterfeit service of God;—as did wicked Absalom begin his rebellion with sacrificing unto God—though they display and bear about ensigns and banners, which are acceptable unto the rude ignorant common people, great multitudes of whom by such false pretences and shews they do deceive, and draw unto them: yet were the multitudes of the rebels never so huge and great, the captains never so noble, politic, and witty, the pretences feigned to be never so good and holy, yet the speedy overthrow of all rebels, of what number, state, or condition soever they were, or what colour or cause soever they pretended, is and ever hath been such, that God thereby doth shew that he alloweth neither the dignity of any person, nor the multitude of any people, nor the weight of any cause, as sufficient for the which the subjects may move rebellion against their princes. 2 Sam. xv. 12.

Turn over and read the histories of all nations; look over the chronicles of our own country; call to mind so many rebellions of old time, and some yet fresh in memory, ye shall not find that God ever prospered any rebellion against

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t often] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
u ability] nobility M.
x would] should 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
y of] or 1595.

their natural and lawful prince: but, contrariwise, that the rebels were overthrown and slain, and such as were taken prisoners dreadfully executed. Consider the great and noble families of dukes, marquises, earls, and other lords, whose names ye shall read in our chronicles, now clean extinguished and gone; and seek out the causes of the decay, you shall find, that not lack of issue and heirs male hath so much wrought that decay, and waste of noble bloods and houses, as hath rebellion.

And for so much as the redress of the commonwealth hath of old been the usual feigned pretence of rebels, and religion now of late beginneth to be a colour of rebellion; let all godly and discreet subjects consider well of both, and first concerning religion. If peaceable king Solomon was judged of God to be more meet to build his temple—whereby the ordering of religion is meant—than his father king David, though otherwise a most godly king, for that David was a great warrior, and had shed much blood, though it were in his wars against the enemies of God; of this may all godly and reasonable subjects consider, that a peaceable prince,—specially our most peaceable and merciful queen, who hath hitherto shed no blood at all, no not of her most deadly enemies,—is more like and far meeter either to set up, or to maintain true religion, than are bloody rebels, who have[z] not shed the blood of God's enemies, as king David had done; but do seek to shed the blood of God's friends, of their own countrymen, and of their own most dear friends and kinsfolk; yea, the destruction of their most gracious prince and natural country, for defence of whom they ought to be ready to shed their blood, if need should so[a] require. What a religion it is that such men and by such means would restore, may easily be judged: even as good a religion surely, as rebels be good men and obedient subjects, and as rebellion is a good mean of redress and reformation, being itself the greatest deformation of all that may possible be. But as the truth of the gospel of our Saviour Christ, being quietly and soberly taught, though it do cost them their lives that do teach it, is able to maintain the true religion; so hath a frantic religion need of such furious maintenances as is rebellion, and of such patrons as are rebels, being ready not to die for the true religion, but

[z] have] hath 1595. [a] should so] so should M.

to kill all that shall or dare speak against their false superstition and wicked idolatry.

Now concerning pretences of any redress of the commonwealth, made by rebels, every man that hath but half an eye may see how vain they be, rebellion being, as I have before declared, the greatest ruin and destruction of all commonwealths that may be possible. And whoso looketh, on the one part, upon the persons and government of the queen's most honourable counsellors, by the experiment of so many years proved honourable to her majesty, and most profitable and beneficial unto our country and countrymen; and, on the other part, considereth the persons, state, and conditions of the rebels themselves, the reformers, as they take upon them, of the present government; he shall find that the most rash and hair-brained men, the most[b] greatest unthrifts, that have most lewdly wasted their own goods and lands; those that are over the ears in debt; and such as, for their thefts, robberies, and murders, dare not in any well-governed commonwealth, where good laws are in force, shew their faces; such as are of most lewd and wicked behaviour and life; and all such as will not or cannot live in peace, are always most ready to move rebellion, or to[c] take part with rebels. And are not these meet men, trow you, to restore the commonwealth decayed, who have so spoiled and consumed all their own wealth and thrift? And very like to mend[d] other men's manners, who have so vile vices and abominable conditions themselves? Surely that which they falsely call reformation is indeed not only a defacing or a deformation, but also an utter destruction of all commonwealth, as would well appear, might the rebels have their wills; and doth right well and too well appear by their doing in such places of the country where rebels do rout, where though they tarry but a very little while, they make such reformation that they destroy all places, and undo all men where they come; that the child yet unborn may rue it, and shall many years hereafter curse them.

Let no good and discreet subjects therefore follow the flag or banner displayed to rebellion, and borne by rebels[1], though it have the image of the plough painted therein, with

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[b] most] *wanting* 1623.
to] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[d] mend] amend 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[1] [See Strype, Annals of the Reformation, chap. 54.]

God speed the plough, written under in great letters, knowing that none hinder the plough more than rebels, who will neither go to the[e] plough themselves, nor suffer other that would go unto it[f]. And though some rebels bear the picture of the five wounds painted, against those who put their only hope of salvation in the wounds of Christ—not those wounds which are painted in a clout by some lewd painter, but in those wounds which Christ himself bare in his precious body—though they, little knowing what the cross of Christ meaneth, which neither carver nor painter can make, do bear the image of the cross painted in a rag, against those that have the cross of Christ painted in their hearts; yea, though they paint withal in their flags, *Hoc signo vinces*, "By this sign thou shalt get the victory," by a most fond imitation of the posy of Constantinus Magnus[1], that noble christian emperor and great conqueror of God's enemies, a most unmeet ensign for rebels, the enemies of God, their prince and country, or what other banner soever they shall bear; yet let no good and godly subject, upon any hope of victory or good success, follow such standard-bearers of rebellion. For as examples of such practices are to be found as well in the histories of old, as also of latter rebellions, in our fathers' and our fresh memory; so, notwithstanding these pretences made, and banners borne, are recorded withal unto[g] perpetual memory, the great and horrible murders of infinite multitudes and thousands of the common people slain in rebellion; the[h] dreadful executions of the authors and captains; the pitiful undoing of their wives and children; and disheriting[i] of the heirs of the rebels for ever; the spoiling, wasting, and destruction of the people and country where rebellion was first begun, that the child then yet unborn might rue and lament it; with the final overthrow and shameful deaths of all rebels, set forth as well in the histories of foreign nations, as in the chronicles of our own country, some thereof being yet in fresh memory, which, if they were collected together, would make many volumes and books: but, on the contrary part, all good luck, success, and pros-

[e] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[f] that would go unto it] to go to it 1587, 1595.
[g] unto] to 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[h] the] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[i] disheriting] disinheriting 1623.

[1] [Euseb. in Vit. Const. cap. 28.]

perity that ever happened unto any rebels of any age, time, or country, may be contained in a very few lines, or words.

Wherefore to conclude, let all good subjects, considering how horrible a sin against God, their prince, their country, and countrymen; against all God's and man's laws, rebellion is,—being indeed not one several sin, but all sins against God and man heaped[k] together—considering the mischievous life and deeds, and the shameful ends and deaths of all rebels hitherto; and the pitiful undoing of their wives, children, and families, and disheriting[l] of their heirs for ever; and, above all things, considering the eternal damnation that is prepared for all impenitent rebels in hell with Satan, the first founder of rebellion, and grand captain of all rebels; let all good subjects, I say, considering these things, avoid and flee all rebellion, as the greatest of all mischiefs, and embrace due obedience to God and our prince, as the greatest of all virtues; that we may both escape all evils and miseries that do follow rebellion in this world, and eternal damnation in the world to come, and enjoy peace, quietness, and security, with all other God's benefits and blessings which follow obedience in this life, and finally may enjoy the kingdom of heaven, the peculiar place of all obedient subjects to God and their prince in the world to come: which I beseech God, the King of all kings, grant unto us for the obedience of his Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, unto whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, one God and[m] King immortal, all honour, service, and obedience, of all his creatures is due for ever and ever. Amen.

Thus have you heard the fourth part of this homily.
Now good people, let us pray.

The Prayer as before[n].

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[k] heaped] heaping 1595.
[l] disheriting] disinheriting 1623.
[m] and] the 1595.
[n] as before] as in that time published, 1623. The Prayer then follows.

THE FIFTH PART OF THE HOMILY AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION[o].

WHEREAS, after both doctrine and examples of due obedience of subjects to their princes, I declared lastly unto you what an abominable sin against God and man rebellion is, and what horrible plagues, punishments, and deaths, with death everlasting, finally doth hang over the heads of all rebels; it shall not be either[p] impertinent or unprofitable now to declare who they be whom the devil, the first author and founder of rebellion, doth chiefly use to the stirring up of subjects to rebel against their lawful princes; that knowing them, ye may flee them, and their damnable suggestions; avoid all rebellion, and so[q] escape the horrible plagues, and dreadful deaths[r] and damnation eternal, finally due to all rebels.

Though many causes of rebellion may be reckoned, and almost as many as there be vices in men and women, as hath been before noted; yet[s] in this place I will only touch the principal and most usual causes, as specially ambition and ignorance. By ambition, I mean the unlawful and restless desire in men to be of higher estate than God hath given or[t] appointed unto them. By ignorance, I mean no unskilfulness in arts or sciences, but the lack of knowledge of God's blessed will declared in his holy word; which teacheth both extremely to abhor all rebellion, as the[u] root of all mischief, and specially to delight in obedience, as the beginning and foundation of all goodness, as hath been also before specified. And as these are the two chief causes of rebellion, so are there specially two sorts of men, in whom these vices do reign, by whom the devil, the author of all evil, doth chiefly stir up all disobedience and rebellion.

The restless ambitious having once determined by one means or other to achieve to their intended purpose, when they cannot by lawful and peaceable means climb so high as they do desire, they attempt the same by force and violence: wherein when they cannot prevail against the ordinary autho-

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[o] The fifth part...rebellion] The Homily...rebellion. The fifth part M.

[p] be either] either be 1587, 1595.

[q] so] to 1623.

[r] deaths] death 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.

[s] yet] yea 1595.

[t] or] and 1587, 1595.

[u] as the] as being the 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.]

rity and power of lawful princes and governors themselves alone, they do seek the aid and help of the ignorant multitude, abusing them to their wicked purpose. Wherefore seeing a few ambitious and malicious are the authors and heads, and multitudes of ignorant men are the ministers and furtherers of rebellion, the chief point of this part shall be as well to notify to the simple and ignorant men who they be, that have been and be the[x] usual authors of rebellion, that they may know them; and also[y] to admonish them to beware of the subtle suggestions of such restless ambitious persons, and so to flee them; that rebellions, though attempted by a few ambitious, through the lack of maintenance by any multitudes, may speedily and easily, without any great labour, danger, or damage, be repressed and clearly extinguished.

It is well known as well by all histories, as by daily experience, that none have either more ambitiously aspired above emperors, kings, and princes, nor have more perniciously moved the ignorant people to rebellion against their princes, than certain persons which falsely challenge to themselves to be only counted and called Spiritual. I must therefore here yet once again briefly put you, good people, in remembrance out of God's holy word, how our Saviour Jesus Christ and his holy apostles, the heads and chief of all true spiritual and ecclesiastical men, behaved themselves towards the princes and rulers of their time,—though not the best governors that ever were,—that you be not ignorant whether they be the true disciples and followers of Christ, and his apostles, and so true spiritual men, that either by ambition do so highly aspire, or do most maliciously teach, or most perniciously do execute rebellion against their lawful princes; being the worst of all carnal works, and mischievous deeds.

The holy Scriptures do teach most expressly, that our Saviour Christ himself, and his holy apostles St Paul, St Peter, with others, were unto the magistrates and higher powers, which ruled at their being upon the earth, both obedient themselves, and did also diligently and earnestly exhort all other Christians to the like obedience unto their princes and governors: whereby it is evident that men of the clergy, and ecclesiastical ministers, as their successors,

Matt. xvii. 25. Mark xii. 17. Luke xx. 25. Matt. xxvii. [11.] Luke xxiii. [3.] Rom. xiii. 1, &c. 1 Tim. ii. 1, [2.] 1 Pet. ii. 13. John vi. 15: xviii. 36. Matt. xx. 25.

[x] the] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623. [y] also] so 1587, 1595.

Mark x. 42. Luke xxii. 25. Matt. xxiii. 8. Luke ix. 46. 2 Cor. i. 24. 1 Pet. v. 3. Matt. xviii. 1: xx. 28. Luke ix. 48: xxii. 27.

ought both themselves specially, and before other, to be obedient unto their princes, and also to exhort all others unto the same. Our Saviour Christ likewise teaching by his doctrine that his *kingdom* was *not of this world*, did by his example, in[z] fleeing from those that would have made him king, confirm the same; expressly also forbidding his apostles, and by them the whole clergy, all princely dominion over people and nations: and he and his holy apostles likewise, namely, Peter and Paul, did forbid unto all ecclesiastical ministers dominion over the church of Christ. And indeed whiles that[a] ecclesiastical ministers continued in Christ's church in that order that is in Christ's word ascribed[b] unto them, and in Christian kingdoms kept themselves obedient to[c] their own princes, as the holy Scripture do teach them; both was Christ's church more clear from ambitious emulations and contentions, and the state of Christian kingdoms less subject unto tumults and rebellions. But after that ambition and desire of dominion entered once into ecclesiastical ministers, whose greatness, after the doctrine and example of our Saviour, should chiefly stand in humbling of[d] themselves; and that the bishop of Rome, being by the order of God's word none other than the bishop of that one see and diocese, and never yet well able to govern the same, did by intolerable ambition challenge, not only to be the head of all the church dispersed throughout the world, but also to be lord of all the[e] kingdoms of the world, as is expressly set forth in the book of his own Canon Laws[1], most contrary to the doctrine and example of our Saviour Christ, whose vicar, and of his holy[f] apostles, namely, Peter, whose successor he pretendeth to be; after his ambition entered, and this challenge once made by the bishop of Rome, he became at once the spoiler and destroyer both of the church, which is the kingdom of our Saviour Christ, and of the christian empire, and all christian kingdoms, as an universal tyrant over all.

Sex. Decr. Lib. iii. Tit. 16. cap. unic. et Lib. v. et Tit. 9. cap. v. in Glos.

And whereas before that challenge made there was great

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[z] in] by 1595.
[a] that] the 1587, 1595, 1623.
[b] ascribed] prescribed 1623.
[c] to] unto 1587, 1595.
[d] of] *wanting*, 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[e] the] *wanting* 1582, 1587, 1595, 1623.
[f] holy] *wanting* 1623.

[1] [Sext. Decret. Lib. II. Tit. XIV. cap. 2: Lib. V. Tit. ix. cap. 5, in Glossa.]

amity and love amongst the Christians of all countries, hereupon began emulation and much hatred between the bishop of Rome and his clergy and friends on the one part, and the Grecian clergy and Christians of the east on the other part, for that they refused to acknowledge any such supreme authority of the bishop of Rome over them; the bishop of Rome, from this cause amongst other, not only naming them, and taking them for schismatics, but also never ceasing to persecute them, and the emperors who had their see and continuance in Greece, by stirring of the subjects to rebellion against their sovereign lords, and by raising deadly hatred and most cruel wars between them and other Christian princes. And when the bishops of Rome had translated the title of the emperor, and, as much as in them did lie, the empire itself, from their lord the emperor of Greece, and of Rome also by right, unto the Christian princes of the west, they became in short space no better unto the west emperors, than they were before unto the emperors of Greece: for the usual discharging of subjects from their oaths of fidelity made unto the emperors of the west, their sovereign lords, by the bishops of Rome; the unnatural stirring up of the subjects unto rebellion against their princes, yea, of the son against the father, by the bishop of Rome; the most cruel and bloody wars raised amongst Christian princes of all kingdoms, the horrible murder of infinite thousands of Christian men, being slain by Christians; and, which ensued thereupon, the pitiful losses of so many goodly cities, countries, dominions, and kingdoms, sometime possessed by Christians in Asia, Africa, Europa; the miserable fall of the empire and church of Greece, sometime the most flourishing part of Christendom, into the hands of Turks; the lamentable diminishing, decay, and ruin of Christian religion; the dreadful increase of paganity[g], and power of the infidels and miscreants; and all by the practice and procurement of the bishop of Rome chiefly, is in the histories and chronicles written by the bishop of Rome's own favourers and friends to be seen, and is[h] well known unto all such as are acquainted with the said histories. The ambitious intent and most subtle drifts of the bishops of

[g] paganity] paganism 1623.

[h] is] as 1623.

Rome in these their practices appeared evidently[i] by their bold attempt in spoiling and robbing the emperors of their towns, cities, dominions, and kingdoms, in Italy, Lombardy, and Sicily, of ancient right belonging unto the empire, and by the[k] joining of them unto their bishopric of Rome; or else giving them unto strangers, to hold them of the church and bishop of Rome as *in capite*, and as of the chief lords thereof; in which tenure they hold[l] the most part thereof, even at this day. By these ambitious and indeed traitorous means, and spoiling of their sovereign lords, the bishops of Rome, of priests, and none other by right than the bishops of one city and diocese, are by false usurpation become great lords of many dominions; mighty princes; yea, or emperors rather, as claiming to have divers princes and kings to[m] their vassals, liege-men, and subjects; as in the same histories written by their own familiars and courtiers is to be seen. And indeed since the time that the bishops of Rome, by ambition, treason, and usurpation, achieved and attained to[m] this height and greatness, they behaved themselves more like princes, kings, and emperors in all things, than remained like priests, bishops, and ecclesiastical or, as they would be called, spiritual persons, in any one thing at all. For after this rate they have handled other kings and princes of other realms throughout Christendom, as well as their sovereign lords the[n] emperors, usually discharging their subjects of their oath of fidelity, and so stirring them up to[m] rebellion against their natural princes, whereof some examples shall in the last part hereof be notified unto you.

Wherefore let all good subjects, knowing these the special instruments and ministers of the devil, to[m] the stirring up of all rebellions, avoid and flee them, and the pestilent suggestions of such foreign usurpers, and their adherents; and embrace all obedience to God, and their natural princes and sovereigns, that they may enjoy God's blessings, and their prince's favour, in[o] all peace, quietness, and security in this world, and finally attain, through Christ our Saviour, life everlasting in the world to come: which God the Father for the same our Saviour Jesus Christ his sake, grant unto

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[i] evidently] most evidently 1595.
[k] the] *wanting* 1623.
[l] hold] hold of 1595.
[m] to] unto 1587, 1595.
[n] the] and 1595.
[o] in] *wanting* 1623.

us all: to whom with the Holy Ghost be all honour and glory, world without end. Amen.

Thus have you heard the fifth[p] *part of this homily.*
Now, good people, let us pray.

The Prayer as before[q].

THE SIXTH AND LAST PART OF THE HOMILY AGAINST DISOBEDIENCE AND WILFUL REBELLION[r].

NOW whereas the injuries, oppressions, raveny, and tyranny of the bishop[s] of Rome, usurping as well against their natural lords the[t] emperors, as against all other Christian kings and kingdoms, and their continual stirring of subjects unto[u] rebellions against their sovereign lords, whereof I have partly admonished you before, were intolerable; and it may seem more than marvel, that any subjects would after such sort hold with unnatural foreign usurpers against their own sovereign lords, and natural country: it remaineth that I do[x] declare the mean whereby they compassed these matters, and so to conclude this whole treaty of due obedience, and against disobedience and wilful rebellion. You shall understand, that by ignorance of God's word, wherein they kept all men, specially the common people, they wrought and brought to pass all these things, making them believe that all that they said was true, all that they did was good and godly; and that to hold with them in all things, against father, mother, prince, country, and all men, was most meritorious. And indeed what mischief will not blind ignorance lead simple men unto?

Of the ignorance of simple people, the latter part.

By ignorance, the Jewish clergy induced the common people to ask the delivery of Barabbas, the seditious murderer, and to sue for the cruel crucifying of our Saviour Christ, for that he rebuked the ambition, superstition, and other vices of the high priests and clergy. For as our Saviour Christ testifieth, that those who crucified him wist

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[p] fifth] sixth M.

[q] as before] as in that time it was published 1623. The Prayer then follows.

[r] The sixth and last ... rebellion] The Homily ... rebellion. The sixth part M.

[s] bishop] bishops 1595.

[t] the] and 1595.

[u] unto] to 1587, 1595.

[x] do] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

not what they did; so doth the holy apostle St Paul say, [1 Cor. ii. 8.] *If they had known*, if they had not been ignorant, *they would never have crucified the Lord of glory:* but they [Luke xxiii. 34.] knew not what they did. Our Saviour Christ himself also foreshewed that it should come to pass by ignorance, that [John xvi. 2.] those, who should persecute and murder his true[y] apostles and disciples, should think they did God acceptable sacrifice and good service; as it is also verified even[z] at this day.

And in this ignorance have the bishops of Rome kept the people of God, specially the common sort, by no means so much, as by the withdrawing of the word of God from them, and by keeping it under the veil of an unknown strange tongue. For as it served the ambitious humour of the bishops of Rome to compel all nations to use the natural language of the city of Rome, where they were bishops, which shewed a certain acknowledging of subjection unto them; so yet served it much more their crafty purpose, thereby to keep all people so blind, that they not knowing what they prayed, what they believed, what they were commanded by God, might take all their commandments for God's. For as they would not suffer the holy Scriptures or church-service to be used or had in any other language than the Latin; so were very few even of the most simple people taught the Lord's Prayer, the Articles of the Faith, and the Ten Commandments, otherwise than in Latin, which they understood not: by which universal ignorance, all men were ready to believe whatsoever they said, and to do whatsoever they commanded.

Si cognovissent. For, to imitate the apostle's phrase, if the emperor's subjects had known out of God's word their duty to their Gregorius II. and III. anno Dom. 726, &c. prince, they would not have suffered the bishop of Rome to persuade them to forsake[1] their sovereign lord the[a] emperor, against their oath of fidelity, and to rebel against him, only for that he cast images unto the which idolatry was committed out of the churches, which the bishop of Rome bare them in hand to be heresy. If they had known of God's In the second commandment. word but as much as the Ten Commandments, they should

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[y] true] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[z] even] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[a] the] and 1595.

[1] [See Platin. in vit. Gregor. II. p. 110; Gregor. III. p. 111; ed. Colon. 1600.]

have found that the bishop of Rome was not only a traitor to the emperor his liege lord, but to God also, and an horrible blasphemer of his majesty, in calling his holy word and commandment, heresy: and that which the bishop of Rome took for a just cause to rebel against his lawful prince, they might have known to be a doubling and tripling of his most heinous wickedness, heaped[b] with horrible impiety and blasphemy.

But lest the poor people should know too much, he would not let them have as much of God's word as the Ten Commandments wholly and perfectly, withdrawing from them the second commandment, that bewayeth his impiety, by a subtle sacrilege. Had the emperor's subjects likewise known, and been of any understanding in God's word, would they at other times have rebelled against their sovereign lord[1], and by their rebellion have holpen to depose[c] him, only for that the bishop of Rome did bear them in hand, that it was simony and heresy too for the emperor to give any ecclesiastical dignities or promotions to his learned chaplains, or other of his learned clergy; which all Christian emperors before him had done without controlment? Would they, I say, for that the bishop of Rome bare them so in hand, have rebelled by the space of more than forty years together against him, with so much shedding of Christian blood, and murder of so many thousands of Christians, and finally have deposed their sovereign lord, had they known and had in God's word any understanding at all? Specially had they known that they did all this to pluck from their sovereign lord, and his successors for ever, their ancient right of the empire, to give it unto the Romish clergy, and to the bishop of Rome; that he might for the confirmation of one archbishop, and for a Romish rag, which he calleth a pall[d], scarce worth twelve-pence, receive many thousand crowns of gold, and of other bishops, likewise great sums of money for their bulls, which is simony indeed: would, I say, Christian men and subjects by rebellion have spent so much Christian blood, and have deposed their natural, most noble, and most valiant prince, to bring the matter finally to this pass, had they known what they did; or had any under-

Henry IV.

Gregor. VII. anno Dom. 1076. Paschal II. anno 1099.

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[b] heaped] heaping 1595.
[c] depose] dispose M.
[d] pall] Paul M.

[1] [Plat. in vit. Gregor. VII. p. 177; Pasch. II. p. 200.]

standing in God's word at all? And as these ambitious usurpers the bishops of Rome have overflowed all Italy and Germany with streams of Christian blood, shed by the rebellions of ignorant subjects against their natural lords and[e] emperors, whom they have stirred thereunto by such false pretences: so is there no country in Christendom, which by their like means and false pretences hath not[f] been oversprinkled with the blood of subjects by rebellion against their natural sovereigns, stirred up by the same bishops of Rome.

King John.

And to use one example of our own country: the bishop of Rome did pick a quarrel to king John of England, about the election of Stephen Langton to the bishopric of Canterbury[2], wherein the king had ancient right, being used by his progenitors, all Christian kings of England before him; the bishops of Rome having no right, but had begun then to usurp upon the kings of England, and all other Christian kings, as they had before done against their sovereign lords the[g] emperors: proceeding even by the same ways and means, and likewise cursing king John, and discharging his subjects of their oath of fidelity unto[h] their sovereign lord. Now had Englishmen at that time known their duty to their prince set forth in God's word, would a great many of nobles, and other Englishmen, natural subjects, for this foreign and unnatural usurper his vain curse of the king, and for his feigned discharging of them of their oath of[i] fidelity to their natural lord, upon so slender or no ground at all, have rebelled against their sovereign lord the king? Would English subjects[3] have taken part against the king of England, and against Englishmen, with the French king and Frenchmen, being incensed against this realm by the bishop of Rome? Would they have sent for and received the dolphin of France, with a great army of Frenchmen, into the realm of England? Would they have sworn fidelity to the dolphin[k] of France[4], breaking their oath of fidelity to their natural lord the king of England, and have stood[l] under the dolphin's banner displayed

Innocent III.

Phillip, French King.

Lewis dauphin of France.

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e and] the M.
f not] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
g the] and 1595.
h unto] to 1587, 1595.
i of] and 1582.
k the dolphin] him 1587, 1595.
l stood] stored M.

2 [See Polydor. Verg. p. 272; ed. Basil. 1546.]
3 [Ibid. p. 276.]
4 [Ibid. pp. 285—287.]

against the king of England? Would they have expelled their sovereign lord the king of England out of London, the chief city of England; and out of the greatest part of England, upon the south side of Trent, even unto Lincoln, and out of Lincoln itself also, and have delivered the possession thereof unto the dolphin of France, whereof he kept the possession a great while? Would they being Englishmen have procured so great shedding of English blood, and other infinite mischiefs and miseries, unto England their natural country, as did follow those cruel wars and traitorous rebellion, the fruits of the bishop of Rome's blessings? Would they have driven their natural sovereign lord the king of England to such extremity[1], that he was enforced to submit himself unto that foreign false usurper, the bishop of Rome, who compelled him to surrender up the crown of England into the hands of his legate; who, in token of possession, kept it in his hands divers days, and then delivered it again to king John, upon that condition that[m] the king and his successors, kings of England, should hold the crown and kingdom of England of the bishop of Rome and his successors, as the vassals of the said bishops of Rome for ever: in token whereof, the kings of England should also pay a[n] yearly tribute to the said bishop of Rome, as his vassals and liegemen? Would Englishmen have brought their sovereign lord and natural country into this thraldom and subjection to a false foreign usurper, had they known and had any understanding in God's word at all? Out of the which most lamentable case, and most[o] miserable tyranny, raveny, and spoil of the most greedy Romish wolves ensuing hereupon, the kings and realm of England could not rid themselves by the space of many years after: the bishop of Rome by his ministers continually not only spoiling the realm and kings of England of infinite treasure, but also with the same money hiring and maintaining foreign enemies against the realm and kings of England, to keep them in such his subjection, that they should not refuse to pay whatsoever those unsatiable wolves did greedily gape for, and suffer whatsoever those most[o] cruel tyrants would lay upon them. Would Englishmen have suffered this? Would

Pandolphus.

See the Acts of Parliament in king Edward the third's days

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[m] that] the 1595.
[n] a] an M.
[o] most] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

[1] [Ibid. pp. 275, seqq.]

they by rebellion have caused this, trow you, and all for the bishop of Rome's causeless curse, had they in those days known and understanded[p], that God doth curse the blessings, and bless the cursings[q] of such wicked usurping bishops and tyrants? As it appeared afterward in king Henry the
Mal. ii. [2.] eighth his days, and king Edward the sixth, and in our gracious sovereign's days that now is, where neither the pope's curses, nor God's manifold blessings, are wanting. But in king John's time, the bishop of Rome understanding the brute blindness, ignorance of God's word, and superstition of Englishmen; and how much they were inclined to worship the babylonical beast of Rome, and to fear all his threatenings, and causeless curses, he abused them thus; and by their rebellion brought this noble realm and kings of England under his most cruel tyranny; and to be a spoil of his most vile and unsatiable covetousness and raveny, for a long and a great deal too long a time.

And to join unto the reports of histories matters of later memory, could the bishop of Rome have raised the late rebellions in the north and west countries in the times of king Henry and king Edward, our gracious sovereign's father and brother, but by abusing of the ignorant people? Or is it not most evident that the bishop of Rome hath of late attempted by his Irish patriarchs and bishops, sent from Rome with his bulls, — whereof some were apprehended[r],—to break down the bars and hedges of the public peace in Ireland, only upon confidence easily to abuse the ignorance of the wild Irishmen? Or who seeth not that, upon like confidence, yet more lately he hath likewise procured the breach of the public peace in England,—with the long and blessed continuance whereof he is sore grieved,—by the ministry of his disguised chaplains, creeping in laymen's apparel into the houses, and whispering in the ears of certain northern borderers, being men[s] most ignorant of their duty to God and to[t] their prince of all people of the realm; whom therefore, as most[u] meet and ready to execute his intended purpose, he hath by the said ignorant mass-priests, as blind guides leading the blind, brought those silly blind subjects

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p understanded] understood 1595.
q cursings] curses 1587, 1595.
r apprehended] deprehended M.
s men] then 1623.
t to] *wanting* M.
u most] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

into the deep ditch of horrible rebellion; damnable to themselves, and very dangerous to the state of the realm, had not God of his mercy miraculously calmed that raging tempest, not only without any shipwreck of the commonwealth, but almost without any shedding of Christian and English blood at all.

And it is yet much more to be lamented, that not only common people, but[x] some other youthful or unskilful princes also, suffer themselves to be abused by the bishop of Rome, his cardinals and bishops, to oppressing[y] of Christian men their faithful subjects; either themselves, or else by procuring the force and strength of Christian men, to be conveyed out of one country to[z] oppress true Christians in another country, and by these means open an entry unto Moors and infidels into the possession of Christian realms and[a] countries; other Christian princes in the mean time, by the bishop of Rome's procuring also, being so occupied in civil wars, or so[b] troubled with rebellions, that they have neither leisure nor ability to confer their common forces to the defence of their fellow Christians, against such invasions of the common enemies of Christendom, the infidels and miscreants. Would to God we might only read and hear out of the[c] histories of old, and not also see and feel these new and present oppressions of Christians; rebellion of subjects; effusion of Christian blood; destruction of Christian men; decay and ruin of Christendom; increase of paganism[d], most lamentable and pitiful to behold; being procured in these our days, as well as in times past, by the bishop of Rome and his ministers, abusing the ignorance of God's word yet remaining in some Christian princes and people. By which sorrow[e] and bitter fruits of ignorance, all men ought to be moved to give ear and credit to God's word, shewing as most truly, so most plainly how great a mischief ignorance is; and again[f] how great and how good a gift of God knowledge in God's word is. And to begin with the Romish clergy, who though they do brag now, as did sometime the Jewish clergy, that they cannot lack knowledge; yet doth God by his holy prophets both charge them

Jer. xviii. 18. Ezek. vii. 26. Hos. iv. 6. Psal. ii. [5.]

x but] by M.
y oppressing] the oppressing M.
z to] *wanting* 1587.
a and] *wanting* 1582, 1623.
b so] *wanting* 1582, 1623.
c the] *wanting* M.
d paganism] paganity M.
e sorrow] sour M.
f again] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

with ignorance, and threaten them also, for that they have repelled the knowledge of God's word and law from themselves and from his people, that he will repel them, that they shall be no more his[g] priests. God likewise chargeth princes as well as priests, that they should endeavour themselves to get understanding and knowledge in his word, threatening his heavy wrath and destruction to them, if they fail thereof.

Prov. xix. [2.] Wisd. xiii. [1.] Prov. xvii. [24.] Eph. iv. [18.] John xii. [35.] Isai. v. 13. Luke xix. 44: xxiii. 34. Acts multis locis. John xvi. [2.]

And the wise man saith unto[h] all men universally, princes, priests, and people, *Where is no knowledge, there is no good, nor health to the soul;* and that all men be vain, in whom is not the knowledge of God and his holy word; that they who walk in darkness wot not whither they go; and that the people that will not learn shall fall into great mischiefs, as did the people of Israel, who, for their ignorance in God's word, were first led into captivity; and when by ignorance afterward they would not know the time of their visitation, but crucified Christ our Saviour, persecuted his holy apostles, and were so ignorant and blind, that when they did most wickedly and cruelly, they thought they did God good and acceptable service—as do many by ignorance think even at this day. Finally, through their ignorance and blindness, their country, towns, cities, Jerusalem itself, and the holy[i] temple of God, were all most horribly destroyed, the most chiefest part of their people slain, and the rest led into most miserable captivity. For he that made them had no pity upon them, neither would spare them, and all for their ignorance.

Isai. xxvii. [11.] Hos. iv. [6.] Bar. iii. [28.]

Isai. vi. 9. Matt. xiii. 14, 15. John xii. 40.

And the holy Scriptures do teach, that the people that will not see with their eyes, nor hear with their ears, to learn and to understand with their hearts, cannot be converted and saved. And the wicked themselves, being damned in hell, shall confess ignorance in God's word to have brought them thereunto, saying, *We have*[k] *erred from the way of the truth, and the light of righteousness hath not shined unto us; and the sun of understanding hath not risen unto us, we have wearied ourselves in the way of wickedness and perdition, and have walked cumbrous and crooked ways: but the way of the Lord have we not known.*

Wisd. v. [6, 7.]

Matt. xiii. 19. 2 Cor. iv. [2, 3, 4.]

And as well our Saviour himself, as his apostle St Paul, doth teach that the ignorance of God's word cometh of the

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g his] *wanting* 1587, 1595
h unto] to 1582, 1623.
i holy] *wanting* 1623.
k have] *wanting* 1587, 1595.

devil, is the cause of all error and misjudging,—as falleth out with ignorant subjects, who can rather espy a little mote in the eye of the prince, or a counsellor, than a great beam in their own,—and universally it is the cause of all evil, and finally of eternal damnation; God's judgment being severe towards those, who, when the light of Christ's gospel is come into the world, do delight more in darkness of ignorance, than in the[l] light of knowledge in[m] God's word. For all are commanded to read or hear, to search and study the holy Scriptures, and are promised understanding to be given them from God, if they so do: all are charged not to believe either any dead man, nor if an[n] angel should speak from heaven, much less if the pope do speak from Rome against or contrary to the word of God, from the which we may not decline, neither to the right hand nor to[o] the left.

Matt. vii. [3, 4, 5.] John iii. [19.] Matt. xi. 15: xiii. 9, 43. Luke viii. 8. John v. 39. Psal. i. [2.] Matt. vii. 7. Luke xi. 9: xvi. 30, 31. Gal. i. 8. Deut. v. 32.

In God's word princes must learn how to obey God, and to govern men: in God's word subjects must learn obedience both to God and their princes. Old men and young, rich and poor, all men and women, all estates, sexes, and ages, are taught their several duties in the word of God. For the word of God is bright, giving light unto all men's eyes, the shining lamp directing all men's paths and steps. Let us therefore awake from the sleep and darkness of ignorance, and open our eyes, that we may see the light: let us rise from the works of darkness, that we may escape eternal darkness, the due reward thereof; and let us walk in the light of God's word, whiles we have light, as becometh the children of light; so directing the steps of our lives in that way which leadeth to light and life everlasting, that we may finally obtain and enjoy the same: which God the Father of lights, who dwelleth in light incomprehensible and inaccessible, grant unto us, through the light of the world, our Saviour Jesus Christ: unto whom with the Holy Ghost, one most glorious God, be all honour, praise, and thanksgiving, for ever and ever. Amen.

Deut. xvii. 14, 15, &c. Rom. xiii. [2.] 1 Pet. ii. [13.] Psal. cxviii. [8, 9.] Psal. xviii. Eph. v. 14. 1 Thess. v. 4, 5. John xii. 35, 36. James i. 17. 1 Tim. vi. 16. John iii. [19.]

Thus have you heard the sixth part of this homily.
Now, good people, let us pray.

The Prayer as before[p].

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[l] the] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[m] in] of 1595.
[n] an] any 1595.
[o] to] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[p] as before] as in that time it was published 1623.

A THANKSGIVING FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LAST REBELLION.

O HEAVENLY and most merciful Father, the defender of those[q] that put their trust in thee, the sure fortress of all them that flee[r] to thee for succour; who of thy most just judgments for our disobedience and rebellion against thy holy word, and for our sinful and wicked living, nothing answering to our holy profession, whereby we have given an occasion that thy holy name hath been blasphemed amongst the ignorant, hast of late both sore abashed the whole realm and people of England, with the terror and danger of rebellion, thereby to awake us out of our dead sleep of careless security; and hast yet, by the miseries following the same rebellion, more sharply punished part of our countrymen and Christian brethren, who have more nearly felt the same; and most dreadfully hast scourged some of the seditious persons with terrible executions[s], justly inflicted for their disobedience to thee, and to thy servant their sovereign, to the example of us all, and to[t] the warning, correction, and amendment of thy servants, of thine accustomed goodness, turning always the wickedness of evil men to the profit of them that fear thee; who, in thy judgments remembering thy mercy, hast by thy assistance given the victory to thy servant our queen, her true nobility and faithful subjects, with so little, or rather no effusion of Christian blood, as also might justly have[u] ensued, to the exceeding comfort of all sorrowful Christian hearts; and that of thy fatherly pity, and merciful goodness only, and even for thine own name's sake, without any our desert at all. Wherefore we render unto thee most humble and hearty thanks for these thy great mercies shewed unto us, who had deserved sharper punishment; most humbly beseeching thee to grant unto all us that confess thy holy name, and profess the true and perfect religion of thy holy gospel, thy heavenly grace to shew ourselves in our living according to our profession: that we, truly knowing thee in thy blessed word, may obediently walk in thy holy commandments; and that we, being warned by this

[q] of those] of all those 1595.
[r] flee] fly 1623.
[s] executions] execution 1595.
[t] to] *wanting* 1587, 1595.
[u] justly have] have justly M.

thy fatherly correction, do provoke thy just wrath against us no more; but may enjoy the continuance of thy great mercies towards us, thy right hand, as in this, so in all other invasions, rebellions, and dangers, continually saving and defending our church, our realm, our queen, and people of England; that all our posterities ensuing, confessing thy holy name, professing thy holy gospel, and leading an holy life, may perpetually praise and magnify thee, with thy only Son Jesus Christ our Saviour, and the Holy Ghost: to whom be all laud, praise, glory, and empire, for ever and ever. Amen.

ARTICLES,

AGREED UPON

BY THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS

OF BOTH PROVINCES,

AND THE WHOLE CLERGY,

IN THE

CONVOCATION HOLDEN AT LONDON IN THE YEAR MDLXII.

FOR

AVOIDING OF DIVERSITIES OF OPINIONS, AND FOR THE ESTABLISHING OF CONSENT,

TOUCHING

TRUE RELIGION.

Reprinted by His Majesty's Commandment,

WITH HIS

ROYAL DECLARATION PREFIXED THEREUNTO.

THE TABLE

OF THE

THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

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2 *Of Christ the Son of God.*
3 *Of his going down into Hell.*
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His Majesty's Declaration.

BEING by God's Ordinance, according to Our just Title, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governor of the Church, within these Our Dominions, We hold it most agreeable to this Our Kingly Office, and Our own Religious Zeal, to conserve and maintain the Church committed to Our Charge, in Unity of true Religion, and in the Bond of Peace; and not to suffer unnecessary Disputations, Altercations, or Questions to be raised, which may nourish Faction both in the Church and Commonwealth. We have therefore, upon mature Deliberation, and with the Advice of so many of Our Bishops as might conveniently be called together, thought fit to make this Declaration following:

That the Articles of the Church of England (which have been allowed and authorized heretofore, and which Our Clergy generally have subscribed unto) do contain the true Doctrine of the Church of England agreeable to God's Word: which We do therefore ratify and confirm, requiring all Our loving Subjects to continue in the uniform Profession thereof, and prohibiting the least difference from the said Articles; which to that End We command to be new printed, and this Our Declaration to be published therewith.

That We are Supreme Governor of the Church of England: And that if any Difference arise about the external Policy, concerning the Injunctions, Canons, and other Constitutions whatsoever thereto belonging, the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and settle them, having first obtained leave under Our Broad Seal so to do: and We approving their said Ordinances and Constitutions; providing that none be made contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Land.

That out of Our Princely Care that the Churchmen may do the Work which is proper unto them, the Bishops and Clergy, from time to time in Convocation, upon their humble Desire, shall have Licence under Our Broad Seal to deliberate of, and to do all such Things, as, being made plain by them, and assented unto by Us, shall concern the settled Continuance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England now established; from which We will not endure any varying or departing in the least Degree.

That for the present, though some differences have been ill raised, yet We take comfort in this, that all Clergymen within Our Realm have always most willingly subscribed to the Articles established;

which is an argument to Us, that they all agree in the true, usual, literal meaning of the said Articles; and that even in those curious points, in which the present differences lie, men of all sorts take the Articles of the Church of England to be for them; which is an argument again, that none of them intend any desertion of the Articles established.

That therefore in these both curious and unhappy differences, which have for so many hundred years, in different times and places, exercised the Church of Christ, We will, that all further curious search be laid aside, and these disputes shut up in God's promises, as they be generally set forth to us in the holy Scriptures, and the general meaning of the Articles of the Church of England according to them. And that no man hereafter shall either print, or preach, to draw the Article aside any way, but shall submit to it in the plain and full meaning thereof: and shall not put his own sense or comment to be the meaning of the Article, but shall take it in the literal and grammatical sense.

That if any public Reader in either of Our Universities, or any Head or Master of a College, or any other person respectively in either of them, shall affix any new sense to any Article, or shall publicly read, determine, or hold any public Disputation, or suffer any such to be held either way, in either the Universities or Colleges respectively; or if any Divine in the Universities shall preach or print any thing either way, other than is already established in Convocation with Our Royal Assent; he, or they the Offenders, shall be liable to Our displeasure, and the Church's censure in Our Commission Ecclesiastical, as well as any other: And We will see there shall be due Execution upon them.

ARTICLES OF RELIGION.

I. *Of Faith in the Holy Trinity.*

THERE is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body, parts, or passions; of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness; the Maker, and Preserver of all things both visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there be three Persons, of one substance, power, and eternity; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.

II. *Of the Word or Son of God, which was made very Man.*

THE Son, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from everlasting of the Father, the very and eternal God, and of one substance with the Father, took Man's nature in the womb of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect Natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhood, were joined together in one Person, never to be divided, whereof is one Christ, very God, and very Man; who truly suffered, was crucified, dead and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, not only for original guilt, but also for all actual sins of men.

III. *Of the going down of Christ into Hell.*

As Christ died for us, and was buried, so also is it to be believed, that he went down into Hell.

IV. *Of the Resurrection of Christ.*

CHRIST did truly rise again from death, and took again his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of Man's nature; wherewith he ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth, until he return to judge all Men at the last day.

V. *Of the Holy Ghost.*

THE Holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Son, is of one substance, majesty, and glory, with the Father and the Son, very and eternal God.

VI. *Of the Sufficiency of the holy Scriptures for Salvation.*

HOLY Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation: so that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to

be required of any man, that it should be believed as an article of the Faith, or be thought requisite or necessary to salvation. In the name of the holy Scripture we do understand those canonical Books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubt in the Church.

Of the Names and Number of the Canonical Books.

Genesis,
Exodus,
Leviticus,
Numbers,
Deuteronomy,
Joshua,
Judges,
Ruth,
The First Book of Samuel,
The Second Book of Samuel,
The First Book of Kings,
The Second Book of Kings,
The First Book of Chronicles,
The Second Book of Chronicles,
The First Book of Esdras,
The Second Book of Esdras,
The Book of Esther,
The Book of Job,
The Psalms,
The Proverbs,
Ecclesiastes or Preacher,
Cantica, or Songs of Solomon,
Four Prophets the greater,
Twelve Prophets the less.

And the other Books (as *Hierome* saith) the Church doth read for example of life and instruction of manners; but yet doth it not apply them to establish any doctrine; such are these following:

The Third Book of Esdras,
The Fourth Book of Esdras,
The Book of Tobias,
The Book of Judith,
The rest of the Book of Esther,
The Book of Wisdom,
Jesus the Son of Sirach,
Baruch the Prophet,
The Song of the Three Children,
The Story of Susanna,
Of Bel and the Dragon,
The Prayer of Manasses,
The First Book of Maccabees,
The Second Book of Maccabees.

All the Books of the New Testament, as they are commonly received, we do receive, and account them Canonical.

VII. *Of the Old Testament.*

The Old Testament is not contrary to the New: for both in the Old and New Testament everlasting life is offered to Mankind by Christ, who is the only mediator between God and Man, being both God and Man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which feign that the old Fathers did look only for transitory promises. Although the Law given from God by Moses, as touching Ceremonies and Rites, do not bind Christian men, nor the Civil precepts thereof ought of necessity to be received in any Commonwealth; yet notwithstanding, no Christian man whatsoever is free from the obedience of the Commandments which are called Moral.

VIII. *Of the Three Creeds.*

THE Three Creeds, *Nicene* Creed, *Athanasius's* Creed, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles'* Creed, ought thoroughly to be received and believed: for they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture.

IX. *Of Original or Birth-sin.*

ORIGINAL Sin standeth not in the following of *Adam*, (as the *Pelagians* do vainly talk;) but it is the fault and corruption of the Nature of every man, that naturally is ingendered of the offspring of *Adam;* whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness, and is of his own nature inclined to evil, so that the flesh lusteth always contrary to the spirit; and therefore in every person born into this world, it deserveth God's wrath and damnation. And this infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated; whereby the lust of the flesh, called in the Greek, *phronema sarkos,* which some do expound the wisdom, some sensuality, some the affection, some the desire, of the flesh, is not subject to the Law of God. And although there is no condemnation for them that believe and are baptized, yet the Apostle doth confess, that concupiscence and lust hath of itself the nature of sin.

X. *Of Free-Will.*

THE condition of Man after the fall of *Adam* is such, that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and good works, to faith, and calling upon God: Wherefore we have no power to do good works pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us, when we have that good will.

XI. *Of the Justification of Man.*

WE are accounted righteous before God, only for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ by faith, and not for our own works or deservings: Wherefore, that we are justified by faith only is a most wholesome doctrine, and very full of comfort, as more largely is expressed in the Homily of Justification.

XII. *Of Good Works.*

ALBEIT that good works, which are the fruits of faith, and follow after Justification, cannot put away our sins, and endure the severity of God's Judgment; yet are they pleasing and acceptable to God in

Christ, and do spring out necessarily of a true and lively faith; insomuch that by them a lively faith may be as evidently known as a tree discerned by the fruit.

XIII. *Of Works before Justification.*

Works done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his Spirit, are not pleasant to God, forasmuch as they spring not of faith in Jesus Christ, neither do they make men meet to receive grace, or (as the School-authors say) deserve grace of congruity: yea rather, for that they are not done as God hath willed and commanded them to be done, we doubt not but they have the nature of sin.

XIV. *Of Works of Supererogation.*

Voluntary Works besides, over and above, God's commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety: for by them men do declare, that they do not only render unto God as much as they are bound to do, but that they do more for his sake, than of bounden duty is required: whereas Christ saith plainly, When ye have done all that are commanded to you, say, We are unprofitable servants.

XV. *Of Christ alone without Sin.*

Christ in the truth of our nature was made like unto us in all things, sin only except, from which he was clearly void, both in his flesh, and in his spirit. He came to be the Lamb without spot, who, by sacrifice of himself once made, should take away the sins of the world, and sin, as Saint *John* saith, was not in him. But all we the rest, although baptized, and born again in Christ, yet offend in many things; and if we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us.

XVI. *Of Sin after Baptism.*

Not every deadly sin willingly committed after Baptism is sin against the Holy Ghost, and unpardonable. Wherefore the grant of repentance is not to be denied to such as fall into sin after Baptism. After we have received the Holy Ghost, we may depart from grace given, and fall into sin, and by the grace of God we may arise again, and amend our lives. And therefore they are to be condemned, which say, they can no more sin as long as they live here, or deny the place of forgiveness to such as truly repent.

XVII. *Of Predestination and Election.*

Predestination to Life is the everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the foundations of the world were laid) he hath constantly decreed by his counsel secret to us, to deliver from curse and damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankind, and to bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation, as vessels made to honour. Wherefore, they which be endued with so excellent a benefit of God be called according to God's purpose by his Spirit working in due season: they through grace obey the calling: they be justified freely: they be made sons of God by adoption: they be made like the image of his only-begotten Son Jesus Christ: they walk religiously in good works, and at length, by God's mercy, they attain to everlasting felicity.

As the godly consideration of predestination, and our election in Christ, is full of sweet, pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly persons, and such as feel in themselves the working of the Spirit of Christ, mortifying the works of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing up their mind to high and heavenly things, as well because it doth greatly establish and confirm their faith of eternal salvation to be enjoyed through Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle their love towards God: So, for curious and carnal persons, lacking the Spirit of Christ, to have continually before their eyes the sentence of God's predestination, is a most dangerous downfal, whereby the Devil doth thrust them either into desperation, or into wretchlessness of most unclean living, no less perilous than desperation.

Furthermore, we must receive God's promises in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture: and, in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word of God.

XVIII. *Of obtaining eternal Salvation only by the Name of Christ.*

They also are to be had accursed that presume to say, That every man shall be saved by the Law or Sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that Law, and the light of nature. For holy Scripture doth set out unto us only the Name of Jesus Christ, whereby men must be saved.

XIX. *Of the Church.*

The visible Church of Christ is a congregation of faithful men, in the which the pure Word of God is preached, and the Sacraments be duly ministered according to Christ's ordinance in all those things that of necessity are requisite to the same.

As the Church of *Jerusalem*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, have erred;

so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not only in their living and manner of Ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.

XX. *Of the Authority of the Church.*

The Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith: And yet it is not lawful for the Church to ordain any thing that is contrary to God's Word written, neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore, although the Church be a witness and a keeper of holy Writ, yet, as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation.

XXI. *Of the Authority of General Councils.*

General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes. And when they be gathered together, (forasmuch as they be an assembly of men, whereof all be not governed with the Spirit and Word of God,) they may err, and sometimes have erred, even in things pertaining unto God. Wherefore things ordained by them as necessary to salvation have neither strength nor authority, unless it may be declared that they be taken out of holy Scripture.

XXII. *Of Purgatory.*

The Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, Pardons, Worshipping and Adoration, as well of Images as of Reliques, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the Word of God.

XXIII. *Of Ministering in the Congregation.*

It is not lawful for any man to take upon him the office of publick preaching, or ministering the Sacraments in the Congregation, before he be lawfully called, and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to judge lawfully called and sent, which be chosen and called to this work by men who have publick authority given unto them in the Congregation, to call and send Ministers into the Lord's vineyard.

XXIV. *Of speaking in the Congregation in such a tongue as the People understandeth.*

It is a thing plainly repugnant to the Word of God, and the custom of the Primitive Church, to have publick Prayer in the Church, or to minister the Sacraments in a tongue not understanded of the people.

XXV. *Of the Sacraments.*

Sacraments ordained of Christ be not only badges or tokens of Christian men's profession, but rather they be certain sure witnesses, and effectual signs of grace, and God's good will towards us, by the which he doth work invisibly in us, and doth not only quicken, but also strengthen and confirm our Faith in him.

There are two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord.

Those five commonly called Sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, are not to be counted for Sacraments of the Gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures; but yet have not like nature of Sacraments with Baptism, and the Lord's Supper, for that they have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God.

The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed upon, or to be carried about, but that we should duly use them. And in such only as worthily receive the same they have a wholesome effect or operation: but they that receive them unworthily purchase to themselves damnation, as Saint *Paul* saith.

XXVI. *Of the Unworthiness of the Ministers, which hinders not the effect of the Sacrament.*

Although in the visible Church the evil be ever mingled with the good, and sometimes the evil have chief authority in the Ministration of the Word and Sacraments, yet forasmuch as they do not the same in their own name, but in Christ's, and do minister by his commission and authority, we may use their Ministry, both in hearing the Word of God, and in receiving of the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christ's ordinance taken away by their wickedness, nor the grace of God's gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly do receive the Sacraments ministered unto them; which be effectual, because of Christ's institution and promise, although they be ministered by evil men.

Nevertheless, it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of evil Ministers, and that they be accused by those that have knowledge of their offences; and finally being found guilty, by just judgment be deposed.

XXVII. *Of Baptism.*

Baptism is not only a sign of profession, and mark of difference, whereby Christian men are discerned from others that be not christened,

but it is also a sign of Regeneration or new Birth, whereby, as by an Instrument, they that receive Baptism rightly are grafted into the Church; the promises of forgiveness of sin, and of our adoption to be the sons of God by the Holy Ghost, are visibly signed and sealed; faith is confirmed, and grace increased by virtue of prayer unto God. The Baptism of young Children is in any wise to be retained in the Church, as most agreeable with the institution of Christ.

XXVIII. *Of the Lord's Supper.*

The Supper of the Lord is not only a sign of the love that Christians ought to have among themselves one to another; but rather is a Sacrament of our redemption by Christ's death: insomuch that to such as rightly, worthily, and with faith, receive the same, the Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking of the Blood of Christ.

Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by holy Writ; but is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions.

The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped.

XXIX. *Of the Wicked which eat not the body of Christ in the use of the Lord's Supper.*

The wicked, and such as be void of a lively faith, although they do carnally and visibly press with their teeth (as Saint *Augustine* saith) the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, yet in no wise are they partakers of Christ: but rather, to their condemnation, do eat and drink the sign or Sacrament of so great a thing.

XXX. *Of both kinds.*

The Cup of the Lord is not to be denied to the Lay-people: for both the parts of the Lord's Sacrament, by Christ's ordinance and commandment, ought to be ministered to all Christian men alike.

XXXI. *Of the one Oblation of Christ finished upon the Cross.*

The offering of Christ once made is that perfect redemption, propitiation, and satisfaction, for all the sins of the whole world, both original and actual; and there is none other satisfaction for sin, but that alone.

Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables, and dangerous deceits.

XXXII. *Of the Marriage of Priests.*

Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, are not commanded by God's Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstain from marriage: therefore it is lawful for them, as for all other Christian men, to marry at their own discretion, as they shall judge the same to serve better to godliness.

XXXIII. *Of excommunicate persons, how they are to be avoided.*

That person which by open denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the unity of the Church, and excommunicated, ought to be taken of the whole multitude of the faithful, as an Heathen and Publican, until he be openly reconciled by penance, and received into the Church by a Judge that hath authority thereunto.

XXXIV. *Of the Traditions of the Church.*

It is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, and utterly like; for at all times they have been divers, and may be changed according to the diversities of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's Word. Whosoever through his private judgment, willingly and purposely, doth openly break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, which be not repugnant to the Word of God, and be ordained and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, (that others may fear to do the like,) as he that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and hurteth the authority of the Magistrate, and woundeth the consciences of the weak brethren.

Every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish, ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.

XXXV. *Of the Homilies.*

The second Book of Homilies, the several titles whereof we have joined under this Article, doth contain a godly and wholesome Doctrine, and necessary for these times, as doth the former Book of Homilies, which were set forth in the time of *Edward* the Sixth; and therefore we judge them to be read in Churches by the Ministers, diligently and distinctly, that they may be understanded of the people.

OF THE NAMES OF THE HOMILIES.

1 *Of the right Use of the Church.*
2 *Against peril of Idolatry.*
3 *Of repairing and keeping clean of Churches.*
4 *Of good Works: first of Fasting.*
5 *Against Gluttony and Drunkenness.*
6 *Against Excess of Apparel.*
7 *Of Prayer.*
8 *Of the Place and Time of Prayer.*
9 *That Common Prayers and Sacraments ought to be ministered in a known tongue.*
10 *Of the reverend estimation of God's Word.*
11 *Of Alms-doing.*
12 *Of the Nativity of Christ.*
13 *Of the Passion of Christ.*
14 *Of the Resurrection of Christ.*
15 *Of the worthy receiving of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.*
16 *Of the gifts of the Holy Ghost.*
17 *For the Rogation-days.*
18 *Of the state of Matrimony.*
19 *Of Repentance.*
20 *Against Idleness.*
21 *Against Rebellion.*

XXXVI. *Of Consecration of Bishops and Ministers.*

THE Book of Consecration of Archbishops and Bishops, and Ordering of Priests and Deacons, lately set forth in the time of *Edward* the Sixth, and confirmed at the same time by authority of Parliament, doth contain all things necessary to such Consecration and Ordering: neither hath it any thing, that of itself is superstitious and ungodly. And therefore whosoever are consecrated or ordered according to the Rites of that Book, since the second year of the forenamed King *Edward* unto this time, or hereafter shall be consecrated or ordered according to the same Rites; we decree all such to be rightly, orderly, and lawfully consecrated and ordered.

XXXVII. *Of the Civil Magistrates.*

THE Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of *England*, and other her dominions, unto whom the chief government of all estates of this realm, whether they be ecclesiastical or civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign Jurisdiction.

Where we attribute to the Queen's Majesty the chief government, by which titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by *Elizabeth* our Queen do most plainly testify; but that only prerogative, which we see to have been given always to all godly Princes in holy Scriptures by God himself; that is, that they should rule all states and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.

The Bishop of *Rome* hath no jurisdiction in this realm of *England*.

The laws of the realm may punish Christian men with death, for heinous and grievous offences.

It is lawful for Christian men, at the commandment of the Magistrate, to wear weapons, and serve in the wars.

XXXVIII. *Of Christian men's Goods which are not common.*

The Riches and Goods of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same, as certain Anabaptists do falsely boast. Notwithstanding, every man ought, of such things as he possesseth, liberally to give alms to the poor, according to his ability.

XXXIX. *Of a Christian man's Oath.*

As we confess that vain and rash Swearing is forbidden Christian men by our Lord Jesus Christ, and *James* his Apostle, so we judge, that Christian Religion doth not prohibit, but that a man may swear when the magistrate requireth, in a cause of faith and charity, so it be done according to the Prophet's teaching, in justice, judgment, and truth.

THE RATIFICATION.

This Book of Articles before rehearsed is again approved, and allowed to be holden and executed within the Realm, by the assent and consent of our Sovereign Lady ELIZABETH, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. Which Articles were deliberately read, and confirmed again by the subscription of the hands of the Archbishops and Bishops of the Upper-house, and by the subscription of the whole Clergy of the Nether-house in their Convocation, in the Year of our Lord 1571.

CONSTITUTIONS

AND

CANONS ECCLESIASTICAL,

TREATED UPON BY THE

BISHOP OF LONDON,

PRESIDENT OF THE CONVOCATION FOR THE PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY,

AND THE REST OF THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY

OF THE SAID PROVINCE;

AND AGREED UPON,

WITH THE KING'S MAJESTY'S LICENSE,

IN THEIR SYNOD, BEGUN AT LONDON, ANNO DOMINI MDCIII.

AND IN THE YEAR OF THE REIGN OF OUR SOVEREIGN LORD JAMES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD,
KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, THE FIRST, AND
OF SCOTLAND THE THIRTY-SEVENTH;

AND

NOW PUBLISHED FOR THE DUE OBSERVATION OF THEM,

By His Majesty's Authority,

UNDER THE GREAT SEAL OF ENGLAND.

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CONSTITUTIONS and CANONS Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Bishop of London, President of the Convocation for the Province of Canterbury, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergy of the said Province; and agreed upon with the King's Majesty's License, in their Synod begun at London, Anno Domini 1603, and in the Year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord JAMES, by the Grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, the First, and of Scotland the Thirty-seventh: and now published for the due observation of them, by his Majesty's authority under the Great Seal of England.

JAMES, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas our bishops, deans of our cathedral churches, archdeacons, chapters, and colleges, and the other clergy of every diocese within the province of Canterbury, being summoned and called by virtue of our writ directed to the most reverend father in God, John, late archbishop of Canterbury, and bearing date the one and thirtieth day of January, in the first year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the thirty-seventh, to have appeared before him in our cathedral church of St. Paul in London, the twentieth day of March then next ensuing, or elsewhere, as he should have thought it most convenient, to treat, consent, and conclude upon certain difficult and urgent affairs mentioned in the said writ; did thereupon, at the time appointed, and within the cathedral church of St. Paul aforesaid, assemble themselves, and appear in convocation for that purpose, according to our said writ, before the right reverend father in God, Richard bishop of London, duly (upon a second writ of ours, dated the ninth day of March aforesaid) authorized, appointed, and constituted, by reason of the said archbishop of Canterbury his death, president of the said convocation, to execute those things, which, by virtue of our first writ, did appertain to him the said archbishop to have

executed, if he had lived: We, for divers urgent and weighty causes and considerations us thereunto especially moving, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, did, by virtue of our prerogative royal, and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical, give and grant by our several letters patent under our great seal of England, the one dated the twelfth day of April last past, and the other the twenty-fifth day of June then next following, full, free, and lawful liberty, license, power, and authority unto the said bishop of London, president of the said convocation, and to the other bishops, deans, archdeacons, chapters, and colleges, and the rest of the clergy before mentioned, of the said province, that they, from time to time, during our first parliament now prorogued, might confer, treat, debate, consider, consult, and agree of and upon such canons, orders, ordinances, and constitutions, as they should think necessary, fit, and convenient, for the honour and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the church, and the better government thereof, to be from time to time observed, performed, fulfilled, and kept, as well by the archbishops of Canterbury, the bishops, and their successors, and the rest of the whole clergy of the said province of Canterbury, in their several callings, offices, functions, ministries, degrees, and administrations; as also by all and every dean of the arches, and other judge of the said archbishop's courts, guardians of spiritualities, chancellors, deans and chapters, archdeacons, commissaries, officials, registrars, and all and every other ecclesiastical officers, and their inferior ministers, whatsoever, of the same province of Canterbury, in their and every of their distinct courts, and in the order and manner of their and every of their proceedings; and by all other persons within this realm, as far as lawfully, being members of the church, it may concern them, as in our said letters patent amongst other clauses more at large doth appear. Forasmuch as the bishop of London, president of the said convocation, and others, the said bishops, deans, archdeacons, chapters, and colleges, with the rest of the clergy, having met together, at the time and place before mentioned, and then and there, by virtue of our said authority granted unto them, treated of, concluded, and agreed upon certain Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, to the end and purpose by us limited and prescribed unto them; and have thereupon offered and presented the same unto us, most humbly desiring us to give our royal assent unto their said Canons, Orders, Ordi-

nances, and Constitutions, according to the form of a certain statute or act of parliament, made in that behalf in the twenty-fifth year of the reign of king Henry the eighth, and by our said prerogative royal and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical, to ratify by our letters patent under our great seal of England, and to confirm the same, the title and tenor of them being word for word as ensueth:

OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

I. *The King's Supremacy over the Church of England, in Causes Ecclesiastical, to be maintained.*

As our duty to the king's most excellent majesty requireth, we first decree and ordain, That the archbishop of Canterbury (from time to time), all bishops of this province, all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and all other ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and (as much as in them lieth) shall cause to be observed and kept of others, all and singular laws and statutes, made for restoring to the crown of this kingdom the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical, and abolishing of all foreign power repugnant to the same. Furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons having cure of souls, and all other preachers, and readers of divinity lectures, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely and sincerely, without any colour or dissimulation, teach, manifest, open, and declare, four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations and lectures, that all usurped and foreign power (forasmuch as the same hath no establishment nor ground by the law of God) is for most just causes taken away and abolished: and that therefore no manner of obedience, or subjection, within his majesty's realms and dominions, is due unto any such foreign power, but that the king's power, within his realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and all other his dominions and countries, is the highest power under God; to whom all men, as well inhabitants, as born within the same, do by God's laws owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in the earth.

II. *Impugners of the King's Supremacy censured.*

Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, That the king's majesty hath not the same authority in causes ecclesiastical, that the godly kings had amongst the Jews, and Christian emperors of the primitive church; or impeach any part of his regal supremacy in the said causes restored to the crown, and by the laws of this realm therein established; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the

archbishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of those his wicked errors.

III. *The Church of England, a true and Apostolical Church.*

WHOSOEVER shall hereafter affirm, That the Church of England, by law established under the king's majesty, is not a true and apostolical church, teaching and maintaining the doctrine of the apostles; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the archbishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of this his wicked error.

IV. *Impugners of the public Worship of God, established in the Church of England, censured.*

WHOSOEVER shall hereafter affirm, That the form of God's worship in the Church of England, established by law, and contained in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, is a corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God, or containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the scriptures; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but by the bishop of the place, or archbishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of such his wicked errors.

V. *Impugners of the Articles of Religion, established in the Church of England, censured.*

WHOSOEVER shall hereafter affirm, That any of the nine and thirty Articles agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London, in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixty-two, for avoiding diversities of opinions, and for the establishing of consent touching true religion, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored, but only by the archbishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of such his wicked errors.

VI. *Impugners of the Rites and Ceremonies, established in the Church of England, censured.*

WHOSOEVER shall hereafter affirm, That the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England by law established are wicked, anti-christian, or superstitious, or such as, being commanded by lawful authority, men, who are zealously and godly affected, may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or, as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored until he repent, and publicly revoke such his wicked errors.

VII. *Impugners of the Government of the Church of England by Archbishops, Bishops, &c. censured.*

WHOSOEVER shall hereafter affirm, That the government of the Church of England under his majesty by archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and the rest that bear office in the same, is anti-christian, and repugnant to the word of God; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and so continue until he repent, and publicly revoke such his wicked errors.

VIII. *Impugners of the form of Consecrating and Ordering Archbishops, Bishops, &c., in the Church of England, censured.*

WHOSOEVER shall hereafter affirm or teach, That the form and manner of making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the word of God, or that they who are made bishops, priests, or deacons, in that form, are not lawfully made, nor ought to be accounted, either by themselves or others, to be truly either bishops, priests, or deacons, until they have some other calling to those divine offices; let him be excommunicated *ipso facto*, not to be restored until he repent, and publicly revoke such his wicked errors.

IX. *Authors of Schism in the Church of England censured.*

WHOSOEVER shall hereafter separate themselves from the communion of saints, as it is approved by the apostles' rules, in the Church of England, and combine themselves together in a new brotherhood, accounting the Christians, who are conformable to the doctrine, government, rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, to be profane, and unmeet for them to join with in Christian profession; let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not restored but by the archbishop, after their repentance, and public revocation of such their wicked errors.

X. *Maintainers of Schismatics in the Church of England censured.*

WHOSOEVER shall hereafter affirm, That such ministers as refuse to subscribe to the form and manner of God's worship in the Church of England, prescribed in the Communion Book, and their adherents, may truly take unto them the name of another church not established by law, and dare presume to publish it, That this their pretended church hath of long time groaned under the burden of certain grievances imposed upon it, and upon the members thereof before mentioned, by the Church of England, and the orders and constitutions therein by law established; let them be excommunicated, and not restored until they repent, and publicly revoke such their wicked errors.

XI. *Maintainers of Conventicles censured.*

Whosoever shall hereafter affirm or maintain, That there are within this realm other meetings, assemblies, or congregations of the king's born subjects, than such as by the laws of this land are held and allowed, which may rightly challenge to themselves the name of true and lawful churches; let him be excommunicated, and not restored, but by the archbishop, after his repentance, and public revocation of such his wicked errors.

XII. *Maintainers of Constitutions made in Conventicles censured.*

Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, That it is lawful for any sort of ministers and lay-persons, or of either of them, to join together, and make rules, orders, or constitutions in causes ecclesiastical, without the king's authority, and shall submit themselves to be ruled and governed by them; let them be excommunicated *ipso facto*, and not be restored until they repent, and publicly revoke those their wicked and anabaptistical errors.

OF DIVINE SERVICE, AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE SACRAMENTS.

XIII. *Due Celebration of Sundays and Holy-days.*

All manner of persons within the Church of England shall from henceforth celebrate and keep the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and other holy-days, according to God's holy will and pleasure, and the orders of the Church of England prescribed in that behalf; that is, in hearing the word of God read and taught; in private and public prayers; in acknowledging their offences to God, and amendment of the same; in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours, where displeasure hath been; in oftentimes receiving the Communion of the body and blood of Christ; in visiting of the poor and sick; using all godly and sober conversation.

XIV. *The prescript form of Divine Service to be used on Sundays and Holy-Days.*

The common prayer shall be said or sung distinctly and reverently upon such days as are appointed to be kept holy by the Book of Common Prayer, and their eves, and at convenient and usual times of those days, and in such place of every church as the bishop of the diocese, or ecclesiastical ordinary of the place, shall think meet for the largeness or straitness of the same, so as the people may be most edified. All

ministers likewise shall observe the orders, rites, and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, as well in reading the holy Scriptures, and saying of prayers, as in administration of the sacraments, without either diminishing in regard of preaching, or in any other respect, or adding any thing in the matter or form thereof.

XV. *The Litany to be read on Wednesdays and Fridays.*

The litany shall be said or sung when, and as it is set down in the Book of Common Prayer, by the parsons, vicars, ministers, or curates, in all cathedral, collegiate, parish churches, and chapels, in some convenient place, according to the discretion of the bishop of the diocese, or ecclesiastical ordinary of the place. And that we may speak more particularly, upon Wednesdays and Fridays weekly, though they be not holy-days, the minister, at the accustomed hours of service, shall resort to the church or chapel, and, warning being given to the people by tolling of a bell, shall say the litany prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer: whereunto we wish every householder dwelling within half a mile of the church to come, or send one at the least of his household, fit to join with the minister in prayers.

XVI. *Colleges to use the prescript form of Divine Service.*

In the whole divine service, and administration of the holy communion, in all colleges and halls in both universities, the order, form, and ceremonies shall be duly observed, as they are set down and prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, without any omission or alteration.

XVII. *Students in Colleges to wear Surplices in time of Divine Service.*

All masters and fellows of colleges or halls, and all the scholars and students in either of the universities, shall, in their churches and chapels, upon all Sundays, holy-days, and their eves, at the time of divine service, wear surplices, according to the order of the church of England: and such as are graduates shall agreeably wear with their surplices such hoods as do severally appertain unto their degrees.

XVIII. *A reverence and attention to be used within the Church in time of Divine Service.*

In the time of divine service, and of every part thereof, all due reverence is to be used; for it is according to the apostle's rule, *Let all things be done decently and according to order;* answerably to which decency and order, we judge these our directions following: No man shall cover his head in the church or chapel in the time of divine service, except he have some infirmity; in which case let him wear a

nightcap or coif. All manner of persons then present shall reverently kneel upon their knees, when the general Confession, Litany, and other prayers are read; and shall stand up at the saying of the Belief, according to the rules in that behalf prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer: and likewise when in time of divine service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed; testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures, their inward humility, christian resolution, and due acknowledgment that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the mercies, graces, and promises of God to mankind, for this life, and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprised. None, either man, woman, or child, of what calling soever, shall be otherwise at such times busied in the church, than in quiet attendance to hear, mark, and understand that which is read, preached, or ministered; saying in their due places audibly with the minister, the Confession, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed; and making such other answers to the public prayers, as are appointed in the Book of Common Prayer: neither shall they disturb the service or sermon, by walking or talking, or any other way; nor depart out of the church during the time of service or sermon, without some urgent or reasonable cause.

XIX. *Loiterers not to be suffered near the Church in time of Divine Service.*

The church-wardens or quest-men, and their assistants, shall not suffer any idle persons to abide either in the church-yard, or church-porch, during the time of divine service, or preaching; but shall cause them either to come in, or to depart.

XX. *Bread and Wine to be provided against every Communion.*

The church-wardens of every parish, against the time of every communion, shall at the charge of the parish, with the advice and direction of the minister, provide a sufficient quantity of fine white bread, and of good and wholesome wine, for the number of communicants that shall from time to time receive there: which wine we require to be brought to the communion-table in a clean and sweet standing pot or stoop of pewter, if not of purer metal.

XXI. *The Communion to be thrice a Year received.*

In every parish-church and chapel, where sacraments are to be administered within this realm, the holy communion shall be ministered by the parson, vicar, or minister, so often, and at such times, as every parishioner may communicate at the least thrice in the year, (whereof

the feast of Easter to be one,) according as they are appointed by the Book of Common Prayer. Provided, That every minister, as oft as he administereth the communion, shall first receive that sacrament himself. Furthermore, no bread or wine newly brought shall be used; but first the words of institution shall be rehearsed, when the said bread and wine be present upon the communion-table. Likewise the minister shall deliver both the bread and the wine to every communicant severally.

XXII. *Warning to be given beforehand for the Communion.*

Whereas every lay person is bound to receive the holy communion thrice every year, and many notwithstanding do not receive that sacrament once in a year, we do require every minister to give warning to his parishioners publicly in the church at morning prayer, the Sunday before every time of his administering that holy sacrament, for their better preparation of themselves; which said warning we enjoin the said parishioners to accept and obey, under the penalty and danger of the law.

XXIII. *Students in Colleges to receive the Communion four times a Year.*

In all colleges and halls within both the universities, the masters and fellows, such especially as have any pupils, shall be careful that all their said pupils, and the rest that remain amongst them, be well brought up, and throughly instructed in points of religion, and that they do diligently frequent public service and sermons, and receive the holy communion; which we ordain to be administered in all such colleges and halls the first or second Sunday of every month, requiring all the said masters, fellows, and scholars, and all the rest of the students, officers, and all other the servants there, so to be ordered, that every one of them shall communicate four times in the year at the least, kneeling reverently and decently upon their knees, according to the order of the Communion Book prescribed in that behalf.

XXIV. *Copes to be worn in Cathedral Churches by those that administer the Communion.*

In all cathedral and collegiate churches, the holy communion shall be administered upon principal feast-days, sometimes by the bishop, if he be present, and sometimes by the dean, and at sometimes by a canon or prebendary, the principal minister using a decent cope, and being assisted with the gospeller and epistler agreeably, according to the advertisements published anno 7 Eliz. The said communion to be administered at such times, and with such limitation, as is specified in the Book of Common Prayer. Provided, That no such limitation by any

construction shall be allowed of, but that all deans, wardens, masters, or heads of cathedral and collegiate churches, prebendaries, canons, vicars, petty canons, singing men, and all others of the foundation, shall receive the communion four times yearly at the least.

XXV. *Surplices and Hoods to be worn in Cathedral Churches when there is no Communion.*

In the time of divine service and prayers, in all cathedral and collegiate churches, when there is no communion, it shall be sufficient to wear surplices; saving that all deans, masters, and heads of collegiate churches, canons, and prebendaries, being graduates, shall daily, at the times both of prayer and preaching, wear with their surplices such hoods as are agreeable to their degrees.

XXVI. *Notorious Offenders not to be admitted to the Communion.*

No minister shall in any wise admit to the receiving of the holy communion, any of his cure or flock, which be openly known to live in sin notorious, without repentance; nor any who have maliciously and openly contended with their neighbours, until they shall be reconciled; nor any church-wardens or side-men, who having taken their oaths to present to their ordinaries all such public offences as they are particularly charged to inquire of in their several parishes, shall (notwithstanding their said oaths, and that their faithful discharging of them is the chief means whereby public sins and offences may be reformed and punished) wittingly and willingly, desperately and irreligiously, incur the horrible crime of perjury, either in neglecting or in refusing to present such of the said enormities and public offences, as they know themselves to be committed in their said parishes, or are notoriously offensive to the congregation there; although they be urged by some of their neighbours, or by their minister, or by their ordinary himself, to discharge their consciences by presenting of them, and not to incur so desperately the said horrible sin of perjury.

XXVII. *Schismatics not to be admitted to the Communion.*

No minister, when he celebrateth the communion, shall wittingly administer the same to any but to such as kneel, under pain of suspension, nor under the like pain to any that refuse to be present at public prayers, according to the orders of the Church of England; nor to any that are common and notorious depravers of the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and of the orders, rites, and ceremonies therein prescribed, or of any thing that is contained in any of the articles agreed upon in the convocation, one thousand five

hundred sixty and two, or of any thing contained in the book of ordering the priests and bishops; or to any that have spoken against and depraved his majesty's sovereign authority in causes ecclesiastical; except every such person shall first acknowledge to the minister, before the church-wardens, his repentance for the same, and promise by word (if he cannot write) that he will do so no more; and except (if he can write) he shall first do the same under his hand-writing, to be delivered to the minister, and by him sent to the bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place. Provided, That every minister so repelling any, as is specified either in this or in the next precedent Constitution, shall, upon complaint, or being required by the ordinary, signify the cause thereof unto him, and therein obey his order and direction.

XXVIII. *Strangers not to be admitted to the Communion.*

The church-wardens or questmen, and their assistants, shall mark, as well as the minister, whether all and every of the parishioners come so often every year to the holy communion, as the laws and our Constitutions do require; and whether any strangers come often and commonly from other parishes to their church; and shall shew their minister of them, lest perhaps they be admitted to the Lord's table amongst others, which they shall forbid; and remit such home to their own parish-churches and ministers, there to receive the communion with the rest of their own neighbours.

XXIX. *Fathers not to be Godfathers in Baptism, and Children not Communicants.*

No parent shall be urged to be present, nor be admitted to answer as godfather for his own child; nor any godfather or godmother shall be suffered to make any other answer or speech, than by the Book of Common Prayer is prescribed in that behalf: neither shall any person be admitted godfather or godmother to any child at christening or confirmation, before the said person so undertaking hath received the holy communion.

XXX. *The lawful use of the Cross in Baptism explained.*

We are sorry that his majesty's most princely care and pains taken in the conference at Hampton-Court, amongst many other points, touching this one of the cross in baptism, hath taken no better effect with many, but that still the use of it in baptism is so greatly stuck at and impugned. For the further declaration therefore of the true use of this ceremony, and for the removing of all such scruple, as might any ways trouble the consciences of them who are indeed rightly religious, following the royal steps of our most worthy king, because he therein

followeth the rules of the scriptures, and the practice of the primitive Church; we do commend to all the true members of the Church of England these our directions and observations ensuing.

First, it is to be observed, that although the Jews and Ethnicks derided both the apostles and the rest of the Christians, for preaching and believing in Him who was crucified upon the cross; yet all, both apostles and Christians, were so far from being discouraged from their profession by the ignominy of the cross, as they rather rejoiced and triumphed in it. Yea, the Holy Ghost by the mouths of the apostles did honour the name of the cross (being hateful among the Jews) so far, that under it he comprehended not only Christ crucified, but the force, effects, and merits of his death and passion, with all the comforts, fruits, and promises, which we receive or expect thereby.

Secondly, the honour and dignity of the name of the cross begat a reverend estimation even in the apostles' times (for aught that is known to the contrary) of the sign of the cross, which the Christians shortly after used in all their actions; thereby making an outward show and profession, even to the astonishment of the Jews, that they were not ashamed to acknowledge him for their Lord and Saviour, who died for them upon the cross. And this sign they did not only use themselves with a kind of glory, when they met with any Jews, but signed therewith their children when they were christened, to dedicate them by that badge to his service, whose benefits bestowed upon them in baptism the name of the cross did represent. And this use of the sign of the cross in baptism was held in the primitive Church, as well by the Greeks as the Latins, with one consent and great applause. At what time, if any had opposed themselves against it, they would certainly have been censured as enemies of the name of the cross, and consequently of Christ's merits, the sign whereof they could no better endure. This continual and general use of the sign of the cross is evident by many testimonies of the ancient fathers.

Thirdly, it must be confessed, that in process of time the sign of the cross was greatly abused in the Church of Rome, especially after that corruption of popery had once possessed it. But the abuse of a thing doth not take away the lawful use of it. Nay, so far was it from the purpose of the Church of England to forsake and reject the Churches of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, or any such like Churches, in all things which they held and practised, that, as the Apology of the Church of England confesseth, it doth with reverence retain those ceremonies, which do neither endamage the Church of God, nor offend the minds of sober men; and only departed from them in those particular points, wherein they were fallen both from themselves in their ancient integrity, and from the apostolical Churches, which were their first

founders. In which respect, amongst some other very ancient ceremonies, the sign of the cross in baptism hath been retained in this Church, both by the judgment and practice of those reverend fathers and great divines in the days of king Edward the Sixth, of whom some constantly suffered for the profession of the truth; and others being exiled in the time of queen Mary, did after their return, in the beginning of the reign of our late dread sovereign, continually defend and use the same. This resolution and practice of our Church hath been allowed and approved by the Censure upon the Communion-Book in king Edward the Sixth his days, and by the Harmony of Confessions of later years: because indeed the use of this sign in baptism was ever accompanied here with such sufficient cautions and exceptions against all popish superstition and error, as in the like cases are either fit or convenient.

First, the Church of England, since the abolishing of popery, hath ever held and taught, and so doth hold and teach still, that the sign of the cross used in baptism is no part of the substance of that sacrament: for when the minister, dipping the infant in water, or laying water upon the face of it, (as the manner also is,) hath pronounced these words, "I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost," the infant is fully and perfectly baptized. So as the sign of the cross being afterwards used, doth neither add any thing to the virtue and perfection of baptism, nor being omitted doth detract any thing from the effect and substance of it.

Secondly, it is apparent in the Communion-Book, that the infant baptized is, by virtue of baptism, before it be signed with the sign of the cross, received into the congregation of Christ's flock, as a perfect member thereof, and not by any power ascribed unto the sign of the cross. So that for the very remembrance of the cross, which is very precious to all them that rightly believe in Jesus Christ, and in the other respects mentioned, the Church of England hath retained still the sign of it in baptism: following therein the primitive and apostolical Churches, and accounting it a lawful outward ceremony and honourable badge, whereby the infant is dedicated to the service of Him that died upon the cross, as by the words used in the Book of Common Prayer it may appear.

Lastly, the use of the sign of the cross in baptism, being thus purged from all popish superstition and error, and reduced in the Church of England to the primary institution of it, upon those true rules of doctrine concerning things indifferent, which are consonant to the word of God, and the judgment of all the ancient fathers, we hold it the part of every private man, both minister and other, reverently to retain the true use of it prescribed by public authority; considering

that things of themselves indifferent do in some sort alter their natures, when they are either commanded or forbidden by a lawful magistrate; and may not be omitted at every man's pleasure, contrary to the law, when they be commanded, nor used when they are prohibited.

MINISTERS, THEIR ORDINATION, FUNCTION, AND CHARGE.

XXXI. *Four solemn times appointed for the making of Ministers.*

Forasmuch as the ancient fathers of the church, led by example of the apostles, appointed prayers and fasts to be used at the solemn ordering of ministers; and to that purpose allotted certain times, in which only sacred orders might be given or conferred: we, following their holy and religious example, do constitute and decree, that no deacons or ministers be made and ordained, but only upon the Sundays immediately following *Jejunia quatuor temporum*, commonly called "Ember weeks," appointed in ancient time for prayer and fasting, (purposely for this cause at their first institution,) and so continued at this day in the Church of England: and that this be done in the cathedral or parish-church where the bishop resideth, and in the time of divine service, in the presence not only of the archdeacon, but of the dean and two prebendaries at the least, or (if they shall happen by any lawful cause to be let or hindered) in the presence of four other grave persons, being masters of arts at the least, and allowed for public preachers.

XXXII. *None to be made Deacon and Minister both in one day.*

The office of deacon being a step or degree to the ministry, according to the judgment of the ancient fathers, and the practice of the primitive church; we do ordain and appoint, that hereafter no bishop shall make any person, of what qualities or gifts soever, a deacon and a minister both together upon one day; but that the order in that behalf prescribed in the book of making and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons, be strictly observed. Not that always every deacon should be kept from the ministry for a whole year, when the bishop shall find good cause to the contrary; but that there being now four times appointed in every year for the ordination of deacons and ministers, there may ever be some time of trial of their behaviour in the office of deacon, before they be admitted to the order of priesthood.

XXXIII. *The Titles of such as are to be made Ministers.*

It hath been long since provided by many decrees of the ancient fathers, that none should be admitted either deacon or priest, who had not first some certain place where he might use his function. According to which examples we do ordain, that henceforth no person shall be admitted into sacred orders, except he shall at that time exhibit to the bishop, of whom he desireth imposition of hands, a presentation of himself to some ecclesiastical preferment then void in that diocese; or shall bring to the said bishop a true and undoubted certificate, that either he is provided of some church within the said diocese, where he may attend the cure of souls, or of some minister's place vacant, either in the cathedral church of that diocese, or in some other collegiate church therein also situate, where he may execute his ministry; or that he is a fellow, or in right as a fellow, or to be a conduct or chaplain in some college in Cambridge or Oxford; or except he be a master of arts of five years' standing, that liveth of his own charge in either of the universities; or except by the bishop himself, that doth ordain him minister, he be shortly after to be admitted either to some benefice or curateship then void. And if any bishop shall admit any person into the ministry, that hath none of these titles as is aforesaid, then he shall keep and maintain him with all things necessary, till he do prefer him to some ecclesiastical living. And if the said bishop shall refuse so to do, he shall be suspended by the archbishop, being assisted with another bishop, from giving of orders by the space of a year.

XXXIV. *The Quality of such as are to be made Ministers.*

No bishop shall henceforth admit any person into sacred orders, which is not of his own diocese, except he be either of one of the universities of this realm, or except he shall bring letters dimissory (so termed) from the bishop of whose diocese he is; and desiring to be a deacon, is three and twenty years old; and to be a priest, four and twenty years complete; and hath taken some degree of school in either of the said universities; or at the least, except he be able to yield an account of his faith in Latin, according to the articles of religion approved in the synod of the bishops and clergy of this realm, one thousand five hundred sixty and two, and to confirm the same by sufficient testimonies out of the holy scriptures; and except moreover he shall then exhibit letters testimonial of his good life and conversation, under the seal of some college of Cambridge or Oxford, where before he remained, or of three or four grave ministers, together with the subscription and testimony of other credible persons, who have known his life and behaviour by the space of three years next before.

XXXV. *The Examination of such as are to be made Ministers.*

THE bishop, before he admit any person to holy orders, shall diligently examine him in the presence of those ministers that shall assist him at the imposition of hands: and if the said bishop have any lawful impediment, he shall cause the said ministers carefully to examine every such person so to be ordered. Provided, that they who shall assist the bishop in examining and laying on of hands, shall be of his cathedral church, if they may conveniently be had, or other sufficient preachers of the same diocese, to the number of three at the least: and if any bishop or suffragan shall admit any to sacred orders who is not so qualified and examined, as before we have ordained, the archbishop of his province, having notice thereof, and being assisted therein by one bishop, shall suspend the said bishop or suffragan so offending, from making either deacons or priests for the space of two years.

XXXVI. *Subscription required of such as are to be made Ministers.*

No person shall hereafter be received into the ministry, nor either by institution or collation admitted to any ecclesiastical living, nor suffered to preach, to catechize, or to be a lecturer or reader of divinity in either university, or in any cathedral or collegiate church, city, or market-town, parish-church, chapel, or in any other place within this realm, except he be licensed either by the archbishop, or by the bishop of the diocese, where he is to be placed, under their hands and seals, or by one of the two universities under their seal likewise; and except he shall first subscribe to these three articles following, in such manner and sort as we have here appointed:

I. That the king's majesty, under God, is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other his highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preeminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within his majesty's said realms, dominions, and countries.

II. That the Book of Common Prayer, and of ordering of bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth in it nothing contrary to the word of God, and that it may lawfully so be used; and that he himself will use the form in the said book prescribed, in public prayer, and administration of the sacraments, and none other.

III. That he alloweth the Book of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy in the convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God one

thousand five hundred sixty and two; and that he acknowledgeth all and every the articles therein contained, being in number nine and thirty, besides the ratification, to be agreeable to the word of God.

To these three articles whosoever will subscribe, he shall, for the avoiding of all ambiguities, subscribe in this order and form of words, setting down both his Christian and surname, viz., "I *N. N.* do willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to these three articles above mentioned, and to all things that are contained in them." And if any bishop shall ordain, admit, or license any, as is aforesaid, except he first have subscribed in manner and form as here we have appointed, he shall be suspended from giving of orders and licenses to preach, for the space of twelve months. But if either of the universities shall offend therein, we leave them to the danger of the law, and his majesty's censure.

XXXVII. *Subscription before the Diocesan.*

None licensed, as is aforesaid, to preach, read lecture, or catechize, coming to reside in any diocese, shall be permitted there to preach, read lecture, catechize, or minister the sacraments, or to execute any other ecclesiastical function, by what authority soever he be thereunto admitted, unless he first consent and subscribe to the three articles before mentioned, in the presence of the bishop of the diocese, wherein he is to preach, read lecture, catechize, or administer the sacraments, as aforesaid.

XXXVIII. *Revolters after subscription censured.*

If any minister, after he hath once subscribed to the said three articles, shall omit to use the form of prayer, or any of the orders or ceremonies prescribed in the Communion Book, let him be suspended; and if after a month he do not reform and submit himself, let him be excommunicated; and then if he shall not submit himself within the space of another month, let him be deposed from the ministry.

XXXIX. *Cautions for Institution of Ministers into Benefices.*

No bishop shall institute any to a benefice, who hath been ordained by any other bishop, except he first shew unto him his letters of orders, and bring him a sufficient testimony of his former good life and behaviour, if the bishop shall require it; and lastly, shall appear, upon due examination, to be worthy of his ministry.

XL. *An Oath against Simony at Institution into Benefices.*

To avoid the detestable sin of simony, because buying and selling of spiritual and ecclesiastical functions, offices, promotions, dignities, and livings, is execrable before God; therefore the archbishop, and all and every bishop or bishops, or any other person or persons having

authority to admit, institute, collate, install, or to confirm the election of any archbishop, bishop, or other person or persons, to any spiritual or ecclesiastical function, dignity, promotion, title, office, jurisdiction, place, or benefice with cure or without cure, or to any ecclesiastical living whatsoever, shall, before every such admission, institution, collation, installation, or confirmation of election, respectively minister to every person hereafter to be admitted, instituted, collated, installed, or confirmed in or to any archbishopric, bishopric, or other spiritual or ecclesiastical function, dignity, promotion, title, office, jurisdiction, place, or benefice with cure or without cure, or in or to any ecclesiastical living whatsoever, this oath, in manner and form following, the same to be taken by every one whom it concerneth in his own person, and not by a proctor: *I* N. N. *do swear, That I have made no simoniacal payment, contract, or promise, directly or indirectly, by myself, or by any other, to my knowledge, or with my consent, to any person or persons whatsoever, for or concerning the procuring and obtaining of this ecclesiastical dignity, place, preferment, office, or living,* (respectively and particularly naming the same whereunto he is to be admitted, instituted, collated, installed, or confirmed,) *nor will at any time hereafter perform or satisfy any such kind of payment, contract, or promise made by any other without my knowledge or consent: So help me God, through Jesus Christ.*

XLI. *Licenses for Plurality of Benefices limited, and Residence enjoined.*

No license or dispensation for the keeping of more benefices with cure than one, shall be granted to any but such only as shall be thought very well worthy for his learning, and very well able and sufficient to discharge his duty; that is, who shall have taken the degree of a master of arts at the least in one of the universities of this realm, and be a public and sufficient preacher licensed. Provided always, that he be by a good and sufficient caution bound to make his personal residence in each his said benefices for some reasonable time in every year; and that the said benefices be not more than thirty miles distant asunder; and lastly, that he have under him in the benefice, where he doth not reside, a preacher lawfully allowed, that is able sufficiently to teach and instruct the people.

XLII. *Residence of Deans in their Churches.*

Every dean, master, or warden, or chief governor of any cathedral or collegiate church, shall be resident in his said cathedral or collegiate church fourscore and ten days *conjunctim* or *divisim* in every year at the least, and then shall continue there in preaching the word of God, and keeping good hospitality, except he shall be otherwise let with

weighty and urgent causes, to be approved by the bishop of the diocese, or in any other lawful sort dispensed with. And when he is present, he, with the rest of the canons or prebendaries resident, shall take special care that the statutes and laudable customs of their church, (not being contrary to the word of God, or prerogative royal,) the statutes of this realm being in force concerning ecclesiastical order, and all other constitutions now set forth and confirmed by his majesty's authority, and such as shall be lawfully enjoined by the bishop of the diocese in his visitation, according to the statutes and customs of the same church, or the ecclesiastical laws of this realm, be diligently observed; and that the petty canons, vicars-choral, and other ministers of their church, be urged to the study of the holy scriptures; and every one of them to have the New Testament not only in English, but also in Latin.

XLIII. *Deans and Prebendaries to preach during their Residence.*

The dean, master, warden, or chief governor, prebendaries, and canons in every cathedral and collegiate church, shall not only preach there in their own persons so often as they are bound by law, statute, ordinance, or custom, but shall likewise preach in other churches of the same diocese where they are resident, and especially in those places whence they or their church receive any yearly rents or profits. And in case they themselves be sick, or lawfully absent, they shall substitute such licensed preachers to supply their turns, as by the bishop of the diocese shall be thought meet to preach in cathedral churches. And if any otherwise neglect or omit to supply his course, as is aforesaid, the offender shall be punished by the bishop, or by him or them to whom the jurisdiction of that church appertaineth, according to the quality of the offence.

XLIV. *Prebendaries to be resident upon their Benefices.*

No prebendaries nor canons in cathedral or collegiate churches having one or more benefices with cure, (and not being residentiaries in the same cathedral or collegiate churches,) shall under colour of their said prebends, absent themselves from their benefices with cure above the space of one month in the year, unless it be for some urgent cause, and certain time to be allowed by the bishop of the diocese. And such of the said canons and prebendaries, as by the ordinances of the cathedral or collegiate churches do stand bound to be resident in the same, shall so among themselves sort and proportion the times of the year, concerning residency to be kept in the said churches, as that some of them always shall be personally resident there; and that all those who be or shall be residentiaries in any cathedral or collegiate

church, shall, after the days of their residency appointed by their local statutes or customs expired, presently repair to their benefices, or some one of them, or to some other charge where the law requireth their presence, there to discharge their duties according to the laws in that case provided. And the bishop of the diocese shall see the same to be duly performed and put in execution.

XLV. *Beneficed Preachers, being resident upon their Livings, to preach every Sunday.*

Every beneficed man, allowed to be a preacher, and residing on his benefice, having no lawful impediment, shall in his own cure, or in some other church or chapel, where he may conveniently, near adjoining, (where no preacher is,) preach one sermon every Sunday of the year; wherein he shall soberly and sincerely divide the word of truth, to the glory of God, and to the best edification of the people.

XLVI. *Beneficed Men, not Preachers, to procure monthly Sermons.*

Every beneficed man, not allowed to be a preacher, shall procure sermons to be preached in his cure once in every month at the least, by preachers lawfully licensed, if his living, in the judgment of the ordinary, will be able to bear it. And upon every Sunday, when there shall not be a sermon preached in his cure, he or his curate shall read some one of the homilies prescribed or to be prescribed by authority, to the intents aforesaid.

XLVII. *Absence of beneficed Men to be supplied by Curates that are allowed Preachers.*

Every beneficed man, licensed by the laws of this realm, upon urgent occasions of other service not to reside upon his benefice, shall cause his cure to be supplied by a curate that is a sufficient and licensed preacher, if the worth of the benefice will bear it. But whosoever hath two benefices shall maintain a preacher licensed in the benefice where he doth not reside, except he preach himself at both of them usually.

XLVIII. *None to be Curates but allowed by the Bishop.*

No curate or minister shall be permitted to serve in any place, without examination and admission of the bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place, having episcopal jurisdiction, in writing under his hand and seal, having respect to the greatness of the cure, and meetness of the party. And the said curates and ministers, if they remove from one diocese to another, shall not be by any means admitted to serve without

testimony of the bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place, as aforesaid, whence they came, in writing, of their honesty, ability, and conformity to the ecclesiastical laws of the Church of England. Nor shall any serve more than one church or chapel upon one day, except that chapel be a member of the parish-church, or united thereunto; and unless the said church or chapel, where such a minister shall serve in two places, be not able in the judgment of the bishop or ordinary, as aforesaid, to maintain a curate.

XLIX. *Ministers, not allowed Preachers, may not expound.*

No person whatsoever not examined and approved by the bishop of the diocese, or not licensed, as is aforesaid, for a sufficient or convenient preacher, shall take upon him to expound in his own cure, or elsewhere, any scripture or matter of doctrine; but shall only study to read plainly and aptly (without glossing or adding) the homilies already set forth, or hereafter to be published by lawful authority, for the confirmation of the true faith, and for the good instruction and edification of the people.

L. *Strangers not admitted to preach without shewing their License.*

Neither the minister, church-wardens, nor any other officers of the church, shall suffer any man to preach within their churches or chapels, but such as, by shewing their license to preach, shall appear unto them to be sufficiently authorized thereunto, as is aforesaid.

LI. *Strangers not admitted to preach in Cathedral Churches without sufficient Authority.*

The deans, presidents, and residentiaries of any cathedral or collegiate church, shall suffer no stranger to preach unto the people in their churches, except they be allowed by the archbishop of the province, or by the bishop of the same diocese, or by either of the universities. And if any in his sermon shall publish any doctrine, either strange, or disagreeing from the word of God, or from any of the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the Convocation-house, anno 1562, or from the Book of Common Prayer; the dean or the residents shall, by their letters subscribed with some of their hands that heard him, so soon as may be, give notice of the same to the bishop of the diocese, that he may determine the matter, and take such order therein, as he shall think convenient.

LII. *The Names of strange Preachers to be noted in a Book.*

That the bishop may understand (if occasion so require) what sermons are made in every church of his diocese, and who presume to preach

without license, the church-wardens and side-men shall see that the names of all preachers, which come to their church from any other place, be noted in a book, which they shall have ready for that purpose; wherein every preacher shall subscribe his name, the day when he preached, and the name of the bishop of whom he had license to preach.

LIII. *No public Opposition between Preachers.*

If any preacher shall in the pulpit particularly, or namely of purpose, impugn or confute any doctrine delivered by any other preacher in the same church, or in any church near adjoining, before he hath acquainted the bishop of the diocese therewith, and received order from him what to do in that case, because upon such public dissenting and contradicting there may grow much offence and disquietness unto the people; the church-wardens, or party grieved, shall forthwith signify the same to the said bishop, and not suffer the said preacher any more to occupy that place which he hath once abused, except he faithfully promise to forbear all such matter of contention in the church, until the bishop hath taken further order therein; who shall with all convenient speed so proceed therein, that public satisfaction may be made in the congregation where the offence was given. Provided, that if either of the parties offending do appeal, he shall not be suffered to preach *pendente lite*.

LIV. *The Licenses of Preachers refusing Conformity to be void.*

If any man licensed heretofore to preach, by any archbishop, bishop, or by either of the universities, shall at any time from henceforth refuse to conform himself to the laws, ordinances, and rites ecclesiastical, established in the Church of England, he shall be admonished by the bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place, to submit himself to the use and due exercise of the same. And if, after such admonition, he do not conform himself within the space of one month, we determine and decree, That the license of every such preacher shall thereupon be utterly void, and of none effect.

LV. *The Form of a Prayer to be used by all Preachers before their Sermons.*

Before all sermons, lectures, and homilies, the preachers and ministers shall move the people to join with them in prayer in this form, or to this effect, as briefly as conveniently they may: Ye shall pray for Christ's holy catholic Church, that is, for the whole congregation of Christian people dispersed throughout the whole world, and especially for the Churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland:

and herein I require you most especially to pray for the king's most excellent majesty, our sovereign lord JAMES, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and supreme governor in these his realms, and all other his dominions and countries, over all persons, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal: ye shall also pray for our gracious queen ANNE, the noble prince HENRY, and the rest of the king and queen's royal issue: ye shall also pray for the ministers of God's holy word and sacraments, as well archbishops and bishops, as other pastors and curates: ye shall also pray for the king's most honourable council, and for all the nobility and magistrates of this realm; that all and every of these, in their several callings, may serve truly and painfully to the glory of God, and the edifying and well governing of his people, remembering the account that they must make: also ye shall pray for the whole commons of this realm, that they may live in the true faith and fear of God, in humble obedience to the king, and brotherly charity one to another. Finally, let us praise God for all those which are departed out of this life in the faith of Christ, and pray unto God, that we may have grace to direct our lives after their good example; that, this life ended, we may be made partakers with them of the glorious resurrection in the life everlasting; always concluding with the Lord's Prayer.

LVI. *Preachers and Lecturers to read Divine Service, and administer the Sacraments twice a Year at the least.*

EVERY minister, being possessed of a benefice that hath cure and charge of souls, although he chiefly attend to preaching, and hath a curate under him to execute the other duties which are to be performed for him in the church, and likewise every other stipendiary preacher that readeth any lecture, or catechizeth, or preacheth in any church or chapel, shall twice at the least every year read himself the divine service upon two several Sundays publicly, and at the usual times, both in the forenoon and afternoon, in the church which he so possesseth, or where he readeth, catechizeth, or preacheth, as is aforesaid; and shall likewise as often in every year administer the Sacraments of baptism, if there be any to be baptized, and of the Lord's supper, in such manner and form, and with the observation of all such rites and ceremonies as are prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer in that behalf; which if he do not accordingly perform, then shall he that is possessed of a benefice (as before) be suspended; and he that is but a reader, preacher, or catechizer, be removed from his place by the bishop of the diocese, until he or they shall submit themselves to perform all the said duties, in such manner and sort as before is prescribed.

LVII. *The Sacraments not to be refused at the Hands of unpreaching Ministers.*

Whereas divers persons, seduced by false teachers, do refuse to have their children baptized by a minister that is no preacher, and to receive the holy communion at his hands in the same respect, as though the virtue of those sacraments did depend upon his ability to preach; forasmuch as the doctrine both of baptism and of the Lord's supper is so sufficiently set down in the Book of Common Prayer to be used at the administration of the said sacraments, as nothing can be added unto it that is material and necessary; we do require and charge every such person, seduced as aforesaid, to reform that their wilfulness, and to submit himself to the order of the Church in that behalf; both the said sacraments being equally effectual, whether they be ministered by a minister that is no preacher, or by one that is a preacher. And if any hereafter shall offend herein, or leave their own parish-churches in that respect, and communicate, or cause their children to be baptized, in other parishes abroad, and will not be moved thereby to reform that their error and unlawful course; let them be presented to the ordinary of the place by the minister, church-wardens, and sidemen, or quest-men of the parishes where they dwell, and there receive such punishment by ecclesiastical censures, as such obstinacy doth worthily deserve; that is, let them (persisting in their wilfulness) be suspended, and then, after a month's further obstinacy, excommunicated. And likewise if any parson, vicar, or curate, shall, after the publishing hereof, either receive to the communion any such persons which are not of his own church and parish, or shall baptize any of their children, thereby strengthening them in their said errors; let him be suspended, and not released thereof, until he do faithfully promise that he will not afterwards offend therein.

LVIII. *Ministers reading Divine Service, and administering the Sacraments, to wear Surplices, and Graduates therewithal Hoods.*

Every minister saying the public prayers, or ministering the sacraments, or other rites of the church, shall wear a decent and comely surplice with sleeves, to be provided at the charge of the parish. And if any question arise touching the matter, decency, or comeliness thereof, the same shall be decided by the discretion of the ordinary. Furthermore, such ministers as are graduates shall wear upon their surplices, at such times, such hoods as by the orders of the universities are agreeable to their degrees, which no minister shall wear (being no graduate) under pain of suspension. Notwithstanding it shall be lawful

for such ministers as are not graduates to wear upon their surplices, instead of hoods, some decent tippet of black, so it be not silk.

LIX. *Ministers to catechize every Sunday.*

Every parson, vicar, or curate, upon every Sunday and holy-day, before evening prayer, shall, for half an hour or more, examine and instruct the youth and ignorant persons of his parish, in the Ten Commandments, the Articles of the Belief, and in the Lord's Prayer; and shall diligently hear, instruct, and teach them the Catechism set forth in the Book of Common Prayer. And all fathers, mothers, masters, and mistresses, shall cause their children, servants, and apprentices, which have not learned the Catechism, to come to the church at the time appointed, obediently to hear, and to be ordered by the minister, until they have learned the same. And if any minister neglect his duty herein, let him be sharply reproved upon the first complaint, and true notice thereof given to the bishop or ordinary of the place. If, after submitting himself, he shall willingly offend therein again, let him be suspended; if so the third time, there being little hope that he will be therein reformed, then excommunicated, and so remain until he will be reformed. And likewise if any of the said fathers, mothers, masters, or mistresses, children, servants, or apprentices, shall neglect their duties, as the one sort in not causing them to come, and the other in refusing to learn, as aforesaid; let them be suspended by their ordinaries, (if they be not children,) and if they so persist by the space of a month, then let them be excommunicated.

LX. *Confirmation to be performed once in three Years.*

Forasmuch as it hath been a solemn, ancient, and laudable custom in the Church of God, continued from the apostles' times, that all bishops should lay their hands upon children baptized and instructed in the Catechism of Christian Religion, praying over them, and blessing them, which we commonly call *Confirmation;* and that this holy action hath been accustomed in the Church in former ages, to be performed in the bishop's visitation every third year; we will and appoint, That every bishop or his suffragan, in his accustomed visitation, do in his own person carefully observe the said custom. And if in that year, by reason of some infirmity, he be not able personally to visit, then he shall not omit the execution of that duty of confirmation the next year after, as he may conveniently.

LXI. *Ministers to prepare Children for Confirmation.*

Every minister, that hath cure and charge of souls, for the better accomplishing of the orders prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer

concerning confirmation, shall take especial care that none shall be presented to the bishop for him to lay his hands upon, but such as can render an account of their faith according to the Catechism in the said book contained. And when the bishop shall assign any time for the performance of that part of his duty, every such minister shall use his best endeavour to prepare and make able, and likewise to procure as many as he can to be then brought, and by the bishop to be confirmed.

LXII. *Ministers not to marry any Persons without Banns, or License.*

No minister, upon pain of suspension *per triennium ipso facto,* shall celebrate matrimony between any persons, without a faculty or license granted by some of the persons in these our Constitutions expressed, except the banns of matrimony have been first published three several Sundays, or holy-days, in the time of divine service, in the parish-churches and chapels where the said parties dwell, according to the Book of Common Prayer. Neither shall any minister, upon the like pain, under any pretence whatsoever, join any persons so licensed in marriage at any unseasonable times, but only between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon, nor in any private place, but either in the said churches or chapels where one of them dwelleth, and likewise in time of divine service; nor when banns are thrice asked, and no license in that respect necessary, before the parents or governors of the parties to be married, being under the age of twenty and one years, shall either personally, or by sufficient testimony, signify to him their consents given to the said marriage.

LXIII. *Ministers of exempt Churches not to marry without Banns, or License.*

Every minister, who shall hereafter celebrate marriage between any persons contrary to our said Constitutions, or any part of them, under colour of any peculiar liberty or privilege claimed to appertain to certain churches and chapels, shall be suspended *per triennium* by the ordinary of the place where the offence shall be committed. And if any such minister shall afterwards remove from the place where he hath committed that fault, before he be suspended, as is aforesaid, then shall the bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place where he remaineth, upon certificate under the hand and seal of the other ordinary, from whose jurisdiction he removed, execute that censure upon him.

LXIV. *Ministers solemnly to bid Holy-days.*

Every parson, vicar, or curate, shall in his several charge declare to the people, every Sunday at the time appointed in the Communion Book, whether there be any holy-days or fasting-days the week following. And if any do hereafter wittingly offend herein, and being once admonished thereof by his ordinary, shall again omit that duty, let him be censured according to law, until he submit himself to the due performance of it.

LXV. *Ministers solemnly to denounce Recusants and Excommunicates.*

All ordinaries shall, in their several jurisdictions, carefully see and give order, that as well those who for obstinate refusing to frequent divine service established by public authority within this realm of England, as those also (especially of the better sort and condition) who for notorious contumacy, or other notable crimes, stand lawfully excommunicate, (unless within three months immediately after the said sentence of excommunication pronounced against them, they reform themselves, and obtain the benefit of absolution,) be every six months ensuing, as well in the parish-church, as in the cathedral church of the diocese in which they remain, by the minister openly in time of divine service, upon some Sunday, denounced and declared excommunicate, that others may be thereby both admonished to refrain their company and society, and excited the rather to procure out a writ *De excommunicato capiendo*, thereby to bring and reduce them into due order and obedience. Likewise the registrar of every ecclesiastical court shall yearly between Michaelmas and Christmas duly certify the archbishop of the province of all and singular the premises aforesaid.

LXVI. *Ministers to confer with Recusants.*

Every minister being a preacher, and having any popish recusant or recusants in his parish, and thought fit by the bishop of the diocese, shall labour diligently with them from time to time, thereby to reclaim them from their errors. And if he be no preacher, or not such a preacher, then he shall procure, if he can possibly, some that are preachers so qualified, to take pains with them for that purpose. If he can procure none, then he shall inform the bishop of the diocese thereof, who shall not only appoint some neighbour preacher or preachers adjoining to take that labour upon them, but himself also, as his important affairs will permit him, shall use his best endeavour, by instruction, persuasion, and all good means he can devise, to reclaim both them and all other within his diocese so affected.

LXVII. *Ministers to visit the Sick.*

When any person is dangerously sick in any parish, the minister, or curate, having knowledge thereof, shall resort unto him or her, (if the disease be not known, or probably suspected, to be infectious,) to instruct and comfort them in their distress, according to the order of the Communion-Book, if he be no preacher; or if he be a preacher, then as he shall think most needful and convenient. And when any is passing out of this life, a bell shall be tolled, and the minister shall not then slack to do his last duty. And after the party's death, if it so fall out, there shall be rung no more than one short peal, and one other before the burial, and one other after the burial.

LXVIII. *Ministers not to refuse to christen or bury.*

No minister shall refuse or delay to christen any child, according to the form of the Book of Common Prayer, that is brought to the church to him upon Sundays or holy-days to be christened, or to bury any corpse that is brought to the church or church-yard, convenient warning being given him thereof before, in such manner and form as is prescribed in the said Book of Common Prayer. And if he shall refuse to christen the one, or bury the other, (except the party deceased were denounced excommunicated *majori excommunicatione*, for some grievous and notorious crime, and no man able to testify of his repentance,) he shall be suspended by the bishop of the diocese from his ministry by the space of three months.

LXIX. *Ministers not to defer christening, if the child be in danger.*

If any minister, being duly, without any manner of collusion, informed of the weakness and danger of death of any infant unbaptized in his parish, and thereupon desired to go or come to the place where the said infant remaineth, to baptize the same, shall either wilfully refuse so to do, or of purpose, or of gross negligence, shall so defer the time, as, when he might conveniently have resorted to the place, and have baptized the said infant, it dieth, through such his default, unbaptized; the said minister shall be suspended for three months; and before his restitution shall acknowledge his fault, and promise before his ordinary, that he will not wittingly incur the like again. Provided, that where there is a curate, or a substitute, this constitution shall not extend to the parson or vicar himself, but to the curate or substitute present.

LXX. *Ministers to keep a Register of Christenings, Weddings, and Burials.*

In every parish-church and chapel within this realm, shall be provided one parchment book at the charge of the parish, wherein shall be written

the day and year of every christening, wedding, and burial, which have been in that parish since the time that the law was first made in that behalf, so far as the ancient books thereof can be procured, but especially since the beginning of the reign of the late queen. And for the safe keeping of the said book, the church-wardens, at the charge of the parish, shall provide one sure coffer, with three locks and keys: whereof the one to remain with the minister, and the other two with the church-wardens, severally; so that neither the minister without the two church-wardens, nor the church-wardens without the minister, shall at any time take that book out of the said coffer. And henceforth upon every Sabbath-day, immediately after morning or evening prayer, the minister and church-wardens shall take the said parchment book out of the said coffer, and the minister, in the presence of the church-wardens, shall write and record in the said book the names of all persons christened, together with the names and surnames of their parents, and also the names of all persons married and buried in that parish in the week before, and the day and year of every such christening, marriage, and burial; and, that done, they shall lay up that book in the coffer, as before, and the minister and church-wardens unto every page of that book, when it shall be filled with such inscriptions, shall subscribe their names. And the church-wardens shall once every year, within one month after the five and twentieth day of March, transmit unto the bishop of the diocese, or his chancellor, a true copy of the names of all persons christened, married, or buried in their parish in the year before, ended the said five and twentieth day of March, and the certain days and months in which every such christening, marriage, and burial was had, to be subscribed with the hands of the said minister and church-wardens, to the end the same may faithfully be preserved in the registry of the said bishop; which certificate shall be received without fee. And if the minister or church-wardens shall be negligent in performance of any thing herein contained, it shall be lawful for the bishop, or his chancellor, to convent them, and proceed against every of them as contemners of this our Constitution.

LXXI. *Ministers not to preach, or administer the Communion, in private Houses.*

No minister shall preach, or administer the holy communion, in any private house, except it be in times of necessity, when any being either so impotent as he cannot go to the church, or very dangerously sick, are desirous to be partakers of the holy sacrament, upon pain of suspension for the first offence, and excommunication for the second. Provided, that houses are here reputed for private houses, wherein are no chapels dedicated and allowed by the ecclesiastical laws of this

realm. And provided also, under the pains before expressed, that no chaplains do preach or administer the communion in any other places, but in the chapels of the said houses; and that also they do the same very seldom upon Sundays and holy-days; so that both the lords and masters of the said houses, and their families, shall at other times resort to their own parish-churches, and there receive the holy communion at the least once every year.

LXXII. *Ministers not to appoint public or private Fasts or Prophecies, or to exorcise, but by authority.*

No minister or ministers shall, without the license and direction of the bishop of the diocese first obtained and had under his hand and seal, appoint or keep any solemn fasts, either publicly or in any private houses, other than such as by law are, or by public authority shall be appointed, nor shall be wittingly present at any of them, under pain of suspension for the first fault, of excommunication for the second, and of deposition from the ministry for the third. Neither shall any minister not licensed, as is aforesaid, presume to appoint or hold any meetings for sermons, commonly termed by some prophecies or exercises, in market-towns, or other places, under the said pains: nor, without such license, to attempt upon any pretence whatsoever, either of possession or obsession, by fasting and prayer, to cast out any devil or devils, under pain of the imputation of imposture or cosenage, and deposition from the ministry.

LXXIII. *Ministers not to hold private Conventicles.*

Forasmuch as all conventicles, and secret meetings of priests and ministers, have been ever justly accounted very hurtful to the state of the church wherein they live; we do now ordain and constitute, That no priests, or ministers of the word of God, or any other persons, shall meet together in any private house, or elsewhere, to consult upon any matter or course to be taken by them, or upon their motion or direction by any other, which may any way tend to the impeaching or depraving of the doctrine of the Church of England, or of the book of Common Prayer, or of any part of the government and discipline now established in the Church of England, under pain of excommunication *ipso facto*.

LXXIV. *Decency in apparel enjoined to Ministers.*

The true, ancient, and flourishing Churches of Christ, being ever desirous that their prelacy and clergy might be had as well in outward reverence, as otherwise regarded for the worthiness of their ministry, did think it fit, by a prescript form of decent and comely apparel, to have them known to the people, and thereby to receive the honour and

estimation due to the special messengers and ministers of Almighty God: we therefore following their grave judgment, and the ancient custom of the Church of England, and hoping that in time newfangleness of apparel in some factious persons will die of itself, do constitute and appoint, That the archbishops and bishops shall not intermit to use the accustomed apparel of their degrees. Likewise all deans, masters of colleges, archdeacons, and prebendaries, in cathedral and collegiate churches, (being priests or deacons), doctors in divinity, law, and physic, bachelors in divinity, masters of arts, and bachelors of law, having any ecclesiastical living, shall usually wear gowns with standing collars, and sleeves strait at the hands, or wide sleeves, as is used in the universities, with hoods or tippets of silk or sarcenet, and square caps. And that all other ministers admitted or to be admitted into that function shall also usually wear the like apparel as is aforesaid, except tippets only. We do further in like manner ordain, That all the said ecclesiastical persons above mentioned shall usually wear in their journeys cloaks with sleeves, commonly called priests' cloaks, without guards, welts, long buttons, or cuts. And no ecclesiastical person shall wear any coif or wrought nightcap, but only plain nightcaps of black silk, satin, or velvet. In all which particulars concerning the apparel here prescribed, our meaning is not to attribute any holiness or special worthiness to the said garments, but for decency, gravity, and order, as is before specified. In private houses, and in their studies, the said persons ecclesiastical may use any comely and scholar-like apparel, provided that it be not cut or pinkt; and that in public they go not in their doublet and hose, without coats or cassocks; and that they wear not any light-coloured stockings. Likewise poor beneficed men and curates (not being able to provide themselves long gowns) may go in short gowns of the fashion aforesaid.

LXXV. *Sober Conversation required in Ministers.*

No ecclesiastical person shall at any time, other than for their honest necessities, resort to any taverns or alehouses, neither shall they board or lodge in any such places. Furthermore, they shall not give themselves to any base or servile labour, or to drinking or riot, spending their time idly by day or by night, playing at dice, cards, or tables, or any other unlawful games: but at all times convenient they shall hear or read somewhat of the holy scriptures, or shall occupy themselves with some other honest study or exercise, always doing the things which shall appertain to honesty, and endeavouring to profit the Church of God; having always in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianly, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, to be inflicted with severity, according to the qualities of their offences.

LXXVI. *Ministers at no time to forsake their Calling.*

No man being admitted a deacon or minister shall from thenceforth voluntarily relinquish the same, nor afterward use himself in the course of his life as a layman, upon pain of excommunication. And the names of all such men, so forsaking their calling, the church-wardens of the parish where they dwell shall present to the bishop of the diocese, or to the ordinary of the place, having episcopal jurisdiction.

SCHOOLMASTERS.

LXXVII. *None to teach School without License.*

No man shall teach either in public school, or private house, but such as shall be allowed by the bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place, under his hand and seal, being found meet as well for his learning and dexterity in teaching, as for sober and honest conversation, and also for right understanding of God's true religion; and also except he shall first subscribe to the first and third articles aforementioned simply, and to the two first clauses of the second article.

LXXVIII. *Curates desirous to teach to be licensed before others.*

In what parish-church or chapel soever there is a curate, which is a master of arts, or bachelor of arts, or is otherwise well able to teach youth, and will willingly so do, for the better increase of his living, and training up of children in principles of true religion; we will and ordain, That a license to teach youth of the parish where he serveth be granted to none by the ordinary of that place, but only to the said curate. Provided always, that this constitution shall not extend to any parish or chapel in country towns, where there is a public school founded already; in which case we think it not meet to allow any to teach grammar, but only him that is allowed for the said public school.

LXXIX. *The Duty of Schoolmasters.*

All schoolmasters shall teach in English or Latin, as the children are able to bear, the larger or shorter Catechism heretofore by public authority set forth. And as often as any sermon shall be upon holy and festival days within the parish where they teach, they shall bring their scholars to the church where such sermon shall be made, and there see them quietly and soberly behave themselves; and shall examine them at times convenient, after their return, what they have borne away of such sermon. Upon other days, and at other times, they shall train

them up with such sentences of holy scripture, as shall be most expedient to induce them to all godliness; and they shall teach the grammar set forth by king Henry the Eighth, and continued in the times of king Edward the Sixth, and queen Elizabeth of noble memory, and none other. And if any schoolmaster, being licensed, and having subscribed as aforesaid, shall offend in any of the premises, or either speak, write, or teach against any thing whereunto he hath formerly subscribed, (if upon admonition by the ordinary he do not amend and reform himself,) let him be suspended from teaching school any longer.

THINGS APPERTAINING TO CHURCHES.

LXXX. *The great Bible, and Book of Common Prayer, to be had in every Church.*

THE church-wardens or quest-men of every church and chapel shall, at the charge of the parish, provide the Book of Common Prayer, lately explained in some few points by his majesty's authority, according to the laws and his highness's prerogative in that behalf, and that with all convenient speed, but at the furthest within two months after the publishing of these our Constitutions. And if any parishes be yet unfurnished of the Bible of the largest volume, or of the books of Homilies allowed by authority, the said church-wardens shall within convenient time provide the same at the like charge of the parish.

LXXXI. *A Font of Stone for Baptism in every Church.*

ACCORDING to a former Constitution, too much neglected in many places, we appoint, that there shall be a font of stone in every church and chapel where baptism is to be ministered; the same to be set in the ancient usual places: in which only font the minister shall baptize publicly.

LXXXII. *A decent Communion-table in every Church.*

WHEREAS we have no doubt, but that in all churches within the realm of England, convenient and decent tables are provided and placed for the celebration of the holy communion, we appoint, that the same tables shall from time to time be kept and repaired in sufficient and seemly manner, and covered, in time of divine service, with a carpet of silk or other decent stuff, thought meet by the ordinary of the place, if any question be made of it, and with a fair linen cloth at the time of the ministration, as becometh that table, and so stand, saving when the said holy communion is to be administered: at which time the same shall be placed in so good sort within the church or chancel, as thereby

the minister may be more conveniently heard of the communicants in his prayer and ministration, and the communicants also more conveniently, and in more number, may communicate with the said minister; and that the Ten Commandments be set up on the east end of every church and chapel, where the people may best see and read the same, and other chosen sentences written upon the walls of the said churches and chapels, in places convenient; and likewise that a convenient seat be made for the minister to read service in. All these to be done at the charge of the parish.

LXXXIII. *A Pulpit to be provided in every Church.*

The church-wardens or quest-men, at the common charge of the parishioners in every church, shall provide a comely and decent pulpit to be set in a convenient place within the same, by the discretion of the ordinary of the place, if any question do arise, and to be there seemly kept for the preaching of God's word.

LXXXIV. *A Chest for Alms in every Church.*

The church-wardens shall provide and have, within three months after the publishing of these Constitutions, a strong chest, with a hole in the upper part thereof, to be provided at the charge of the parish, (if there be none such already provided,) having three keys; of which one shall remain in the custody of the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other two in the custody of the church-wardens for the time being: which chest they shall set and fasten in the most convenient place, to the intent the parishioners may put into it their alms for their poor neighbours. And the parson, vicar, or curate shall diligently, from time to time, and especially when men make their testaments, call upon, exhort, and move their neighbours to confer and give, as they may well spare, to the said chest; declaring unto them, that whereas heretofore they have been diligent to bestow much substance otherwise than God commanded, upon superstitious uses, now they ought at this time to be much more ready to help the poor and needy, knowing that to relieve the poor is a sacrifice which pleaseth God; and that also whatsoever is given for their comfort is given to Christ himself, and is so accepted of him, that he will mercifully reward the same. The which alms and devotion of the people, the keepers of the keys shall yearly, quarterly, or oftener, (as need requireth), take out of the chest, and distribute the same in the presence of most of the parish, or six of the chief of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most poor and needy neighbours.

LXXXV. *Churches to be kept in sufficient Reparations.*

The church-wardens or quest-men shall take care and provide that the churches be well and sufficiently repaired, and so from time to time kept and maintained, that the windows be well glazed, and that the floors be kept paved, plain, and even, and all things there in such an orderly and decent sort, without dust or any thing that may be either noisome or unseemly, as best becometh the house of God, and is prescribed in an Homily to that effect. The like care they shall take, that the church-yards be well and sufficiently repaired, fenced, and maintained with walls, rails, or pales, as have been in each place accustomed, at their charges unto whom by law the same appertaineth: but especially they shall see that in every meeting of the congregation peace be well kept; and that all persons excommunicated, and so denounced, be kept out of the church.

LXXXVI. *Churches to be surveyed, and the Decays certified to the high Commissioners.*

Every dean, dean and chapter, archdeacon, and others which have authority to hold ecclesiastical visitations by composition, law, or prescription, shall survey the churches of his or their jurisdiction once in every three years in his own person, or cause the same to be done; and shall from time to time within the said three years certify the high commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, every year, of such defects in any the said churches, as he or they do find to remain unrepaired, and the names and surnames of the parties faulty therein. Upon which certificate, we desire that the said high commissioners will *ex officio mero* send for such parties, and compel them to obey the just and lawful decrees of such ecclesiastical ordinaries, making such certificates.

LXXXVII. *A Terrier of Glebe-lands, and other Possessions belonging to Churches.*

We ordain, that the archbishops, and all bishops within their several dioceses, shall procure (as much as in them lieth) that a true note and terrier of all the glebes, lands, meadows, gardens, orchards, houses, stocks, implements, tenements, and portions of tithes lying out of their parishes (which belong to any parsonage, or vicarage, or rural prebend) be taken by the view of honest men in every parish, by the appointment of the bishop, (whereof the minister to be one,) and be laid up in the bishop's registry, there to be for a perpetual memory thereof.

LXXXVIII. *Churches not to be profaned.*

The church-wardens or quest-men, and their assistants, shall suffer no plays, feasts, banquets, suppers, church-ales, drinkings, temporal courts, or leets, lay-juries, musters, or any other profane usage, to be kept in the church, chapel, or church-yard, neither the bells to be rung superstitiously upon holy-days or eves abrogated by the Book of Common Prayer, nor at any other times, without good cause to be allowed by the minister of the place, and by themselves.

CHURCH-WARDENS OR QUEST-MEN, AND SIDE-MEN OR ASSISTANTS.

LXXXIX. *The Choice of Church-wardens, and their Account.*

All church-wardens or quest-men in every parish shall be chosen by the joint consent of the minister and the parishioners, if it may be; but if they cannot agree upon such a choice, then the minister shall choose one, and the parishioners another: and without such a joint or several choice none shall take upon them to be church-wardens: neither shall they continue any longer than one year in that office, except perhaps they be chosen again in like manner. And all church-wardens at the end of their year, or within a month after at the most, shall before the minister and the parishioners give up a just account of such money as they have received, and also what particularly they have bestowed in reparations, and otherwise, for the use of the church. And last of all, going out of their office, they shall truly deliver up to the parishioners whatsoever money or other things of right belonging to the church or parish, which remaineth in their hands, that it may be delivered over by them to the next church-wardens by bill indented.

XC. *The Choice of Side-men, and their joint Office with Church-wardens.*

The church-wardens or quest-men of every parish, and two or three or more discreet persons in every parish, to be chosen for side-men or assistants by the minister and parishioners, if they can agree, (otherwise to be appointed by the ordinary of the diocese), shall diligently see that all the parishioners duly resort to their church upon all Sundays and holy-days, and there continue the whole time of divine service; and none to walk or to stand idle or talking in the church, or in the church-yard, or the church porch, during that time. And all such as shall be found slack or negligent in resorting to the church (having no

great or urgent cause of absence) they shall earnestly call upon them; and after due monition (if they amend not) they shall present them to the ordinary of the place. The choice of which persons, *viz.* church-wardens or quest-men, side-men or assistants, shall be yearly made in Easter-week.

PARISH-CLERKS.

XCI. *Parish-Clerks to be chosen by the Minister.*

No parish-clerk upon any vacation shall be chosen, within the city of London, or elsewhere within the province of Canterbury, but by the parson or vicar; or, where there is no parson or vicar, by the minister of that place for the time being: which choice shall be signified by the said minister, vicar, or parson, to the parishioners the next Sunday following, in the time of divine service. And the said clerk shall be of twenty years of age at the least, and known to the said parson, vicar, or minister, to be of honest conversation, and sufficient for his reading, writing, and also for his competent skill in singing, if it may be. And the said clerks so chosen shall have and receive their ancient wages, without fraud or diminution, either at the hands of the church-wardens, at such times as hath been accustomed, or by their own collection, according to the most ancient custom of every parish.

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS BELONGING TO THE ARCHBISHOP'S JURISDICTION.

XCII. *None to be cited into divers Courts for Probate of the same Will.*

Forasmuch as many heretofore have been by apparitors both of inferior courts, and of the courts of the archbishop's prerogative, much distracted, and diversely called and summoned for probate of wills, or to take administrations of the goods of persons dying intestate, and are thereby vexed and grieved with many causeless and unnecessary troubles, molestations, and expenses; we constitute and appoint, That all chancellors, commissaries, or officials, or any other exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever, shall at the first charge with an oath all persons called or voluntarily appearing before them for the probate of any will, or the administration of any goods, whether they know, or (moved by any special inducement) do firmly believe, that the party deceased, whose testament or goods depend now in question, had at the time of his or her death any goods or good debts in any other

diocese or dioceses, or peculiar jurisdiction within that province, than in that wherein the said party died, amounting to the value of five pounds. And if the said person cited, or voluntarily appearing before him, shall upon his oath affirm, that he knoweth, or (as aforesaid) firmly believeth, that the said party deceased had goods or good debts in any other diocese or dioceses, or peculiar jurisdiction within the said province, to the value aforesaid, and particularly specify and declare the same; then shall he presently dismiss him, not presuming to intermeddle with the probate of the said will, or to grant administration of the goods of the party so dying intestate; neither shall he require or exact any other charges of the said parties, more than such only as are due for the citation, and other process had and used against the said parties upon their further contumacy; but shall openly and plainly declare and profess, that the said cause belongeth to the prerogative of the archbishop of that province; willing and admonishing the party to prove the said will, or require administration of the said goods in the court of the said prerogative, and to exhibit before him the said judge the probate or administration under the seal of the prerogative, within forty days next following. And if any chancellor, commissary, official, or other exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever, or any their registrar, shall offend herein, let him be *ipso facto* suspended from the execution of his office, not to be absolved or released, until he have restored to the party all expenses by him laid out contrary to the tenor of the premises; and every such probate of any testament, or administration of goods so granted, shall be held void and frustrate to all effects of the law whatsoever.

Furthermore, we charge and enjoin, That the registrar of every inferior judge do, without all difficulty or delay, certify and inform the apparitor of the prerogative court, repairing unto him once a month, and no oftener, what executors or administrators have been by his said judge, for the incompetency of his own jurisdiction, dismissed to the said prerogative court within the month next before, under pain of a month's suspension from the exercise of his office for every default therein. Provided, that this canon, or any thing therein contained, be not prejudicial to any composition between the archbishop and any bishop or other ordinary, nor to any inferior judge that shall grant any probate of testament, or administration of goods, to any party that shall voluntarily desire it, both out of the said inferior court, and also out of the prerogative. Provided likewise, that if any man die *in itinere*, the goods that he hath about him at that present shall not cause his testament or administration to be liable unto the prerogative court.

XCIII. *The Rate of* Bona notabilia *liable to the Prerogative Court.*

Furthermore, we decree and ordain, That no judge of the archbishop's prerogative shall henceforward cite, or cause to be cited, *ex officio*, any person whatsoever to any of the aforesaid intents, unless he have knowledge that the party deceased was at the time of his death possessed of goods and chattels in some other diocese or dioceses, or peculiar jurisdiction within that province, than in that wherein he died, amounting to the value of five pounds at the least; decreeing and declaring, that whoso hath not goods in divers dioceses to the said sum or value shall not be accounted to have *Bona notabilia*. Always provided, That this clause, here and in the former Constitution mentioned, shall not prejudice those dioceses, where by composition or custom *Bona notabilia* are rated at a greater sum. And if any judge of the prerogative court, or any his surrogate, or his registrar or apparitor, shall cite, or cause any person to be cited into his court, contrary to the tenor of the premises, he shall restore to the party so cited all his costs and charges, and the acts and proceedings in that behalf shall be held void and frustrate. Which expenses, if the said judge, or registrar, or apparitor, shall refuse accordingly to pay, he shall be suspended from the exercise of his office, until he yield to the performance thereof.

XCIV. *None to be cited into the Arches or Audience, but Dwellers within the Archbishop's Diocese, or Peculiars.*

No dean of the arches, nor official of the archbishop's consistory, nor any judge of the audience, shall henceforward in his own name, or in the name of the archbishop, either *ex officio*, or at the instance of any party, originally cite, summon, or any way compel, or procure to be cited, summoned, or compelled, any person which dwelleth not within the particular diocese or peculiar of the said archbishop, to appear before him or any of them, for any cause or matter whatsoever belonging to ecclesiastical cognizance, without the license of the diocesan first had and obtained in that behalf, other than in such particular cases only as are expressly excepted and reserved in and by a statute *anno 23 H. VIII. cap.* 9. And if any of the said judges shall offend herein, he shall for every such offence be suspended from the exercise of his office for the space of three whole months.

XCV. *The Restraint of Double Quarrels.*

Albeit by former Constitutions of the Church of England, every bishop hath had two months' space to inquire and inform himself of the suffi-

ciency and qualities of every minister, after he hath been presented unto him to be instituted into any benefice; yet, for the avoiding of some inconveniences, we do now abridge and reduce the said two months unto eight and twenty days only. In respect of which abridgment we do ordain and appoint, that no double quarrel shall hereafter be granted out of any of the archbishop's courts at the suit of any minister whosoever, except he shall first take his personal oath, that the said eight and twenty days at the least are expired, after he first tendered his presentation to the bishop, and that he refused to grant him institution thereupon; or shall enter bonds with sufficient sureties to prove the same to be true; under pain of suspension of the granter thereof from the execution of his office for half a year *toties quoties*, (to be denounced by the said archbishop,) and nullity of the double quarrel aforesaid, so unduly procured, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. Always provided, that within the said eight and twenty days the bishop shall not institute any other to the prejudice of the said party before presented, *sub pœna nullitatis*.

XCVI. *Inhibitions not to be granted without the subscription of an Advocate.*

That the jurisdictions of bishops may be preserved (as near as may be) entire and free from prejudice, and that for the behoof of the subjects of this land better provision be made, that henceforward they be not grieved with frivolous and wrongful suits and molestations; it is ordained and provided, That no inhibition shall be granted out of any court belonging to the archbishop of Canterbury, at the instance of any party, unless it be subscribed by an advocate practising in the said court: which the said advocate shall do freely, not taking any fee for the same, except the party prosecuting the suit do voluntarily bestow some gratuity upon him for his counsel and advice in the said cause. The like course shall be used in granting forth any inhibition, at the instance of any party, by the bishop or his chancellor, against the archdeacon, or any other person exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction: and if in the court or consistory of any bishop there be no advocate at all, then shall the subscription of a proctor practising in the same court be held sufficient.

XCVII. *Inhibitions not to be granted until the Appeal be exhibited to the Judge.*

It is further ordered and decreed, That henceforward no inhibition be granted by occasion of any interlocutory decree, or in any cause of

correction whatsoever, except under the form aforesaid: and moreover, That before the going out of any such inhibition, the appeal itself, or a copy thereof, (avouched by oath to be just and true,) be exhibited to the judge, or his lawful surrogate, whereby he may be fully informed both of the quality of the crime, and of the cause of the grievance, before the granting forth of the said inhibition. And every appellant, or his lawful proctor, shall, before the obtaining of any such inhibition, shew and exhibit to the judge, or his surrogate, in writing, a true copy of those acts wherewith he complaineth himself to be aggrieved, and from which he appealeth; or shall take a corporal oath, that he hath performed his diligence and true endeavour for the obtaining of the same, and could not obtain it at the hands of the registrar in the country, or his deputy, tendering him his fee. And if any judge or registrar shall either procure or permit any inhibition to be sealed, so as is said, contrary to the form and limitation above specified, let him be suspended from the execution of his office for the space of three months: if any proctor, or other person whatsoever by his appointment, shall offend in any of the premises, either by making or sending out any inhibition, contrary to the tenor of the said premises, let him be removed from the exercise of his office for the space of a whole year, without hope of release or restoring.

XCVIII. *Inhibitions not to be granted to factious Appellants, unless they first subscribe.*

Forasmuch as they who break the laws cannot in reason claim any benefit or protection by the same; we decree and appoint, That after any judge ecclesiastical hath proceeded judicially against obstinate and factious persons, and contemners of ceremonies, for not observing the rites and orders of the Church of England, or for contempt of public prayer, no judge, *ad quem*, shall admit or allow any his or their appeals, unless, he having first seen the original appeal, the party appellant do first personally promise and avow, that he will faithfully keep and observe all the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, as also the prescript form of common prayer; and do likewise subscribe to the three articles formerly by us specified and declared.

XCIX. *None to marry within the degrees prohibited.*

No person shall marry within the degrees prohibited by the laws of God, and expressed in a table set forth by authority in the year of our Lord God 1563. And all marriages so made and contracted shall be adjudged incestuous and unlawful, and consequently shall be dissolved as void from the beginning, and the parties so married shall by course of law be separated. And the aforesaid table shall be in every church publicly set up and fixed at the charge of the parish.

C. *None to marry under Twenty-one Years, without their Parents' consent.*

No children under the age of one and twenty years complete shall contract themselves, or marry, without the consent of their parents, or of their guardians and governors, if their parents be deceased.

CI. *By whom Licenses to marry without Banns shall be granted, and to what sort of Persons.*

No faculty or license shall be henceforth granted for solemnization of matrimony betwixt any parties, without thrice open publication of the banns, according to the Book of Common Prayer, by any person exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or claiming any privileges in the right of their churches; but the same shall be granted only by such as have episcopal authority, or the commissary for faculties, vicars general of the archbishops and bishops, *sede plena;* or, *sede vacante,* the guardian of the spiritualities, or ordinaries exercising of right episcopal jurisdiction in their several jurisdictions respectively, and unto such persons only, as be of good state and quality, and that upon good caution and security taken.

CII. *Security to be taken at the granting of such Licenses, and under what Conditions.*

The security mentioned shall contain these conditions: First, That, at the time of the granting every such licence, there is not any impediment of precontract, consanguinity, affinity, or other lawful cause to hinder the said marriage. Secondly, That there is not any controversy or suit depending in any court before any ecclesiastical judge, touching any contract or marriage of either of the said parties with any other. Thirdly, That they have obtained thereunto the express consent of their parents, (if they be living,) or otherwise of their guardians or governors. Lastly, That they shall celebrate the said matrimony publicly in the parish-church or chapel where one of them dwelleth, and in no other place, and that between the hours of eight and twelve in the forenoon.

CIII. *Oaths to be taken for the Conditions.*

For the avoiding of all fraud and collusion in the obtaining of such licenses and dispensations, we further constitute and appoint, That before any license for the celebration of matrimony without publication of banns be had or granted, it shall appear to the judge by the oaths of two sufficient witnesses, one of them to be known either to the judge himself, or to some other person of good reputation then present, and known likewise to the said judge, that the express con-

sent of the parents, or parent, if one be dead, or guardians or guardian of the parties, is thereunto had and obtained. And furthermore, That one of the parties personally swear, that he believeth there is no let or impediment of precontract, kindred, or alliance, or of any other lawful cause whatsoever, nor any suit commenced in any ecclesiastical court, to bar or hinder the proceeding of the said matrimony, according to the tenor of the aforesaid license.

CIV. *An Exception for those that are in Widowhood.*

If both the parties which are to marry being in widowhood do seek a faculty for the forbearing of banns, then the clauses before mentioned, requiring the parents' consents, may be omitted: but the parishes where they dwell, both shall be expressed in the license, as also the parish named where the marriage shall be celebrated. And if any commissary for faculties, vicars-general, or other the said ordinaries, shall offend in the premises, or any part thereof, he shall, for every time so offending, be suspended from the execution of his office for the space of six months; and every such license or dispensation shall be held void to all effects and purposes, as if there had never been any such granted; and the parties marrying by virtue thereof shall be subject to the punishments which are appointed for clandestine marriages.

CV. *No Sentence for Divorce to be given upon the sole Confession of the Parties.*

Forasmuch as matrimonial causes have been always reckoned and reputed among the weightiest, and therefore require the greater caution, when they come to be handled and debated in judgment, especially in causes wherein matrimony, having been in the church duly solemnized, is required, upon any suggestion or pretext whatsoever, to be dissolved or annulled: we do straitly charge and enjoin, That in all proceedings to divorce, and nullities of matrimony, good circumspection and advice be used, and that the truth may (as far as is possible) be sifted out by the deposition of witnesses, and other lawful proofs and evictions; and that credit be not given to the sole confession of the parties themselves, howsoever taken upon oath, either within or without the court.

CVI. *No Sentence for Divorce to be given but in open Court.*

No sentence shall be given either for separation *a thoro et mensa*, or for annulling of pretended matrimony, but in open court, and in the seat of justice; and that with the knowledge and consent either of the archbishop within his province, or of the bishop within his dio-

cese, or of the dean of the arches, the judge of the audience of Canterbury, or of the vicars-general, or other principal officials, or, *sede vacante*, of the guardians of the spiritualities, or other ordinaries to whom of right it appertaineth, in their several jurisdictions and courts, and concerning them only that are then dwelling under their jurisdictions.

CVII. *In all Sentences for Divorce, Bond to be taken for not marrying during each other's Life.*

In all sentences pronounced only for divorce and separation *a thoro et mensa*, there shall be a caution and restraint inserted in the act of the said sentence, That the parties so separated shall live chastely and continently; neither shall they, during each other's life, contract matrimony with any other person. And, for the better observation of this last clause, the said sentence of divorce shall not be pronounced, until the party or parties requiring the same have given good and sufficient caution and security into the court, that they will not any way break or transgress the said restraint or prohibition.

CVIII. *The penalty for Judges offending in the premises.*

And if any judge, giving sentence of divorce or separation, shall not fully keep and observe the premises, he shall be, by the archbishop of the province, or by the bishop of the diocese, suspended from the exercise of his office for the space of a whole year; and the sentence of separation, so given contrary to the form aforesaid, shall be held void to all intents and purposes of the law, as if it had not at all been given or pronounced.

ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS BELONGING TO THE JURISDICTION OF BISHOPS AND ARCHDEACONS, AND THE PROCEEDINGS IN THEM.

CIX. *Notorious Crimes and Scandals to be certified into Ecclesiastical Courts by Presentment.*

If any offend their brethren, either by adultery, whoredom, incest, or drunkenness, or by swearing, ribaldry, usury, and any other uncleanness, and wickedness of life, the church-wardens, or quest-men, and side-men, in their next presentments to their ordinaries, shall faithfully present all and every of the said offenders, to the intent that they, and every of them, may be punished by the severity of the laws, according to their deserts; and such notorious offenders shall not be admitted to the holy communion, till they be reformed.

CX. *Schismatics to be presented.*

If the church-wardens, or quest-men, or assistants, do or shall know any man within their parish, or elsewhere, that is a hinderer of the word of God to be read or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these our Constitutions, or a fautor of any usurped or foreign power, by the laws of this realm justly rejected and taken away, or a defender of Popish and erroneous doctrine; they shall detect and present the same to the bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place, to be censured and punished according to such ecclesiastical laws as are prescribed in that behalf.

CXI. *Disturbers of Divine Service to be presented.*

In all visitations of bishops and archdeacons, the church-wardens, or quest-men, and side-men, shall truly and personally present the names of all those which behave themselves rudely and disorderly in the church, or which by untimely ringing of bells, by walking, talking, or other noise, shall hinder the minister or preacher.

CXII. *Non-Communicants at Easter to be presented.*

The minister, church-wardens, quest-men, and assistants of every parish-church and chapel, shall yearly, within forty days after Easter, exhibit to the bishop or his chancellor the names and surnames of all the parishioners, as well men as women, which being of the age of sixteen years received not the communion at Easter before.

CXIII. *Ministers may present.*

Because it often cometh to pass, that the church-wardens, side-men, quest-men, and such other persons of the laity, as are to take care for the suppressing of sin and wickedness in their several parishes, as much as in them lieth, by admonition, reprehension, and denunciation to their ordinaries, do forbear to discharge their duties therein, either through fear of their superiors, or through negligence, more than were fit, the licentiousness of these times considered; we ordain, That hereafter every parson and vicar, or, in the lawful absence of any parson or vicar, then their curates and substitutes may join in every presentment with the said church-wardens, side-men, and the rest above mentioned, at the times hereafter limited, if they, the said church-wardens and the rest, will present such enormities as are apparent in the parish; or if they will not, then every such parson and vicar, or, in their absence, as aforesaid, their curates may themselves present to their ordinaries at such times, and when else they think it meet, all such crimes as they have in charge, or otherwise, as by them (being the persons that should have the chief care for the suppressing of sin and impiety

in their parishes) shall be thought to require due reformation. Provided always, That if any man confess his secret and hidden sins to the minister, for the unburdening of his conscience, and to receive spiritual consolation and ease of mind from him; we do not any way bind the said minister by this our Constitution, but do straitly charge and admonish him, that he do not at any time reveal and make known to any person whatsoever any crime or offence so committed to his trust and secrecy, (except they be such crimes as by the laws of this realm his own life may be called into question for concealing the same,) under pain of irregularity.

CXIV. *Ministers shall present Recusants.*

Every parson, vicar, or curate, shall carefully inform themselves, every year hereafter, how many Popish recusants, men, women, and children, above the age of thirteen years, and how many being popishly given (who, though they come to the church, yet do refuse to receive the communion) are inhabitants, or make their abode, either as sojourners or common guests, in any of their several parishes; and shall set down their true names in writing, (if they can learn them,) or otherwise such names as for the time they carry, distinguishing the absolute recusants from half recusants; and the same, so far as they know or believe, so distinguished and set down under their hands, shall truly present to their ordinaries before the feast of the Nativity next ensuing, under pain of suspension to be inflicted upon them by their said ordinaries; and so every year hereafter, upon the like pain, before the feast of St. John Baptist. Also we ordain, That all such ordinaries, chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, officials, and all other ecclesiastical officers, to whom the said presentments shall be exhibited, shall likewise within one month after the receipt of the same, under pain of suspension by the bishop from the execution of their offices for the space of half a year, as often as they shall offend therein, deliver them, or cause them to be delivered, to the bishop respectively; who shall also exhibit them to the archbishop within six weeks, and the archbishop to his majesty within other six weeks after he hath received the said presentments.

CXV. *Ministers and Church-wardens not to be sued for presenting.*

Whereas for the reformation of criminous persons and disorders in every parish, the church-wardens, quest-men, side-men, and such other church officers are sworn, and the minister charged to present as well the crimes and disorders committed by the said criminous persons, as also the common fame which is spread abroad of them, whereby they

are often maligned, and sometimes troubled by the said delinquents, or their friends; we do admonish and exhort all judges, both ecclesiastical and temporal, as they regard and reverence the fearful judgment-seat of the highest Judge, that they admit not in any of their courts any complaint, plea, suit, or suits, against any such church-wardens, quest-men, side-men, or other church officers, for making any such presentments, nor against any minister for any presentment that he shall make; all the said presentments tending to the restraint of shameless impiety, and considering that the rules both of charity and government do presume, that they did nothing therein of malice, but for the discharge of their consciences.

CXVI. *Church-wardens not bound to present oftener than twice a Year.*

No church-wardens, quest-men, or side-men of any parish shall be enforced to exhibit their presentments to any having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, above once in every year, where it hath been no oftener used, nor above twice in any diocese whatsoever, except it be at the bishop's visitation. For the which presentments of every parish-church or chapel, the registrar of any court, where they are to be exhibited, shall not receive in one year above fourpence, under pain, for every offence therein, of suspension from the execution of his office for the space of a month, *toties quoties*. Provided always, That, as good occasion shall require, it shall be lawful for every minister, church-wardens, and side-men to present offenders as oft as they shall think meet; and likewise for any godly disposed person, or for any ecclesiastical judge, upon knowledge, or notice given unto him or them of any enormous crime within his jurisdiction, to move the minister, church-wardens, or side-men, as they tender the glory of God and reformation of sin, to present the same, if they shall find sufficient cause to induce them thereunto, that it may be in due time punished and reformed. Provided, That for these voluntary presentments there be no fee required or taken of them, under the pain aforesaid.

CXVII. *Church-wardens not to be troubled for not presenting oftener than twice a Year.*

No church-wardens, quest-men, or side-men, shall be called or cited, but only at the said time or times before limited, to appear before any ecclesiastical judge whosoever, for refusing at other times to present any faults committed in their parishes, and punishable by ecclesiastical laws. Neither shall they, nor any of them, after their presentments exhibited at any of those times, be any further troubled for the same, except upon manifest and evident proof it may appear, that they did

then willingly and wittingly omit to present some such public crime or crimes as they knew to be committed, or could not be ignorant that there was then a public fame of them; or unless there be very just cause to call them for the explanation of their former presentments. In which case of wilful omission, their ordinaries shall proceed against them in such sort, as in causes of wilful perjury in a court ecclesiastical it is already by law provided.

CXVIII. *The old Church-wardens to make their Presentments before the new be sworn.*

The office of all church-wardens and side-men shall be reputed ever hereafter to continue until the new church-wardens that shall succeed them be sworn, which shall be the first week after Easter, or some week following, according to the direction of the ordinary. Which time so appointed shall always be one of the two times in every year, when the minister, and church-wardens, and side-men of every parish shall exhibit to their several ordinaries the presentments of such enormities as have happened in their parishes since their last presentments. And this duty they shall perform, before the newly chosen church-wardens and side-men be sworn, and shall not be suffered to pass over the said presentments to those that are newly come into office, and are by intendment ignorant of such crimes; under pain of those censures which are appointed for the reformation of such dalliers and dispensers with their own consciences and oaths.

CXIX. *Convenient time to be assigned for framing Presentments.*

For the avoiding of such inconveniences as heretofore have happened by the hasty making of bills of presentments upon the days of the visitations and synods, it is ordered, That always hereafter every chancellor, archdeacon, commissary, and official, and every other person having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, at the ordinary time when the church-wardens are sworn; and the archbishop and bishops, when he or they do summon their visitation, shall deliver, or cause to be delivered to the church-wardens, quest-men, and side-men of every parish, or to some of them, such books of articles as they, or any of them, shall require, for the year following, the said church-wardens, quest-men, and side-men to ground their presentments upon, at such times as they are to exhibit them. In which book shall be contained the form of the oath, which must be taken immediately before every such presentment; to the intent that, having before-hand time sufficient, not only to peruse and consider what their said oath shall be, but the articles also whereupon they are to ground their presentments, they

may frame them at home both advisedly and truly, to the discharge of their own consciences, after they are sworn, as becometh honest and godly men.

CXX. *None to be cited into Ecclesiastical Courts by Process of* Quorum Nomina.

No bishop, chancellor, archdeacon, official, or other ecclesiastical judge, shall suffer any general processes of *quorum nomina* to be sent out of his court; except the names of all such as thereby are to be cited shall be first expressly entered by the hand of the registrar, or his deputy, under the said processes, and the said processes and names be first subscribed by the judge, or his deputy, and his seal thereto affixed.

CXXI. *None to be cited into several Courts for one Crime.*

In places where the bishop and archdeacon do by prescription or composition visit at several times in one and the same year, lest for one and the selfsame fault any of his majesty's subjects should be challenged and molested in divers ecclesiastical courts; we order and appoint, That every archdeacon, or his official, within one month after the visitation ended that year, and the presentments received, shall certify under his hand and seal to the bishop, or his chancellor, the names and crimes of all such as are detected and presented in his said visitation, to the end the chancellor shall thenceforth forbear to convent any person for any crime or cause so detected or presented to the archdeacon. And the chancellor within the like time after the bishop's visitation ended, and presentments received, shall under his hand and seal signify to the archdeacon, or his official, the names and crimes of all such persons which shall be detected or presented unto him in that visitation, to the same intent as is aforesaid. And if these officers shall not certify each other, as is here prescribed, or after such certificate shall intermeddle with the crimes or persons detected and presented in each other's visitation; then every of them so offending shall be suspended from all exercise of his jurisdiction by the bishop of the diocese, until he shall repay the costs and expenses which the parties grieved have been at by that vexation.

CXXII. *No Sentence of Deprivation or Deposition to be pronounced against a Minister, but by the Bishop.*

When any minister is complained of in any ecclesiastical court belonging to any bishop of his province, for any crime, the chancellor, commissary, official, or any other having ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to whom it shall appertain, shall expedite the cause by processes and other pro-

ceedings against him: and upon contumacy, for not appearing, shall first suspend him; and afterward, his contumacy continuing, excommunicate him. But if he appear, and submit himself to the course of law, then the matter being ready for sentence, and the merits of his offence exacting by law either deprivation from his living, or deposition from the ministry, no such sentence shall be pronounced by any person whosoever, but only by the bishop, with the assistance of his chancellor, the dean, (if they may conveniently be had,) and some of the prebendaries, if the court be kept near the cathedral church, or of the archdeacon, if he may be had conveniently, and two other at the least grave ministers and preachers, to be called by the bishop, when the court is kept in other places.

CXXIII. *No Act to be sped but in open Court.*

No chancellor, commissary, archdeacon, official, or any other person using ecclesiastical jurisdiction whosoever, shall speed any judicial act, either of contentious or voluntary jurisdiction, except he have the ordinary registrar of that court, or his lawful deputy: or if he or they will not, or cannot, be present, then such persons as by law are allowed in that behalf to write or speed the same, under pain of suspension *ipso facto*.

CXXIV. *No Court to have more than one Seal.*

No chancellor, commissary, archdeacon, official, or any other exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall without the bishop's consent have any more seals than one, for the sealing of all matters incident to his office; which seal shall always be kept either by himself, or by his lawful substitute exercising jurisdiction for him, and remaining within the jurisdiction of the said judge, or in the city or principal town of the county. This seal shall contain the title of that jurisdiction, which every of the said judges or their deputies do execute.

CXXV. *Convenient Places to be chosen for the keeping of Courts.*

All chancellors, commissaries, archdeacons, officials, and all other exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall appoint such meet places for the keeping of their courts, by the assignment or approbation of the bishop of the diocese, as shall be convenient for entertainment of those that are to make their appearance there, and most indifferent for their travel. And likewise they shall keep and end their courts in such convenient time, as every man may return homewards in as due season as may be.

CXXVI. *Peculiar and inferior Courts to exhibit the original Copies of Wills into the Bishop's Registry.*

Whereas deans, archdeacons, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, and others, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, claim liberty to prove the last wills and testaments of persons deceased within their several jurisdictions, having no known or certain registrars, nor public place to keep their records in; by reason whereof many wills, rights, and legacies, upon the death or change of such persons, and their private notaries, miscarry and cannot be found, to the great prejudice of his majesty's subjects; we therefore order and enjoin, That all such possessors and exercisers of peculiar jurisdiction shall once in every year exhibit into the public registry of the bishop of the diocese, or of the dean and chapter, under whose jurisdiction the said peculiars are, every original testament of every person in that time deceased, and by them proved in their several peculiar jurisdictions, or a true copy of every such testament, examined, subscribed, and sealed by the peculiar judge and his notary. Otherwise, if any of them fail so to do, the bishop of the diocese, or dean and chapter, unto whom the said jurisdictions do respectively belong, shall suspend the said parties, and every of them, from the exercise of all such peculiar jurisdiction, until they have performed this our Constitution.

JUDGES ECCLESIASTICAL, AND THEIR SURROGATES.

CXXVII. *The Quality and Oath of Judges.*

No man shall hereafter be admitted a chancellor, commissary, or official, to exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, except he be of the full age of six and twenty years at the least, and one that is learned in the civil and ecclesiastical laws, and is at the least a master of arts, or bachelor of law, and is reasonably well practised in the course thereof, as likewise well affected, and zealously bent to religion, touching whose life and manners no evil example is had; and except, before he enter into or execute any such office, he shall take the oath of the king's supremacy in the presence of the bishop, or in the open court, and shall subscribe to the Articles of Religion agreed upon in the convocation in the year one thousand five hundred sixty and two, and shall also swear that he will, to the uttermost of his understanding, deal uprightly and justly in his office, without respect or favour of reward; the said oaths and subscription to be recorded by a registrar then present. And likewise all chancellors, commissaries, officials, registrars, and all other that do now possess or execute any places of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or service, shall before Christmas next, in the pre-

sence of the archbishop, or bishop, or in open court, under whom or where they exercise their offices, take the same oaths, and subscribe, as before is said; or, upon refusal so to do, shall be suspended from the execution of their offices, until they shall take the said oaths, and subscribe as aforesaid.

CXXVIII. *The Quality of Surrogates.*

No chancellor, commissary, archdeacon, official, or any other person using ecclesiastical jurisdiction, shall at any time substitute in their absence any to keep any court for them, except he be either a grave minister and a graduate, or a licensed public preacher, and a beneficed man near the place where the courts are kept, or a bachelor of law, or a master of arts at least, who hath some skill in the civil and ecclesiastical law, and is a favourer of true religion, and a man of modest and honest conversation; under pain of suspension, for every time that they offend therein, from the execution of their offices, for the space of three months, *toties quoties:* and he likewise that is deputed, being not qualified as is before expressed, and yet shall presume to be a substitute to any judge, and shall keep any court, as is aforesaid, shall undergo the same censure in manner and form as is before expressed.

PROCTORS.

CXXIX. *Proctors not to retain Causes without the lawful Assignment of the Parties.*

None shall procure in any cause whatsoever, unless he be thereunto constituted and appointed by the party himself, either before the judge, and by act in court, or unless, in the beginning of the suit, he be by a true and sufficient proxy thereunto warranted and enabled. We call that proxy sufficient, which is strengthened and confirmed by some authentical seal, the party's approbation, or at least his ratification therewithal concurring. All which proxies shall be forthwith by the said proctors exhibited into the court, and be safely kept and preserved by the registrar in the public registry of the said court. And if any registrar or proctor shall offend herein, he shall be secluded from the exercise of his office for the space of two months, without hope of release or restoring.

CXXX. *Proctors not to retain Causes without the Counsel of an Advocate.*

For lessening and abridging the multitude of suits and contentions, as also for preventing the complaints of suitors in courts ecclesiasti-

cal, who many times are overthrown by the oversight and negligence, or by the ignorance and insufficiency of proctors; and likewise for the furtherance and increase of learning, and the advancement of civil and canon law, following the laudable customs heretofore observed in the courts pertaining to the archbishop of Canterbury; we will and ordain, that no proctor exercising in any of them shall entertain any cause whatsoever, and keep and retain the same for two court-days without the counsel and advice of an advocate, under pain of a year's suspension from his practice; neither shall the judge have power to release or mitigate the said penalty, without express mandate and authority from the archbishop aforesaid.

CXXXI. *Proctors not to conclude in any Case without the knowledge of an Advocate.*

No judge in any of the said courts of the archbishop shall admit any libel, or any other matter, without the advice of an advocate admitted to practise in the same court, or without his subscription; neither shall any proctor conclude any cause depending without the knowledge of the advocate retained and feed in the cause: which if any proctor shall do, or procure to be done, or shall by any colour whatsoever defraud the advocate of his duty or fee, or shall be negligent in repairing to the advocate, and requiring his advice what course is to be taken in the cause, he shall be suspended from all practice for the space of six months, without hope of being thereunto restored before the said term be fully complete.

CXXXII. *Proctors prohibited the Oath,* In animam domini sui.

Forasmuch as in the probate of testaments and suits for administration of the goods of persons dying intestate, the oath usually taken by proctors of courts, *In animam constituentis*, is found to be inconvenient; we do therefore decree and ordain, That every executor, or suitor for administration, shall personally repair to the judge in that behalf, or his surrogate, and in his own person (and not by proctor) take the oath accustomed in these cases. But if by reason of sickness, or age, or any other just let or impediment, he be not able to make his personal appearance before the judge, it shall be lawful for the judge (there being faith first made by a credible person of the truth of his said hinderance or impediment) to grant a commission to some grave ecclesiastical person, abiding near the party aforesaid, whereby he shall give power and authority to the said ecclesiastical person, in his stead, to minister the accustomed oath above mentioned to the executor, or suitor for such administration, requiring his said substitute,

that by a faithful and trusty messenger he certify the said judge truly and faithfully what he hath done therein. Lastly, we ordain and appoint, That no judge or registrar shall in any wise receive for the writing, drawing, or sealing of any such commission, above the sum of six shillings and eight pence; whereof one moiety to be for the judge, and the other for the registrar of the said court.

CXXXIII. *Proctors not to be clamorous in Court.*

Forasmuch as it is found by experience, that the loud and confused cries and clamours of proctors in the courts of the archbishop are not only troublesome and offensive to the judges and advocates, but also give occasion to the standers by, of contempt and calumny toward the court itself; that more respect may be had to the dignity of the judge than heretofore, and that causes may more easily and commodiously be handled and despatched, we charge and enjoin, That all proctors in the said courts do especially intend, that the acts be faithfully entered and set down by the registrar, according to the advice and direction of the advocate; that the said proctors refrain loud speech and babbling, and behave themselves quietly and modestly: and that, when either the judges or advocates, or any of them, shall happen to speak, they presently be silent, upon pain of silencing for two whole terms then immediately following every such offence of theirs. And if any of them shall the second time offend herein, and after due monition shall not reform himself, let him be for ever removed from his practice.

REGISTRARS.

CXXXIV. *Abuses to be reformed in Registrars.*

If any registrar, or his deputy or substitute whatsoever, shall receive any certificate without the knowledge and consent of the judge of the court, or willingly omit to cause any person cited to appear upon any court-day, to be called; or unduly put off and defer the examination of witnesses to be examined by a day set and assigned by the judge; or do not obey and observe the judicial and lawful monition of the said judge; or omit to write, or cause to be written, such citations and decrees as are to be put in execution, and set forth before the next court-day; or shall not cause all testaments exhibited into his office to be registered within a convenient time; or shall set down or enact, as decreed by the judge, any thing false, or conceited by himself, and not so ordered or decreed by the judge; or, in the transmission of processes to the judge *ad quem*, shall add or insert any false-

hood or untruth, or omit any thing therein, either by cunning, or by gross negligence; or in causes of instance, or promoted of office, shall receive any reward in favour of either party; or be of counsel directly or indirectly with either of the parties in suit; or in the execution of their office shall do aught else maliciously or fraudulently, whereby the said ecclesiastical judge, or his proceedings, may be slandered or defamed; we will and ordain, That the said registrar, or his deputy or substitute, offending in all or any of the premises, shall by the bishop of the diocese be suspended from the exercise of his office for the space of one, two, or three months, or more, according to the quality of his offence; and that the said bishop shall assign some other public notary to execute and discharge all things pertaining to his office, during the time of his said suspension.

CXXXV. *A Certain Rate of Fees due to all Ecclesiastical Officers.*

No bishop, suffragan, chancellor, commissary, archdeacon, official, nor any other exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever, nor any registrar of any ecclesiastical courts, nor any minister belonging to any of the said offices or courts, shall hereafter, for any cause incident to their several offices, take or receive any other or greater fees than such as were certified to the most reverend father in God, John late archbishop of Canterbury, in the year of our Lord God one thousand five hundred ninety and seven, and were by him ratified and approved; under pain, that every such judge, officer, or minister offending herein, shall be suspended from the exercise of their several offices for the space of six months, for every such offence. Always provided, That if any question shall arise concerning the certainty of the said fees, or any of them, then those fees shall be held for lawful, which the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being shall under his hand approve, except the statutes of this realm before made do in any particular case express some other fees to be due. Provided furthermore, That no fee or money shall be received either by the archbishop, or any bishop, or suffragan, either directly or indirectly, for admitting of any into sacred orders; nor that any other person or persons under the said archbishop, bishop, or suffragan, shall for parchment, writing, wax, sealing, or any other respect thereunto appertaining, take above ten shillings, under such pains as are already by law prescribed.

CXXXVI. *A Table of the Rates and Fees to be set up in Courts and Registries.*

We do likewise constitute and appoint, That the registrars belonging to every such ecclesiastical judge shall place two tables, containing the

several rates and sums of all the said fees: one in the usual place or consistory where the court is kept, and the other in his registry; and both of them in such sort, as every man, whom it concerneth, may without difficulty come to the view and perusal thereof, and take a copy of them: the same tables to be set up before the feast of the Nativity next ensuing. And if any registrar shall fail to place the said tables according to the tenor hereof, he shall be suspended from the execution of his office, until he cause the same to be accordingly done: and the said tables being once set up, if he shall at any time remove, or suffer the same to be removed, hidden, or any way hindered from sight, contrary to the true meaning of this constitution, he shall for every such offence be suspended from the exercise of his office for the space of six months.

CXXXVII. *The whole Fees for shewing Letters of Orders, and other Licenses, due but once in every Bishop's time.*

Forasmuch as the chief and principal cause and use of visitation is, that the bishop, archdeacon, or other assigned to visit, may get some good knowledge of the state, sufficiency, and ability of the clergy, and other persons whom they are to visit; we think it convenient, that every parson, vicar, curate, school-master, or other person licensed whosoever, do at the bishop's first visitation, or at the next visitation after his admission, shew and exhibit unto him his letters of orders, institution, and induction, and all other his dispensations, licenses, or faculties whatsoever, to be by the said bishop either allowed, or (if there be just cause) disallowed and rejected: and being by him approved, to be, as the custom is, signed by the registrar; and that the whole fees accustomed to be paid in the visitations in respect of the premises, be paid only once in the whole time of every bishop, and afterwards but half of the said accustomed fees in every other visitation, during the said bishop's continuance.

APPARITORS.

CXXXVIII. *The Number of Apparitors restrained.*

Forasmuch as we are desirous to redress such abuses and aggrievances as are said to grow by somners or apparitors, we think it meet that the multitude of apparitors be (as much as is possible) abridged or restrained: wherefore we decree and ordain, That no bishop or archdeacon, or their vicars, or officials, or other inferior ordinaries, shall depute or have more apparitors to serve in their jurisdictions respectively, than either they or their predecessors were accustomed to have thirty years

before the publishing of these our present Constitutions. All which apparitors shall by themselves faithfully execute their offices; neither shall they, by any colour or pretence whatsoever, cause or suffer their mandates to be executed by any messengers or substitutes, unless it be upon some good cause to be first known and approved by the ordinary of the place. Moreover, they shall not take upon them the office of promoters or informers for the court, neither shall they exact more or greater fees than are in these our Constitutions formerly prescribed. And if either the number of the apparitors deputed shall exceed the aforesaid limitation, or any of the said apparitors shall offend in any of the premises; the persons deputing them, if they be bishops, shall, upon admonition of their superior, discharge the persons exceeding the number so limited; if inferior ordinaries, they shall be suspended from the execution of their office, until they have dismissed the apparitors by them so deputed; and the parties themselves so deputed shall for ever be removed from the office of apparitors; and if, being so removed, they desist not from the exercise of their said offices, let them be punished by ecclesiastical censures, as persons contumacious. Provided, That if upon experience the number of the said apparitors be too great in any diocese in the judgment of the archbishop of Canterbury for the time being, they shall by him be so abridged, as he shall think meet and convenient.

AUTHORITY OF SYNODS.

CXXXIX. *A National Synod the Church Representative.*

Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, That the sacred synod of this nation, in the name of Christ and by the king's authority assembled, is not the true Church of England by representation, let him be excommunicated, and not restored until he repent, and publicly revoke that his wicked error.

CXL. *Synods conclude as well the absent as the present.*

Whosoever shall affirm, That no manner of person, either of the clergy or laity, not being themselves particularly assembled in the said sacred synod, are to be subject to the decrees thereof in causes ecclesiastical, (made and ratified by the king's majesty's supreme authority,) as not having given their voices unto them, let him be excommunicated, and not restored until he repent, and publicly revoke that his wicked error.

CXLI. *Depravers of the Synod censured.*

Whosoever shall hereafter affirm, That the sacred synod, assembled as aforesaid, was a company of such persons as did conspire together against godly and religious professors of the gospel; and that therefore both they and their proceedings in making of canons and constitutions in causes ecclesiastical by the king's authority, as aforesaid, ought to be despised and contemned, the same being ratified, confirmed, and enjoined by the said regal power, supremacy, and authority; let them be excommunicated, and not restored until they repent, and publicly revoke that their wicked error.

We of our princely inclination and royal care for the maintenance of the present estate and government of the Church of England, by the laws of this our realm now settled and established, having diligently, with great contentment and comfort, read and considered of all these their said Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, agreed upon, as is before expressed; and finding the same such as we are persuaded will be very profitable, not only to our clergy, but to the whole church of this our kingdom, and to all the true members of it, if they be well observed; have therefore for us, our heirs, and lawful successors, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, given, and by these presents do give our royal assent, according to the form of the said statute or act of parliament aforesaid, to all and every of the said Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, and to all and every thing in them contained, as they are before written.

And furthermore, we do not only by our said prerogative royal, and supreme authority in causes ecclesiastical, ratify, confirm, and establish, by these our letters patent, the said Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, and all and every thing in them contained, as is aforesaid; but do likewise propound, publish, and straightway enjoin and command by our said authority, and by these our letters patent, the same to be diligently observed, executed, and equally kept by all our loving subjects of this our kingdom, both within the provinces of Canterbury and York, in all points wherein they do or may concern every or any of them, according to this our will and pleasure hereby signified and expressed; and that likewise, for the better observation of them, every minister, by what name or title soever he be

called, shall in the parish-church or chapel where he hath charge, read all the said Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, once every year, upon some Sundays or holy-days, in the afternoon, before divine service, dividing the same in such sort, as that the one half may be read one day, and the other another day: the book of the said Canons to be provided at the charge of the parish, betwixt this and the feast of the Nativity of our Lord God next ensuing: straitly charging and commanding all archbishops, bishops, and all other that exercise any ecclesiastical jurisdiction within this realm, every man in his place, to see, and procure (so much as in them lieth) all and every of the same Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Constitutions, to be in all points duly observed; not sparing to execute the penalties in them severally mentioned, upon any that shall wittingly or wilfully break or neglect to observe the same, as they tender the honour of God, the peace of the church, the tranquillity of the kingdom, and their duties and service to us their king and sovereign.

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